

AFRASIAN  
COMPARATIVE  
PHONOLOGY AND  
VOCABULARY



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CHARLESTON, SC, USA

2014



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# Afrasian Comparative Phonology and Vocabulary

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## PREFACE

The purpose of this book is to attempt a tentative reconstruction of the Proto-Afrasian phonological system. Inasmuch as this book grew out of my work on Nostratic, the reconstructions proposed in this book are based not only upon the data from the individual Afrasian daughter languages, they are also informed by data from the other languages to which Afrasian is alleged to be related within the context of the Nostratic Hypothesis. For details about the Nostratic Hypothesis and supporting data from the non-Afrasian branches of Nostratic, see my 2014 book *A Comprehensive Introduction to the Nostratic Comparative Linguistics, with Special Reference to Indo-European*, which is available for free download from various Internet sites. References are given to that book throughout this work.

Thus, the scope of this book is restricted. It is not intended to be a complete etymological dictionary of Afrasian. Rather, it presents a systematic reconstruction of the Proto-Afrasian phonological system and the regular sound correspondences upon which that reconstruction is based. As will become evident, some of those correspondences are more secure than others — the sibilants, dental affricates, and fricative laterals, in particular, are still not completely certain. The core of the book contains a set of examples from the various Afrasian daughter languages designed to illustrate those sound correspondences. These examples are taken from my 2014 book on Nostratic. Not all of the Afrasian data included in that book appear here. I have only selected those examples where at least two branches of Afrasian are represented, no matter how spotty the evidence. Where possible, I have enhanced those examples, especially with data from Berber. Omotic and Chadic, however, remain underrepresented.

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10 May 2014





## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. A SURVEY OF THE AFRASIAN LANGUAGES

Afrasian (also called Afroasiatic, Hamito-Semitic, Semito-Hamitic, Erythraic, and Lisramic) includes the following branches: Semitic, Egyptian, (Libyco-)Berber, Cushitic, Omotic, Chadic, and Ongota. Except for Semitic, all of the Afrasian languages are found in northern and eastern Africa. In ancient times, Semitic was primarily located in the Middle East (Levant, Mesopotamia, Arabian Peninsula), but Muslim conquests beginning in the 7th century CE have spread a single Semitic language, namely, Arabic, across the greater part of northern Africa, where it has totally replaced Egyptian (Coptic) as a spoken language and has greatly restricted, but has not totally supplanted Berber, which is still spoken across northern Africa. Though no longer spoken, Coptic is still used as the liturgical language of the Coptic Orthodox Church in Egypt. It is estimated that there are at least 375 languages in the family, including several important extinct languages.

The following chronology may be established for the branching off of the various branches of Afrasian (cf. Ehret 1995:483—490): Omotic, which appears to contain many distinctive features, must have been the first branch to split from the rest of the Afrasian speech community. The next split was between Cushitic on the one hand and Chadic, Egyptian, Berber, and Semitic on the other. Finally, Chadic split off, followed by Egyptian and Berber (cf. Blažek to appear for details). Within Semitic, Akkadian is the most archaic language as a whole, though Arabic preserves the original phonological structure better than any of the other Semitic languages. Tuareg is usually viewed as the most conservative Berber language, as are Beja (also called Beḍawye) and Saho-Afar within Cushitic.

The study of Afrasian as a whole is still not far advanced. Several branches, such as Semitic and Egyptian, for example, have written records going back many millennia and have been scientifically investigated rather thoroughly, while other Afrasian languages are scarcely even known. Egyptian, whose earliest inscriptions date from about 3400 BCE, and Akkadian, whose earliest inscription dates from the reign of King Lugalzagesi of Uruk (roughly 2352 to 2327 BCE), were the languages of great civilizations of antiquity, while Hebrew and Arabic are the liturgical languages of Judaism and Islam respectively. The Semitic languages exhibit great internal consistency as a group, with fairly straightforward correspondences in morphology, with close resemblance in their phonological systems, and with a large common vocabulary. In contrast, the internal divisions in the other branches, except for Egyptian, of course, which is a single language, are far more pronounced.

Proto-Afrasian was most likely highly inflected. It is simply not possible, however, given the present level of knowledge, to reconstruct the morphological

structure of the parent language in detail, though some common features (such as the distinction of grammatical gender, the existence of two verbal conjugation systems, at least one of which, namely, the prefix conjugation, probably goes back to Proto-Afrasian, and a common set of pronominal stems) have been noted.

The Afrasian daughter languages are extremely diverse typologically. Some have complex phonological systems, including tones, while others do not. Some have intricate inflectional systems, while others do not. Syntactically, the classical Semitic languages, Egyptian, and the Berber languages are VSO, the majority of the Cushitic languages are SOV, and most Chadic languages are SVO. For more information, cf. especially Frajzyngier—Shay (eds.) 2012 and D. Cohen (ed.) 1988.

## 1.2. HOMELANDS

So much controversy surrounds the subject of the homeland of Afrasian that none of the proposals advanced to date can be considered definitive (cf. Hamed—Darlu 2003). Diakonoff (1988:23—25) presents a summary of several of the proposals — his own view is that Afrasian was located in the “South-Eastern Sahara (say, between Tibesti and Darfur)”. Both Werner Vycichl (1987) and Alexander Militarev (2000, 2002, and 2009), on the other hand, favor an Asian homeland. According to Militarev, the original Afrasian homeland was in the Middle East and the Arabian Peninsula (cf. Diakonoff 1988:24). Diakonoff (1988:32, fn. 14) further clarifies Militarev’s views (note also the map given by Shnirelman [1997:159]):

A more precise identification was proposed by Militarev and sustained from the archaeological and historical side by V. Shnirelman. In their opinion, the Proto-Afrasian speakers were the Natufians of the well-known early Neolithic culture of the Palestinian-Syrian area.

In my opinion, Militarev’s proposals have great merit. Henry (1992:182—184) notes that “Natufian assemblages are remarkably well-dated because of multiple lines of evidence tied to radiocarbon dates, stratigraphic successions, and artifact seriation”. Henry dates the earliest Natufian finds to 10,900 BCE and the latest to 7,800 BCE (he actually says [1992:184] “as early as about 12,900 years ago to as late as about 9,800 years ago”). The earlier date agrees extremely well with the date assigned to the Afrasian parent language (approximately 10,000 BCE [that is, 12,000 years ago] according to Diakonoff [1988:33, fn. 15]). The following scenario may be proposed: Proto-Afrasian may be dated at roughly 10,000 BCE (cf. Militarev 2009:95 — in a 2002 paper, Fleming places it at 11,200 BP, though he notes that earlier dates are also possible), and the Afrasian homeland may be placed in the Middle East in an area bordering the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, stretching from modern-day Syria through Lebanon and south into Israel (that is, the Levant) — if Militarev and Shnirelman are correct, the Natufian cultural complex may be identified with the Afrasian parent language. By 8,000 BCE, Afrasian had begun to split up into various dialect groups and had spread southward into the

Arabian Peninsula and southwestward across the Sinai Peninsula into northern Africa. A northern and eastern spread followed the fertile crescent, initially as far as northern and eastern Syria — it was this dialect group that eventually developed into Proto-Semitic, which Diakonoff (1988:25) dates to the 6th—5th millennia BCE. Further spread took Afrasian languages southward down through the Arabian Peninsula, across the Bab el-Mandeb Strait, and into the Horn of Africa, westward across northern Africa, and then southward across the Sahara Desert into what is today the area bordering northern and northeastern Nigeria around Lake Chad. See also Renfrew (1992:472) and Cavalli-Sforza et al. (1994:171—174) on the spread of Afrasian languages. For a map showing the distribution of the Afrasian languages at about 500 BCE, cf. D. Cohen (ed.) 1988:viii.

Archeological remains in the Levant (Syria-Lebanon-Israel coast and slightly inland) go back to Paleolithic times. The Levant is made up of a combination of mountains, plains, valleys, and coastal lowlands cramped into a rather small geographical area. There is plentiful evidence from Mesolithic hunter-gatherer societies. The earliest Neolithic settlements (such as Jericho, which is still inhabited) date to at least 9,000 BCE. Several noteworthy, partially sequential, partially overlapping Neolithic cultural complexes have been identified, namely, the Mushabian, the Geometric Kebaran, and the Natufian (for details, cf. Henry 1992). The dating for these is as follows: Mushabian: between 14,170 BP and 11,700 BP (Henry 1992:125); Geometric Kebaran: between 14,330 BP and 12,610 BP (Henry 1992:155); Natufian: between 12,500 and 10,500 BP (Henry 1992:182 — earlier dates are given in Cavalli-Sforza et al. 1994:214). It is the Natufians who are associated with the development of agriculture. Neolithic remains from the Levant are dated well into the 5th millennium BCE. Apparently, the topography of the Levant did not favor the establishment of large, unified states, since the archeological record points to numerous, autonomous or semi-autonomous city-states instead — by the 3rd millennium BCE, there were many such city-states. The Levant stood at the cross-roads between the mighty empires in Egypt and Mesopotamia — it was an area made rich by trade, an area coveted by competing neighbors, an area with a rich and varied literature, an area that gave birth to great religions, and an area with a long and colorful history. The archeological data from the Levant are extremely rich and have been fairly intensively studied and dated, though it will still take several generations to sift through it all.

The topography of Mesopotamia is varied: the east is bounded by the Zagros mountains and the Iranian Plateau, the center is dominated by the plains surrounding the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, the south is dominated by alluvial plains, and the west is semi-arid/desert. Several major shifts in climatic conditions have taken place over the past 15,000 years. Permanent settlements associated with agriculture and stock herding date as far back as 8,000 BCE. At this period, settlements were relatively small. By 6,000 BCE, agriculture was well-established, and larger villages appeared. Slightly later, major cultural centers (such as Eridu) emerge, trade flourishes, and wealth and population increase. Pictographic writing begins to appear at around 3,500 BCE, and this slowly develops into the cuneiform syllabary. The earliest recorded language was Sumerian — the Sumerians were

located in central and southern Mesopotamia. Semitic people were located to the immediate north and west. The earliest recorded Semitic language was Akkadian. Further north, in modern-day Turkey, Caucasian languages were spoken. There were also several languages of unknown affiliation (such as Kassite). References: Balkan 1954; Diakonoff 1988; Henry 1992; Nissen 1988.

The question of the location of the Afrasian homeland is difficult to determine in both time and space. As noted above, various possibilities have been suggested, including Africa and the Levant, while the dating has been difficult to ascertain.

Taking into account the latest research, especially in Russia, the Czech scholar Václav Blažek has recently addressed this problem (Blažek to appear). According to Blažek, the original Afrasian homeland is to be sought in the Levant. Blažek notes that the following arguments speak in favor of a location of the Afrasian parent language in the Levant:

1. Distant relationship of Afrasian with Kartvelian, Elamo-Dravidian, Indo-European, and other language families within the framework of the Nostratic Hypothesis;
2. Lexical parallels connecting Afrasian with Middle Eastern languages which cannot be explained from Semitic alone;
3. Sumerian-Afrasian lexical parallels indicating an Afrasian substratum in Sumerian;
4. Elamite-Afrasian lexical and grammatical cognates explainable as a common heritage (through Nostratic or some intermediary stage);
5. North Caucasian-Afrasian parallels in cultural vocabulary explainable through contact at a very remote (pre-Semitic) period.

Blažek maintains that the most likely scenario for the disintegration of Proto-Afrasian and the migrations of speakers of the various daughter languages can be accounted for by two distinct migrations from the Levant: the first branches to become separated were Cushitic and Omotic, at around 12,000 BP. They spread southward into the Arabian Peninsula. The second series of migrations separated Egyptian, Berber, and Chadic from Semitic, which remained in the Levant, at around 11,000—10,000 BP. Egyptian, Berber, and Chadic migrated first to the Nile Delta and Valley, where Egyptian remained, while Berber and Chadic continued westward and southwestward. Blažek's views concerning the migrations of each of the individual branches of Afrasian may be summarized as follows:

**SEMITIC:** The Semitic ecological vocabulary indicates that the Semitic homeland is to be located in the northern Levant. The homeland of the Akkadians was in northern and central Mesopotamia. Beginning with the reign of Sargon, Akkadian began to replace Sumerian in Southern Mesopotamia. It also spread into Elam, Syria, and Anatolia. In the 2nd millennium BCE, the Babylonian dialect was used as a diplomatic language in the Middle East, including Egypt. The massive migration of the Canaanite tribes into Lower Egypt around 1700 BCE has been connected with the invasion of the Hyksos. A part of this multi-ethnic conglomeration could

have been Hebrews, whose return to the Levant is described in the book of Exodus in the Bible. This narrative is supported by the linguistic analysis of the Egyptian toponyms from the Bible. The oldest Phoenician inscriptions are known from Byblos and later also from Tyre, Sidon, and other Levantine ports. During the 1st millennium BCE, Phoenicians founded numerous colonies in southern Anatolia, Cyprus, Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, the coast of Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and on to Morocco and the Iberian Peninsula. Although the strongest of them, Carthage, was destroyed by the Romans in 146 BCE, the Phoenician/Punic language survived in North Africa until the 5th century CE. Traces of Punic influence have been identified in modern Berber languages. In the late 2nd millennium BCE, Aramaeans lived in northern Syria and northwestern Mesopotamia. During the first half of the 1st millennium BCE, their inscriptions appeared throughout the Fertile Crescent. From the end of 9th to mid-7th centuries BCE, Aramaeans were brought into North Mesopotamia as captives of the Assyrians. At the time of a fall of Assyria (612 BCE), Aramaic was already a dominant language in northern Mesopotamia, and from the time of the Babylonian captivity (586—539 BCE), Aramaic began to replace Hebrew in Palestine. Aramaic became the dominant Middle Eastern language during the Achaemenid Empire (539—331 BCE), where it served as a language of administration from Egypt and northern Arabia to Central Asia and the borders of India, where the Aramaic script served as the basis for local Indian scripts. The dominant role of Aramaic in the Middle East continued until the expansion of Arabic in the 7th century CE. Even though it has been mostly replaced by Arabic, small pockets of Aramaic speakers have remained in the Middle East until the present day. A half millennium before the rise of Islam, Arabs expanded from northern Arabia into the southern Levant and Mesopotamia. Two Arabic speaking states, Palmyra and the Nabatean kingdom, controlled the commercial routes between the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. With the spread of Islam, the rapid expansion of Arabic began. By the 8th century CE, Arabic was used from Morocco and the Iberian Peninsula in the west to Central Asia in the east. Although Arabic has lost ground in some areas (the Iberian Peninsula, Sicily, and Iran), elsewhere, it has expanded. In Africa, it spread to the southern border of the Sahara and along the East African coast. One of the pre-Islamic languages of Yemen crossed the Red Sea into Eritrea and northern Ethiopia in the early 1st millennium BCE and became the basis of the Ethiopic branch of Semitic. Separation of the northern and southern Ethio-Semitic subbranches has been dated to 890 BCE. See also Blench 2012 and Rubin 2008.

EGYPTIAN: Egyptian was spoken in the Nile Valley from Lower Nubia to the Delta, probably also in the oases of the Western Desert and, due to Egyptian expansion during the New Kingdom, also in the Sinai Peninsula and Palestine. The unification of Upper and Lower Egypt in 3226 BCE probably stimulated a process of integration of local dialects. Only a few traces remained of the original dialectal diversity. In the course of time, new dialects developed such as the Akhmimic, Sahidic, Bohairic, Lycopolitan, Oxyrhynchite, and Fayyumic dialects of Coptic (cf. Allen 2013:11; Loprieno 1995:41; Loprieno—Müller 2012:104—105).

**BERBER:** Not only do the modern Berber languages spoken across North Africa from Morocco, Senegal, and Mauritania in the west to Egypt (Oasis Siwa) in the east belong to the Berber branch of Afrasian, so do the language(s) of the Libyco-Berber inscriptions attested from the Canary Islands to Libya and dated from the 7/6th century BCE to the 4th century CE, as well as fragments of languages of the original inhabitants of the Canary Islands recorded by Spanish and Italian chroniclers in the 14—16th centuries CE. No doubt, the Proto-Berbers spread westward along the Mediterranean coast from the Nile Valley.

**CUSHITIC:** A Cushitic-like substratum has been identified in Modern South Arabian, and it has been proposed that early Cushitic speakers originally occupied the entire Arabian Peninsula. Thus, they can be seen as southern neighbors of the Semites, who gradually assimilated those Cushites who did not cross the Bab el-Mandeb Strait into what is now Eritrea, Djibouti, and Ethiopia. This hypothesis is supported by the rock art of Central Arabia. The spread of Cushites in Africa is connected with the Rift Valley. In the coastal areas of Eritrea and Djibouti, where the Rift enters the African mainland, three archaic representatives of the North, Central, and Eastern branches of Cushitic are found: (1) Beja / Beḡawye, (2) Bilin, and (3) Saho-Afar, respectively. The disintegration of Cushitic probably began in this general area. Ancestors of Agaw spread throughout Eritrea and northern Ethiopia, while Beja / Beḡawye spread into the Sudan between the Nile and the Red Sea. Other East and South Cushitic languages moved further south along the Rift Valley through Ethiopia and Kenya, and even into Central Tanzania. Further migrations from the Rift Valley spread the Cushites throughout the Horn of Africa and south into Kenya.

**OMOTIC:** Both the external and internal classifications of Omotic remain controversial. The separation of Omotic as a distinct branch of Afrasian from what was formerly called “West Cushitic” was originally based on a lexico-statistical analysis. But a later grammatical analysis demonstrated that most of the grammatical formants that Omotic inherited from Afrasian are shared with Cushitic. Then, it was shown that there were numerous lexical isoglosses connecting Omotic with other Afrasian branches that were not shared with Cushitic, providing further evidence that Omotic and Cushitic are sister branches, and that Omotic is not West Cushitic. That Cushitic and Omotic should be considered distinct branches of Afrasian now seems certain. The separation of Cushitic and Omotic has been dated to the early 8th millennium BCE.

**CHADIC:** The disintegration of Proto-Chadic has been dated to around 5000 BCE. The easternmost Chadic language is Kajakse from the archaic Mubi group, spoken in the Waddai highlands in Southeastern Chad. This area is accessible from the Nile Valley in two ways only: along the Wadi Howar north of Darfur and along the Bahr al-Ghazal and its north tributary Bahr al-‘Arab south of Darfur. The northern route could lead along the Batha River, which flows into Lake Fitri at the present time but which formed a part of a much larger Lake Chad in the past (around 4000

BCE). The southern route could continue along the Bahr Azoum/Salamat in the basin of the Chari River, the biggest tributary of Lake Chad.

In a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists in 2002 entitled “Afrasian: Time and Place of the Proto-Language”, Fleming places the Afrasian homeland in East Africa, in or near modern Ethiopia. He suggests that Semitic may have entered Arabia through a more northern route (across the Sinai Peninsula) rather than a southern one (across the Bab el-Mandeb). He dates Proto-Afrasian to around 11,200 BP but notes that earlier dates are also possible.

Another scenario, proposed by Martin Bernal, associates the final disintegration of the Afrasian parent language with the Khartoum Mesolithic and locates the latest Afrasian homeland in modern-day Sudan. Bernal (1980:4) notes that “archeological evidence from the Maghreb, the Sudan, and east Africa [makes it seem] permissible to postulate that at least three branches of Afrasian existed by the eighth millennium [BCE]”. Thus, he (1980:13) dates the breakup of Proto-Afrasian to no later than about 8,000 BCE, after which there was a rapid expansion outward in all directions.

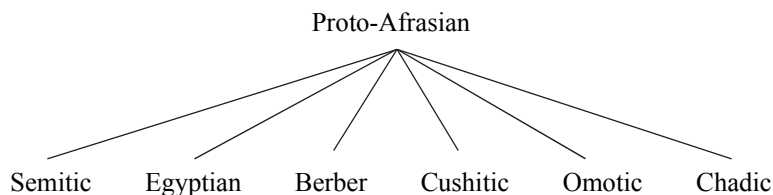
Bernal (1980:17) further notes that “[t]he earliest evidence of the Khartoum Mesolithic comes from the East African Rift Valley in Kenya and Ethiopia”. The precursor of the Khartoum Mesolithic seems to have been the Kenya Capsian culture, which began as far back as 20,000 years ago. This implies that the earliest homeland of Pre-Proto-Afrasian is to be sought in Ethiopia, and Bernal (1980:46—59) proposes just such a scenario.

The implications of Fleming’s and Bernal’s views are enormous. Though their views are highly speculative, they are by no means implausible. Indeed, their arguments give substantial weight to the notion that the Afrasian homeland is to be sought in Africa rather than the Middle East.

It thus emerges that the Middle East and East Africa are the two most credible options for the location for the Afrasian homeland. I personally prefer the Middle East based upon my assessment of the evidence that has been presented in the relevant literature to date.

### 1.3. SUBGROUPING

The traditional subclassification of the Afrasian language family includes the following six branches: Semitic, Egyptian (now extinct), Berber, Cushitic, Omotic, and Chadic. This may be illustrated by the following chart (cf. Rubin 2010:3):



An alternative subclassification is suggested by Militarëv (2009:96):

1. North Afrasian (NAA) (first branching dated to the mid 9th mill. BCE):
  - 1.1. Semitic
  - 1.2. African North Afrasian (ANAA):
    - 1.2.1. Egyptian
    - 1.2.2. Chado-Berber:
      - 1.2.2.1. Berber-Canarian
      - 1.2.2.2. Chadic
2. South Afrasian (SAA):
  - 2.1. Cushitic
  - 2.2. Omotic

In his comparative Afrasian dictionary, Ehret (1995:489—490), has proposed a more radical subclassification:

- I. Omotic:
  - A. North Omotic
  - B. South Omotic
- II. Erythraean:
  - A. Cushitic:
    1. Beja / Beḍawye
    2. Agaw
    3. East-South Cushitic:
      - a. Eastern Cushitic
      - b. Southern Cushitic
  - B. North Erythraean:
    1. Chadic
    2. Boreafrasian:
      - a. Egyptian
      - b. Berber
      - c. Semitic

Fleming (2002b:39) adds Ongota to the above chart as a separate branch under Erythraean.

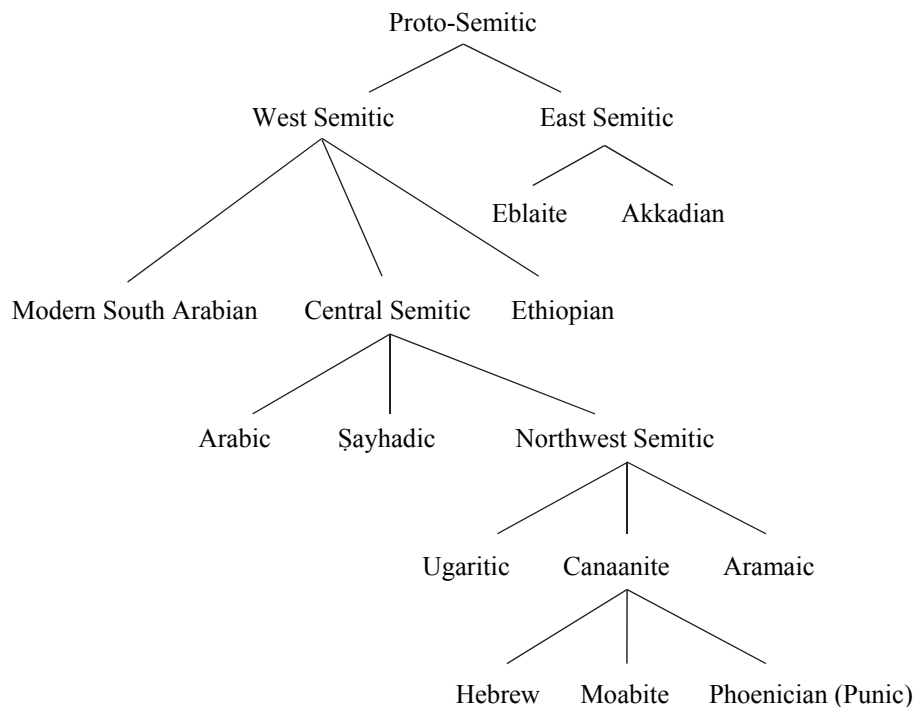
Huehnegard (2004:140), on the other hand, takes a more cautious view:

A number of morphological features indicate that Berber, Egyptian, and Semitic may constitute a *North Afro-Asiatic* subgroup. A connection between Berber and Chadic has also been suggested. Various other, more comprehensive subgroupings of the Afro-Asiatic branches have been proposed, but none has gained a consensus.

Now, let us look at the individual branches.



SEMITIC: Rubin (2008 and 2010:3—21) presents the current understanding of the subgrouping of the Semitic branch, on the basis of the facts available to date. First, he recognizes a primary division between East and West Semitic. As he notes, this “division has remained relatively uncontroversial for more than a century”. East Semitic includes two sub-branches — Eblaite and Akkadian —, while West Semitic is divided into Central Semitic, Ethiopian, and Modern South Arabian. Rubin’s views are illustrated in the following chart (see also Faber 1997; Ruhlen 1987:323; Pereltsvaig 2012:96; Lipiński 1997:47—85):



EGYPTIAN: The Egyptian branch is represented by a single language throughout its long history of some five thousand years — roughly 3400 BCE to the sixteenth century CE. Though Egyptian is now extinct as a spoken language, the Bohairic dialect of Coptic is still used as the liturgical language of the Coptic Orthodox Church in Egypt. The following developmental stages are typically distinguished, together with their approximate dates (cf. Allen 2013:2—4; Loprieno 1995:5—8; Loprieno—Müller 2012:102—104; Peust 1999:30):

- Old Egyptian                      3000 BCE to 2000 BCE
- Middle Egyptian                2000 BCE to 1300 BCE
- Late Egyptian                    1300 BCE to 700 BCE
- Demotic                            700 BCE to 500 CE
- Coptic                                400 CE to 1400 CE

Note: Coptic was still spoken in isolated pockets until the sixteenth century CE (cf. Pereltsvaig 2012:296).

BERBER: As noted by Kossmann (2012:18—20), the subgrouping of the Berber languages is extremely difficult, and no proposal made to date can be considered even close to definitive. Ruhlen (1987:320) gives the following subclassification:

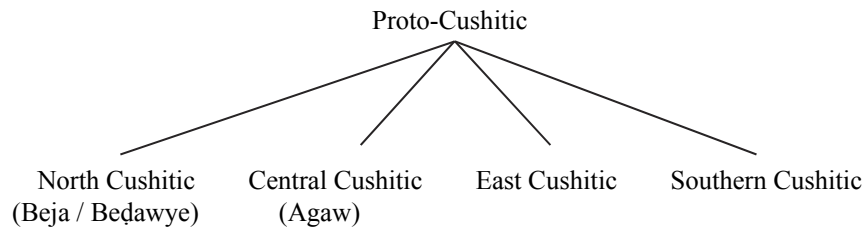
- A. †Guanche: †Guanche
- B. †East Numidian: †East Numidian (= Old Libyan)
- C. Berber proper:
  - 1. Eastern:
    - Siwa
    - Awjila-Sokna: Awjila, Sokna, Ghadames
  - 2. Tuareg:
    - a. Northern: Tamahaq
    - b. Southern: Tamazheq, Tamasheq
  - 3. Western: Zenaga
  - 4. Northern:
    - a. Atlas: Shilha, Tamazight
    - b. Kabyle: Kabyle
    - c. Zenati:
      - Shawiya, Tidikelt, Tuat, Riff, Ghmara, Tlemcen, Sheliff Basin
      - i. Mzab-Wargla: Guara, Mzab, Wargla, Ghardaia, Tugurt
      - ii. East Zenati: Tmagurt, Sened, Jerba, Tamezret, Taujjut, Zwara, Nefusi

Kossmann (2012:18) gets around the issue of subgrouping by giving a geographical distribution of the best known Berber languages and variants:

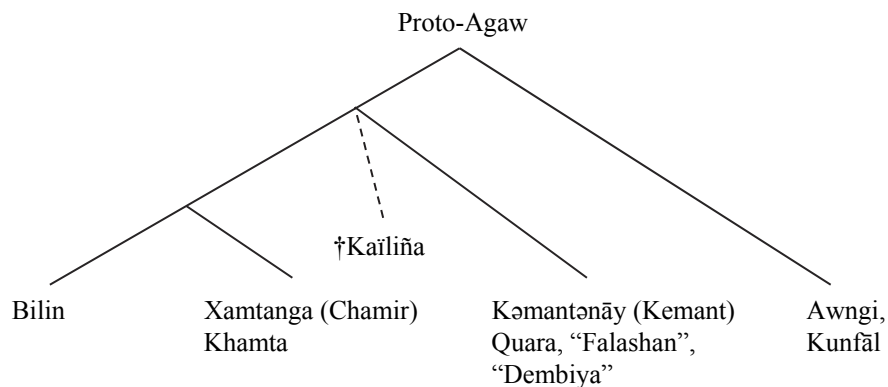
MAURITANIA: Southwest: Zenaga;  
 MOROCCO: Southwest: Tashelhiyt (also known as Chleuh, Shilha);  
           Central and Southeast: Central Moroccan Berber (also called Middle Atlas Berber, Tamazight);  
           North: Riffian (also Tarifiyt);  
           Northeast: Eastern Riffian (Beni Iznasen);  
           Northern Sahara: Figuig;  
 ALGERIA: Northwest: Beni Snous, Chenoua;  
           Northwest: Kabyle, Chaouia;  
           Northern Sahara: Ouargla, Mzab, Gourara, Touat (now extinct);  
 TUNISIA: Djerba;  
 LIBYA: Northwest: Djebel Nefusa;  
           Libyan Sahara: Ghadames, Awdjilah, Elfoqaha (now extinct), Sokna (now extinct);  
 EGYPT: Western Egyptian Sahara: Siwa

TUAREG: Algeria, Libya: Ahaggar;  
 Niger: Ayer, Iwellemmeden;  
 Mali: Adagh des Hoghas;  
 Burkina Faso: Oudalan.

CUSHITIC: Cushitic has four branches:



North Cushitic consists of a single language: Beja / Beɗawye. The subgrouping of Central Cushitic (Agaw) is as follows (cf. Appleyard 2006:4):

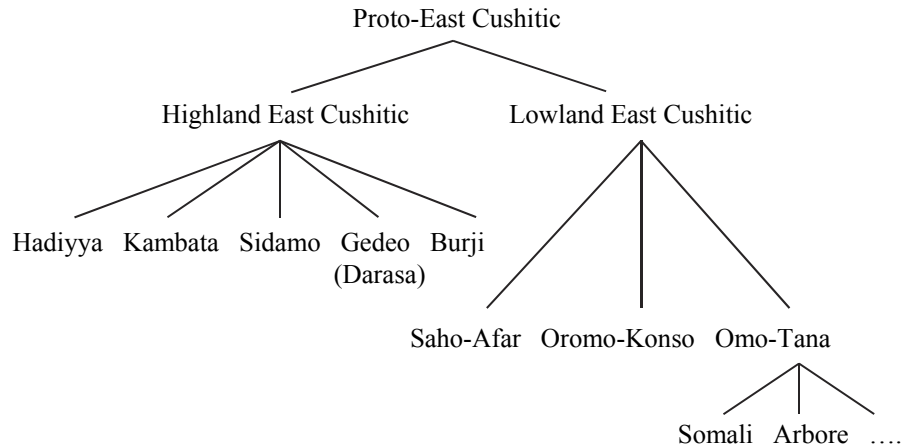


For East Cushitic, Sasse (1979:3—4) identifies the following modern languages, language groups, or dialect clusters:

1. Saho-Afar (dialect cluster).
2. Omo-Tana (language group, consisting of a western subgroup (Dasenech, Elmolo), an eastern subgroup (Somali, Rendille, Boni), and a northern subgroup).
3. Macro-Oromo or Oromoid (language group, consisting of Galla [Oromo] dialects, including Waata, and the Konso-Gidole group).
4. Sidamo group (language group, consisting of Sidamo, Darasa [Gedeo], Alaba, Kambata, Hadiyya / Libido, and some others).
5. Burji (language; formerly classified with the Sidamo group).
6. Dullay (dialect cluster, consisting of Gawwada, Gollango, Dobase, Harso, Tsamay, and some others; formerly called “Werizoid”).

7. Yaaku (Mogogodo; language).

Sasse's Burji-Sidamo group corresponds to Hudson's Highland East Cushitic, while the remainder are included in Hudson's Lowland East Cushitic, as shown below (cf. Hudson 1989:2):



For a slightly different subclassification, cf. Mous (2012:346).

Finally, Ehret (1980:132) gives the following subclassification for the Southern Cushitic branch:

Southern Cushitic:

(a) Rift branch:

(a.1) West Rift subgroup:

(i) *Iraqw, Gorowa*

(ii) Alagwa-Burunge:

*Burunge*

*Alagwa*

(a.2) East Rift subgroup:

(i) *Kw'adza*

(ii) *Asa*

(b) Mbuguan branch:

*Ma'a*

(c) Dahaloan branch:

*Dahalo*

OMOTIC: Various attempts at subclassification have been attempted (for details, cf. Amha 2012:425—434). Bender devotes a whole book to the study of Omotic subgrouping, based upon an analysis of morphology. He starts out (2000:2) by giving the following chart. Later (2000:221—235), he summarizes his findings and applies them to the problem of subgrouping.

1. Aroid: Ari (= Bako), Hamer-Bana-Kara, Dimé
2. Non-Aroid:
  - 2.1. Mao: Hozo-Sezo, Bambeshi-Diddesa, Ganza
  - 2.2. Dizoid: Dizi (= Maji), Sheko, Nayi
  - 2.3. TN (= ta / ne):
    - 2.3.1. Kefoid: Bworo (= Shinasha), Anfillo, Kefa-Mocha
    - 2.3.2. Yem (= Janjero)
    - 2.3.3. Gimira: Benc'-Shé
    - 2.3.4. Macro-Ometo:
      - 2.3.4.1. C'ara
      - 2.3.4.2. Ometo
        - Southeast: Koré, Zaysé, Gidicho, Gatsamé, Ganjulé
        - Northwest: Welaitta Cluster, Malo, Oyda, Basketo, Malé

CHADIC: The Chadic branch of Afrasian contains the largest number of daughter languages. Pereltsvaig (2012:206) places the number around 195 languages, while Frajzyngier—Shay (2012b:236) place the number between 140 and 160 languages (the exact number is still a matter of debate). Frajzyngier—Shay also note that the Chadic languages are the most typologically diverse Afrasian languages. Their subclassification is as follows (2012b:240):

#### West

- | A                | B                        |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Hausa         | 1. Bade, Ngizim          |
| 2. Bole          | 2. Miya, Pa'a            |
| Tangale          | 3. Guruntum, Saya (Za:r) |
| Bole             | 4. Don (Zodi)            |
| Pero             |                          |
| 3. Angas         |                          |
| Sura (Mwaghavul) |                          |
| Mupun            |                          |
| 4. Ron, Fyer     |                          |

#### Biu-Mandara

- | A                                    | B                         |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Ga'anda, Hwana (Hona), Jara, Tera | 1. Buduma, Kotoko, Logone |
| 2. Bura, Cibak, Margi                | 2. Musgu                  |
| 3. Bana, Higi, Kapsiki               | 3. Gidar                  |
| 4. Glavda, Guduf, Lamang, Hdi        |                           |
| 5. Ouldene, Zulgo                    |                           |
| 6. Sukun (Sukur)                     |                           |
| 7. Daba, Hina (Mina)                 |                           |
| 8. Bachama, Tsuvan                   |                           |

## East

## A

1. Somrai, Tumak
2. Lele, Nancere, Tobanga
3. Kera, Kwang

## B

1. Bidiya, Dangla, Migama, Mubi
2. Mukulu
3. Barain, Saba, Sokoro

## Masa

## Masa

## Mesme

## Musey

## Zime-Lame

## Zumaya

A more comprehensive subclassification is given by Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994. See also Newman 1977:4—7.

For alternative subgrouping schemata and alternative language names, cf. Ruhlen 1987:320—323, Blench 2000, and Orël—Stolbova 1995:xi—xiii. As can be clearly seen from the above discussion, there remain many uncertainties regarding the subgrouping of the Afrasian daughter languages, with the Chadic branch being particularly challenging.

#### 1.4. EXTERNAL RELATIONS

Research conducted over the past half century or so by linguists such as Vladislav Illič-Svityč, Aharon Dolgopolsky, Václav Blažek, and myself, among others, has tried to show that Afrasian is part of a larger grouping of languages known as the Nostratic Macrofamily. The most recent publication along these lines is my four-volume study entitled *A Comprehensive Introduction to Nostratic Comparative Linguistics: With Special Reference to Indo-European* (2014). This monograph is available for free download at academia.edu, scribd.com, and Internet Archive.

## CHAPTER TWO

### A SKETCH OF PROTO-AFRASIAN PHONOLOGY

#### 2.1. THE PROTO-AFRASIAN PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

Unlike the comparative-historical study of the Indo-European language family, which has a long history, the comparative-historical study of the Afrasian language family is still not far advanced, though enormous progress has been made in recent years. Even though the Semitic and Egyptian branches have been scientifically investigated rather thoroughly, several of the other branches are only now being examined, and there remain many modern Afrasian languages that are scarcely even known. Moreover, while a few of the daughter languages have written records going back many millennia, most of the daughter languages are only known from recent times. Given this state of affairs, it is not yet possible to reconstruct the Proto-Afrasian phonological system with absolute certainty in all areas. Some series (labials, dentals, velars, etc.) are fairly well established, but the sibilants, affricates, and fricative laterals, in particular, are far from being fully understood, and the reconstruction of labiovelars and postvelars is hotly contested. Nonetheless, preliminary conclusions are possible.

In general, I have followed the views of André Martinet (1975[1953]:248—261), David Cohen (1968:1299—1306), and Igor M. Diakonoff (1992:5—35), though I have made minor adjustments to their proposals (for example, the reconstruction of a series of palatalized velar stops for Proto-North Erythraean — see below, §2.9) on the basis of my own research.

One of the most notable characteristics of Afrasian consonantism is the system of triads found in the stops and affricates — each series (except the lateralized affricates) is composed of three contrasting members: (1) voiceless (aspirated), (2) voiced, and (3) glottalized (that is, ejectives — these are the so-called “emphatics” of Semitic grammar). The lateralized affricate series probably lacked a voiced member. Another significant characteristic is the presence of a glottal stop, a voiceless laryngeal fricative, voiced and voiceless velar fricatives, and voiced and voiceless pharyngeal fricatives. Proto-Afrasian may also have had a series of postvelars (*\*q*, *\*q̣*, *\*qʼ*).

The Proto-Afrasian phonological system may tentatively be reconstructed as follows (cf. Diakonoff—Porxomovsky—Stolbova 1987:9—29, especially p. 12; Diakonoff 1965:18—29, 1984, 1988:34—41, and 1992:5—35, especially p. 6; D. Cohen 1968:1300—1306; Orël—Stolbova 1995:xv—xxvii, especially p. xvi; Ehret 1995; Takács 2011):

## Stops and Affricates:

p	t	c	tʸ	tʈ	k	kʷ	(q)		
b	d	ʒ	dʸ	dʈ	g	gʷ	(g)		
pʼ	tʼ	cʼ	tʸʼ	tʈʼ	kʼ	kʷʼ	(qʼ)	(qʷʼ)	ʔ

## Fricatives:

f		s	sʸ		x	xʷ		h	ħ
		z			ɣ	(ɣʷ)			ʕ
		sʼ							

## Glides:

w y

## Nasals and Liquids:

m n ŋ l r

## Vowels:

i e a o u  
ii ee aa oo uu

Note: The voiceless stops and affricates were non-phonemically aspirated.

According to Diakonoff (1975:134—136), Proto-Afrasian had a vertical vowel system of \*ə and \*a as well as a series of syllabic resonants. In my opinion, the evidence from the non-Semitic branches of Afrasian does not appear to support the reconstruction of syllabic resonants for Proto-Afrasian. Diakonoff does not reconstruct long vowels for Proto-Afrasian.

In their *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*, Orël—Stolbova (1995:xvi) reconstruct a slightly reduced phonological system for Proto-Afrasian. They do not reconstruct a series of labialized velars, while they substitute the affricates \*č, \*č̣ (= \*čʰ), \*ž for my \*tʸ, \*tʸʼ, \*dʸ, respectively. On the other hand, they posit a full set of vowels (Orël—Stolbova 1995:xxi), as does Ehret (1995:55—57) — though, unlike Orël—Stolbova, Ehret posits phonemic long vowels as well:

Orël—Stolbova	i	ü			u
			e		o
				a	
Ehret	i, ii				u, uu
			e, ee		o, oo
				a, aa	

Other sounds have also been posited for Proto-Afrasian by several scholars — these include prenasalized labials (cf. Greenberg 1958:295—302 and 1965:88—92), postvelar stops, affricates, and/or fricatives (cf. Diakonoff 1974:595 and 1988:34, 39), and additional sibilants (Diakonoff 1965:21). Though it is by no means



impossible that some of these sounds may have belonged to the Proto-Afrasian phonological system, in my opinion, the arguments advanced so far to support their reconstruction are not entirely convincing.

## 2.2. THE EMPHATICS

In the Semitic branch, the so-called “emphatics” have three different realizations: (A) in Arabic, the emphatics have been described in the relevant literature as either uvularized (cf. Catford 1977:193) or pharyngealized consonants (cf. Al-Ani 1970:44—58; Catford 1977:193; Chomsky—Halle 1968:306); (B) in the Modern South Arabian languages (cf. Johnstone 1975:6—7, §2.1.2), the Semitic languages of Ethiopia (cf. Moscati 1964:23—24, §8.2), and several Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects (such as, for example, Urmian Nestorian Neo-Aramaic and Kurdistan Jewish Neo-Aramaic), the emphatics are glottalized — the glottalization is weak in Urmian Nestorian Neo-Aramaic; and (C) in several other Neo-Aramaic dialects (such as, for example, Tūr-‘Abdīn), the emphatics are realized as unaspirated voiceless stops (cf. Dolgopolsky 1977:1) — here, the non-emphatic voiceless stops are distinguished from the emphatics by the presence of the feature of aspiration.

Circumstantial evidence indicates that the emphatics may also have been glottalized in Akkadian, Ancient Hebrew (cf. Rendsburg 1997:73), and the oldest Aramaic: (A) In Akkadian, when two emphatics cooccurred in a root, one of them was changed into the corresponding non-emphatic (Geers’ Law), thus:  $t \sim k/s > t \sim k/s$ ;  $k \sim s > k \sim s$ ;  $k \sim t > k \sim t$  (cf. Ungnad—Matouš 1969:27). Now, a constraint similar to that described by Geers’ Law is found in several languages having ejectives (cf. Hopper 1973:160—161). According to this constraint, two ejectives cannot cooccur in a root. Thus, if we take the emphatics of Akkadian to have been ejectives, then Geers’ Law finds a perfectly natural explanation as a manifestation of this constraint. (B) Pharyngealization is not incompatible with voicing, but glottalization is (cf. Greenberg 1970:125—127, §2.2). Thus, Arabic has voiced as well as voiceless emphatics (cf. Al-Ani 1970:44—58; Ambros 1977:8—10 and 13—14). In Hebrew and Aramaic, however, the emphatics are never voiced (cf. Cantineau 1952:93; Moscati 1964:23—24), and the same is most likely true for Akkadian and Ugaritic as well. (C) Pharyngealization is always accompanied by the backing of contiguous vowels (cf. Hyman 1975:49; Ladefoged 1971:63—64). Similar backing is sometimes also found in conjunction with glottalization. Indeed, in all of the Neo-Aramaic dialects mentioned above, vowels are always backed when next to emphatic consonants, regardless of how the emphatics are realized. However, while backing of adjacent vowels is a mandatory corollary of pharyngealization, it is optional with glottalization. Therefore, since the emphatics of Arabic are pharyngealized, contiguous vowels are always backed (cf. Al-Ani 1970:23—24; Cantineau 1952:92; Martinet 1975[1959]:237). No such backing is observable in either Akkadian or Hebrew (cf. Cantineau 1952:93; Martinet 1975[1959]:237—238; Moscati 1964:23—24).

Both Greenberg (1970:127) and Martinet (1975[1959]:251) have pointed out that it is common for languages having ejectives to lack the bilabial member (cf. also Gamkrelidze 1978:17 and 1981:587—589). Now, it is extremely unlikely that Proto-Semitic possessed a bilabial emphatic (cf. Cantineau 1952:80—81; Moscati 1964:25). A gap at this point of articulation would be easy to understand if the emphatics had been ejectives in Proto-Semitic. Though an emphatic bilabial must be reconstructed for Proto-Afrasian, it was extremely rare (cf. Ehret 1995:77). Such a low frequency of occurrence agrees fully with the distributional patterning of bilabial ejectives in attested languages having such sounds.

The cumulative evidence leaves little doubt that the emphatics were glottalized (ejectives) in Proto-Semitic and not pharyngealized as in Arabic. This conclusion is also reached by Bergsträsser (1928:5 and 1983:4), Cantineau (1952:91—94), Del Olmo Lete (2003:89), Martinet (1975[1959]:238 and 1975[1953]:250—252), Rubin (2010:24), Steiner (1977:155), Stempel (1999:64—67), and Zemánek (1996:50—53), among others. Lipiński (1997:105—106), on the other hand, supports the traditional view that pharyngealization was primary. According to Dolgopolsky (1977:1—13), the pharyngealized emphatics of Arabic can be derived from earlier ejectives through the following steps:

1. The earliest Arabic inherited the triple contrast voiceless aspirated ~ voiced ~ glottalized from Proto-Semitic.
2. First, vowels were backed when next to emphatic consonants.
3. Next, the glottalization was weakened and eventually lost. Non-emphatic voiceless consonants were then distinguished from emphatics by the presence of the feature of aspiration. Furthermore, vowels were backed when next to emphatics but not when next to non-emphatics. (This is the stage of development reached by the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Ṭūr-ʿAbdīn.)
4. Lastly, aspiration was lost, and the emphatics were distinguished from the non-emphatic voiceless consonants solely by backing (that is, pharyngealization).

The evidence from the other branches of Afrasian supports the contention that the emphatics were ejectives not only in Proto-Semitic but in Proto-Afrasian as well (cf. D. Cohen 1968:1301—1303; Diakonoff 1988:35).

The emphatics were lost as a separate series in Ancient Egyptian (cf. Loprieno 1995:32; Vergote 1971:43). The velar emphatic *\*kʼ* became the voiceless postvelar stop *q*, while the remaining emphatics merged with the voiceless unaspirated consonants. The developments probably went as follows:

1. The earliest Egyptian inherited the triple contrast voiceless aspirated ~ voiced ~ glottalized from Proto-Afrasian.
2. First, the voiced consonants became devoiced. The resulting system had the contrast voiceless aspirated ~ voiceless unaspirated ~ glottalized.
3. Next, the emphatics other than *\*kʼ* became deglottalized and merged with the voiceless unaspirated stops. It is not difficult to understand why *\*kʼ* would have

remained longer than the other emphatics since back articulation (velar and postvelar) is the unmarked point of articulation for ejectives (cf. Greenberg 1970:127—129, §2.3).

4. Finally, *\*k'* became *q*. (We may note that a similar development is found in several East Cushitic languages, Somali being one example.)

In the modern Berber languages, the emphatics are pharyngealized as in Arabic (cf. D. Cohen 1968:1302; Penchoen 1973:7, §2.3.1[a]; Lipiński 1997:105; Kossmann—Stroemer 1997:464; Kossmann 2012:25; Frajzyngier 2012:509). Both voiced and voiceless emphatics exist. We may assume that the pharyngealized emphatics found in the Berber languages are due to secondary developments. No doubt, the emphatics developed in Berber in much the same way as they did in Arabic.

Of the modern Chadic languages, Angas, Dangaleat, Ga'anda, Higi, Margi, Tera, and Sayanci, for instance, have implosives, while Hausa has implosives in the bilabial and dental series but ejectives in the sibilant and velar series corresponding to the Semitic emphatics (for details, cf. Ruhlen 1975). According to Newman (1977:9, §2.1), a series of implosives is to be reconstructed here for Proto-Chadic: *\*ɓ*, *\*ɗ*, *\*ɠ* (Newman writes *\*'J*). Jungraithmayr—Shimizu (1981:19—20), however, reconstruct a system for Proto-Chadic similar to what is found in Hausa, with bilabial and dental implosives and sibilant and velar ejectives. Orël—Stolbova (1995:xviii) reconstruct ejectives for Common Chadic: *\*t'*, *\*k'* (they write *\*t*, *\*k*, respectively; they do not reconstruct a bilabial member). Finally, Ehret (1995) mostly follows Jungraithmayr—Shimizu. Martinet (1970:113, §4.28) notes that ejectives can develop into implosives through a process of anticipation of the voice of the following vowel, thus (see also Fallon 2002:281—284):

$$p' \ t' \ k' > ɓ \ ɗ \ ɠ$$

Thus, if we follow Martinet, as I think we must, the implosives found in various Chadic daughter languages can be seen as having developed from earlier ejectives at the Proto-Chadic level.

The Cushitic and Omotic languages provide the strongest evidence in favor of interpreting the emphatics of Proto-Afrasian as ejectives. The Cushitic languages Awngi (Awiya) and Galab possess neither implosives nor ejectives and can, therefore, be left out of consideration since they do not represent the original state of affairs. Of the remaining Cushitic languages, Beja (Bedawye), for example, has the voiceless and voiced retroflexes *t* and *d* (cf. Maddieson 1984:316, no. 261; Ruhlen 1975:167); Oromo (Galla) has the implosive *ɗ* plus the ejectives *p'*, *t'*, *ɕ'*, *k'* (*t'* is found in loanwords or in roots of a descriptive nature [cf. Sasse 1979:26]) (cf. Ruhlen 1975:197 — Ruhlen gives long and short retroflex implosives); Bilin has the ejectives *t'*, *ɕ'*, *k'* (cf. Ruhlen 1975:169); Somali has the retroflex *d* (from earlier *\*d*) and the voiceless postvelar *q* (uvular stop with voiced, voiceless, and fricative allophones, all from earlier *\*k'*) (cf. Maddieson 1984:314, no. 258 — Maddieson gives long and short laryngealized voiced retroflexes; Ruhlen 1975:269 — Ruhlen

gives long and short dental implosives; Sasse 1979:25 and 47); and Iraqw has the affricate ejective *c'* and the voiceless postvelars *q* and *q<sup>w</sup>* (from earlier *\*k'* and *\*k<sup>w</sup>*, respectively) plus, marginally, *b* and *d'* (cf. Maddieson 1984:315, no. 260; Ruhlen 1975:210); Dahalo has the ejectives *p'*, *t'*, *c'*, *tʃ'*, (*č'*), *k'*, and *k<sup>w</sup>* (cf. Ehret 1980:126). For information on the East Cushitic languages, cf. Sasse 1979 and Hudson 1989; for the Southern Cushitic languages, cf. Ehret 1980.

Of the modern Omotic languages, Kafa (Kefa) has the ejectives *p'*, *t'*, *c'*, *k'* (cf. Maddieson 1984:317, no. 264; Ruhlen 1975:219); Dizi has the ejectives *t'*, *č'*, *k'* (cf. Maddieson 1984:317, no. 263); Welamo has the ejectives *p'*, *t'*, *c'*, *k<sup>y</sup>*, *k'*, *s'* (cf. Ruhlen 1975:288); while Hamar (Hamer) has the velar ejective *k'* plus the implosives *b*, *d*, and *g* (cf. Maddieson 1984:318, no. 265). For additional information on Kafa, Dizi, and Hamar, see Bender (ed.) 1976; for other Omotic languages, cf. Hayward (ed.) 1990 and Amha 2012:434—438. For details about the development of the emphatics in the Afrasian daughter languages as a group, cf. Diakonoff 1965:18—29, 1988:34—41, and 1992:56—64; D. Cohen 1968:1301—1303.

### 2.3. BILABIALS

There can be no question that Proto-Semitic contained *\*p*, *\*b*, and *\*m*. The *f* found in Arabic, South Arabian, and Ethiopian Semitic is an innovation and can easily be derived from earlier *\*p* (cf. Moscati 1964:24—25, §8.6; O'Leary 1923:62; Lipiński 1997:109). Several modern Eastern Arabic dialects have *p* in loanwords (cf. Lipiński 1997:109). In Hebrew and Aramaic, /p/ and /b/ have the non-phonemic allophones /p̥/ and /β/, respectively (cf. Bergsträsser 1928:37—38 and 62, 1983:51 and 79; Lipiński 1997:113—114; Moscati 1964:26—27, §8.10; O'Leary 1923:88—89; Rendsburg 1997:74—75). Ethiopian Semitic languages have a voiceless bilabial emphatic *p'*, but this is most likely of Cushitic origin and is not an inherited phoneme (cf. Lipiński 1997:110).

Semitic correspondences (cf. Bergsträsser 1928:4 and 1983:3; Gray 1934:10—11; Lipiński 1997:109—116; Moscati 1964:24—27 and 43—45; O'Leary 1923:62—63; Stempel 1999:44—45; Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:136):

Proto-Semitic	*p	*b	*m
Akkadian	p	b	m
Ugaritic	p	b	m
Hebrew	פ /p/	ב /b/	מ /m/
Aramaic	פ /p/	ב /b/	מ /m/
Arabic	ف /f/	ب /b/	م /m/
Epigraphic South Arabian	f	b	m
Geez / Ethiopic	f	b	m

Notes:

1. Each language is given in traditional transcription.
2. Hebrew, Aramaic (= Hebrew), and Arabic scripts are included in this as well as in the following tables in addition to transliterations.
3. The voiceless stops were probably voiceless aspirates (that is, /p<sup>h</sup>/, /t<sup>h</sup>/, /k<sup>h</sup>/) in Proto-Semitic (cf. Cantineau 1952:90—91; Martinet 1975[1953]:250) as well as in Proto-Afrasian (cf. D. Cohen 1968:1303). The aspiration was phonemically non-distinctive.

The material from the other Afrasian branches supports the assumption that Proto-Afrasian also had the bilabials *\*p*, *\*b*, and *\*m* (cf. D. Cohen 1968:1305).

Diakonoff (1965:20) reconstructs an emphatic bilabial, which he writes *\*ḑ*, for Proto-Semitic. However, as he himself admits, the evidence for this sound is extremely weak. It is best to agree with Cantineau (1952:80—81) and Moscati (1964:25, §8.7) that an emphatic bilabial should not be reconstructed for Proto-Semitic. However, a glottalized bilabial must be reconstructed for Proto-Afrasian (cf. Diakonoff 1988:35; Ehret 1995:77). This sound was characterized by an extremely low frequency of occurrence.

According to Greenberg (1958:295—302 and 1965:88—92), two additional labials should be reconstructed for Proto-Afrasian: *\*f* and *\*mb*. While he has made a strong case for *\*f* separate from *\*p*, his theories concerning *\*mb* are not convincing and have been successfully argued against by Illič-Svityč (1966:9—34). Illič-Svityč considers *\*mb* to contain a prefix *\*m-*.

Afrasian correspondences (cf. Diakonoff 1988:35 and 1992:10—13; Ehret 1995:77—79; Orël—Stolbova 1995:xviii—xix and xx; Takács 2011:98):

Proto-Afrasian	<i>*p</i>	<i>*b</i>	<i>*p'</i>	<i>*f</i>	<i>*m</i>
Proto-Semitic	<i>*p</i>	<i>*b</i>	<i>*b</i>	<i>*p</i>	<i>*m</i>
Ancient Egyptian	p □	b 𓂏	b 𓂏	f 𓂏	m 𓂏
Proto-Berber	<i>*f</i>	<i>*ḑ</i> (?)	?	<i>*f</i>	<i>*m</i>
Proto-East Cushitic	<i>*f</i>	<i>*b</i>	?	<i>*f</i>	<i>*m</i>
Proto-Southern Cushitic	<i>*p</i>	<i>*b</i>	<i>*p'</i>	<i>*f</i>	<i>*m</i>
Proto-Chadic	<i>*p</i>	<i>*b</i>	<i>*p'</i>	<i>*f</i>	<i>*m</i>

Note: Ancient Egyptian is given in traditional transcription. It should be noted, however, that the phonemes traditionally transcribed as /b/, /d/, /ḏ/, /g/, /q/ were probably the voiceless unaspirated consonants /p/, /t/, /č/, /k/, /q/, respectively, while the phonemes traditionally transcribed as /p/, /t/, /ṭ/, /k/ were probably the voiceless aspirated consonants /p<sup>h</sup>/, /t<sup>h</sup>/, /č<sup>h</sup>/, /k<sup>h</sup>/, respectively (cf. Allen 2013:37—56; Loprieno 1995:32—34 [Loprieno interprets the traditional voiced stops as ejectives]; Vergote 1971:43). The

most comprehensive treatment of Egyptian phonology is Peust 1999 — Peust (1999:83—84) supports Vergote's views on this matter.

## 2.4. DENTALS

It is quite evident from the following correspondences that Proto-Semitic had *\*t*, *\*d*, *\*t'*, and *\*n*. In Hebrew and Aramaic, /t/ and /d/ have the non-phonemic allophones /θ/ and /ð/, respectively (cf. Moscati 1964:26—27, §8.10). In Akkadian, Hebrew, and Epigraphic South Arabian, *n* becomes *m* in mimation (cf. Diakonoff 1965:28, note 2, and 61—62; Moscati 1964:96—100).

Semitic correspondences (cf. Moscati 1964:43—45; Lipiński 1997:116—117; Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:128—136; Gray 1934:10—11; Stempel 1999:43—44; O'Leary 1923:53):

Proto-Semitic	*t	*d	*t'	*n
Akkadian	t	d	ṭ	n
Ugaritic	t	d	ṭ	n
Hebrew	ת /t/	ד /d/	ט /t'/	נ /n/
Aramaic	ת /t/	ד /d/	ט /t'/	נ /n/
Arabic	ت /t/	د /d/	ط /t'/	ن /n/
Epigraphic South Arabian	t	d	ṭ	n
Geez / Ethiopic	t	d	ṭ	n

The data from the remaining Afrasian branches leave no doubt that Proto-Afrasian also had the dentals *\*t*, *\*d*, *\*t'*, and *\*n* (cf. D. Cohen 1968:1304). Secondary palatalization of the dentals before front vowels is a widespread phenomenon, being especially common in the Semitic languages of Ethiopia and in Chadic.

Afrasian correspondences (cf. Diakonoff 1988:35 and 1992:13—14; Ehret 1995:120—124; Orël—Stolbova 1995:xviii—xix and xx; Takács 2011:98):

Proto-Afrasian	*t	*d	*t'	*n
Proto-Semitic	*t	*d	*t'	*n
Ancient Egyptian	t 𓂀	d 𓂁	d 𓂁	n 𓂂
Proto-Berber	*t	*d	*t' *ḏ	*n
Proto-East Cushitic	*t	*d	*d'	*n
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*t *ṭ	*d	*d' *t'	*n
Proto-Chadic	*t	*d	*t'	*n

Note: The reconstruction of Proto-Berber is not very advanced. Consequently, the reflexes given in this and other tables should be considered provisional.

## 2.5. DENTAL AFFRICATES

On the surface, the Semitic correspondences appear to indicate that a series of sibilants should be reconstructed here for Proto-Semitic, and, as a matter of fact, sibilants are posited in the standard handbooks (cf. Bergsträsser 1928:4 and 1983:3; Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:128—136; O’Leary 1923:53—62; Gray 1934:8; Moscati 1964:33—37; Wright 1890:57—64). There is some evidence, however, that at least some examples involving this series were originally composed of dental affricates instead (cf. M. Cohen 1947:141, 143, and 145; Diakonoff 1965:20—21, 1974:595, and 1992:16—22, 36—55; Faber 1981:233—262; Martinet 1975[1953]:253—254; Takács 2011:21—26): *\*c* /t͡s/, *\*ṣ* /d͡z/, and *\*cʻ* /t͡sʻ/. This does not mean that the independent existence of sibilants in the Semitic parent language is to be excluded. On the contrary, in addition to the dental affricates, Proto-Semitic may also have had a full set of sibilants, namely, *\*s*, *\*z*, *\*sʻ*, and *\*sʻ* (traditional *\*s*, *\*z*, *\*š*, and *\*š*), though opinions differ on this matter.

The primary evidence for earlier dental affricates comes from Hebrew and Akkadian (cf. Diakonoff 1965:20—21). First the emphatic sibilant, ʕ /s/, is traditionally pronounced as a dental affricate in Hebrew, and, as noted by Cantineau (1952:83), this pronunciation is not a recent or secondary development (see also Steiner 1982). Lipiński (1997:125), however, considers this pronunciation to be an innovation. Next, it is now known that the Hittite cuneiform syllabary was borrowed at the beginning of the second millennium BCE directly from the form of Old Akkadian then written in Northern Syria (cf. Gamkrelidze 1968:91—92) and not from Hurrian as previously thought (cf. Sturtevant 1951:2—3, §5). The Hittite syllabary contains signs that are transliterated with a *z* but which, in fact, represent the dental affricate /t͡s/ (cf. Sturtevant 1951:14—15, §25). This seems to indicate that the <*z*> of Old Akkadian was pronounced as an affricate (cf. Martinet 1975[1953]:254). Also worth noting is the fact that the Hittite scribes employed the cuneiform signs containing <š> to represent /s/ (cf. Sturtevant 1951:25, §50). Since the Akkadian cuneiform syllabary contained signs traditionally transliterated as *s* in addition to those transliterated as *š*, we must conclude that the Hittite scribes chose the latter signs because they were closer to their sibilant than the former. We may venture a guess that the Hittites chose the *š*-signs because the *s*-signs represented affricates in Akkadian at the time when they adopted the cuneiform writing system. This conclusion is supported by the Hurrian evidence, where, according to Diakonoff (1965:21), the cuneiform signs with <*z*> and <*s*> are used to denote affricates (see also Diakonoff—Starostin 1986:13—15 for a discussion of Hurrian phonology and 1986:11—13 for a discussion of the closely-related Urartian; see also Speiser 1941:50—68).

Additional evidence for affricate pronunciation comes from Egyptian material dating from the second millennium BCE. In transcribing Semitic words and names, Egyptian fairly consistently uses *ṯ* (= /č/ or, better, /čʰ/) for (traditional) *s* in the Semitic words and *ḏ* (= /ʒ/ or, better, /ʒ/) for (traditional) *z* and *š* in the Semitic words (cf. Diakonoff 1988:36; for examples, cf. Albright 1934:33—67).



Finally, Cantineau (1952:83), Lipiński (1997:125), Stempel (1999:52), and M. Cohen (1947:145) briefly mention the fact that Proto-Semitic \**c*' (traditional \**š*) is mostly pronounced as either an affricate or a dental stop in the Semitic languages of Ethiopia.

For details on the developments in the Semitic daughter languages, see Diakonoff 1992:36—55 and Moscati 1964:33—37.

Note David Cohen's (1968:1304) remarks, which summarize the above points rather nicely:

As for the three phonemes that are, at the present time, realized everywhere as sibilants, it seems necessary to assume that they were formerly realized as affricates. Such a pronunciation, at least for the emphatic member, is traditional among certain Jews in reading Biblical Hebrew. Furthermore, it is attested in Ethiopic. There are important arguments in favor [of such an interpretation] on the basis of external evidence: in particular, the Hittite use of the Akkadian sign interpreted as *z* to indicate an affricate.

Semitic correspondences (cf. Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:128—136; Gray 1934:11; Lipiński 1997:122—126; Moscati 1964:34 and 43—45; O'Leary 1923:53; Stempel 1999:51):

Proto-Semitic	* <i>c</i>	* <i>ʕ</i>	* <i>c</i> '
Akkadian	s	z	š
Ugaritic	s	z	š
Hebrew	ס /s/	ז /z/	ש /š/
Aramaic	ס /s/	ז /z/	ש /š/
Arabic	س /s/	ز /z/	ص /š/
Epigraphic South Arabian	s <sup>3</sup>	z	š
Geez / Ethiopic	s	z	š

In the other branches of Afrasian, sibilants, affricates, and dentals correspond to Proto-Semitic \**c* /*ts*/, \**ʕ* /*dz*/, and \**c*' /*ts'*/ (cf. M. Cohen 1947:141—147; Ehret 1995:251—254; Diakonoff 1965:26). The developments found in all branches of Afrasian can best be accounted for by reconstructing a series of dental affricates for Proto-Afrasian (cf. D. Cohen 1968:1304; Diakonoff 1988:36—39; Orël—Stolbova 1995:xix; Ehret 1995:251—254). It may be noted that this series is well preserved in Southern Cushitic and that it has even endured to the present day in Dahalo (cf. Ehret 1980:33). Finally, it should be mentioned here that affricates have arisen through secondary developments in all branches of Afrasian.

Afrasian correspondences (cf. Diakonoff 1988:36—39 and 1992:16—22, 36—55; Ehret 1995:251—254; Orël—Stolbova 1995:xix; Takács 2011:98):



Proto-Afrasian	*c	*ɟ	*c'
Proto-Semitic	*c	*ɟ	*c'
Ancient Egyptian	s	z —	d ʿ
Proto-Berber	*s	*z	*d *z
Proto-East Cushitic	*s	*z	*d <sub>1</sub>
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*c	*ɟ	*c'
Proto-Chadic	*c	*ɟ	*c'

Note: Ehret (1980) writes *\*ts*, *\*dz*, *\*ts'* for Proto-Southern Cushitic.

## 2.6. PALATALIZED ALVEOLARS

Opinions differ as to whether a series of palato-alveolar affricates (that is, *\*č* /tʃ/, *\*ǰ* /dʒ/, and *\*č'* /tʃ'/) or palatalized alveolars (that is, *\*ɟʷ*, *\*dʷ*, *\*tʷ*) are to be reconstructed for Proto-Afrasian. Diakonoff (1988:34 and 36—39), for example, favors palato-alveolar affricates, which he writes *\*č*, *\*ǰ*, *\*č'*, as do Ehret (1995:251—254), Takács (2011:27—31), and Orël—Stolbova (1995:xvi), while David Cohen (1968:1304) favors palatalized alveolars — Cohen notes:

There is a problem with the series generally defined, based upon [the evidence of] Arabic, as consisting of interdental. But, outside of Common Arabic, these sounds are represented, depending upon the language, sometimes as palato-alveolar fricatives, sometimes as sibilants, and sometimes as plain dental stops. Such correspondences can only be explained clearly if the series in question is considered to have been in Proto-Hamito-Semitic, as well as in Proto-Semitic, made up of palatals.

Moscatti (1964:27—30) reconstructs interdentals (IPA [θ], [ð], and [θ']) for Proto-Semitic on the basis of the Arabic reflexes, and this is the reconstruction found in all of the standard handbooks (cf. Bergsträsser 1928:4 and 1983:3; Brockelmann 1916:53—54; Gragg—Hoberman 2012:153; Gray 1934:8—10; O'Leary 1923:53—60; Lipiński 1997:117—122). Cantineau (1952:81—82), however, reconstructs earlier (palato-)alveolars (*apicales «à pointe basse»*) — he notes:

But it is difficult to determine whether it is a question at the Semitic level of true fricatives or of affricates...

Martinet (1975[1953]:257—258) posits palatalized alveolar stops for Proto-Semitic. Martinet's reconstructions, which have as their basis not only the data from the Semitic daughter languages but also Martinet's extensive knowledge of phonology in general, this knowledge being derived from the study of a wide variety of languages from different language families, surely comes closest to the truth. Thus,

the developments found in the Semitic daughter languages can best be explained by reconstructing a series of palatalized alveolar stops for Proto-Semitic:  $*t^y$ ,  $*d^y$ ,  $*t^y$ . Stempel (1999:46—50) also posits palatalized alveolars here. Ehret (1995:251—254, especially the charts on pp. 251 and 253) reconstructs interdentalals for Proto-Semitic but leaves open the possibility that this series may have been composed of palatalized alveolars instead.

The oldest Akkadian may have preserved this series. According to Gelb (1961:35—39), Old Akkadian  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ <sub>3</sub> corresponds to Hebrew  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$  and Arabic  $\text{\textcircled{t}}$  (from Proto-Semitic  $*t^y$ , traditional  $*t$ ), while  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ <sub>4</sub> may correspond to Hebrew  $\text{\textcircled{z}}$  and Arabic  $\text{\textcircled{d}}$  (from Proto-Semitic  $*d^y$ , traditional  $*d$ ).  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ <sub>3</sub> and  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ <sub>4</sub> are distinct from  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ <sub>1</sub> and  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ <sub>2</sub>, which represent Proto-Semitic  $*š$  and  $*tʃ$  (traditional  $*š$  [Diakonoff 1988:34 writes  $*š$ ]), respectively (cf. Gelb 1961:35). Cf. here also Diakonoff 1965:21, note 25, and 1992:36—55.

Semitic correspondences (cf. Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:128—136; Lipiński 1997:117—122; Gray 1934:11; Moscati 1964:43—45; O’Leary 1923:53; Stempel 1999:46—50):

Proto-Semitic	$*t^y$	$*d^y$	$*t^y$
Akkadian	$\text{\textcircled{S}}$	$\text{\textcircled{z}}$	$\text{\textcircled{S}}$
Ugaritic	$\text{\textcircled{t}}$	$\text{\textcircled{d}}$	$\text{\textcircled{t}}$
Hebrew	$\text{\textcircled{W}}$ /š/	$\text{\textcircled{r}}$ /z/	$\text{\textcircled{Z}}$ /s/
Aramaic	$\text{\textcircled{n}}$ /t/	$\text{\textcircled{r}}$ /d/	$\text{\textcircled{D}}$ /t/
Arabic	$\text{\textcircled{t}}$ /t/	$\text{\textcircled{d}}$ /d/	$\text{\textcircled{Z}}$ /z/
Epigraphic South Arabian	$\text{\textcircled{t}}$	$\text{\textcircled{d}}$	$\text{\textcircled{Z}}$
Geez / Ethiopic	s	z	š

Note: In Epigraphic South Arabian, Proto-Semitic  $*t^y$  became an interdental emphatic (cf. Kogan—Korotayev 1997:222; Stempel 1999:46—50; Lipiński 1997:117—122). This is transcribed as both /z/ and /t/ in the literature.

In the other branches of Afrasian, palato-alveolar affricates, dentals, and palatalized alveolar stops correspond to Proto-Semitic  $*t^y$ ,  $*d^y$ ,  $*t^y$ . The correspondences from all branches of Afrasian can more effectively be explained by setting up a series of palatalized alveolar stops for the Afrasian parent language than by setting up a series of palato-alveolar affricates (cf. D. Cohen 1968:1304) — note that, in addition to Proto-Semitic, such a reconstruction is strongly supported by Proto-Southern Cushitic. On this basis, in addition to other evidence, Ehret (1995:251) favors such an interpretation as well — Ehret writes  $*c$ ,  $*j$ ,  $*c'$  ( $= *t^y$ ,  $*d^y$ ,  $*t^y$ ). Orël—Stolbova (1995:xvi), on the other hand, favor palato-alveolar affricates, which they write  $*č$ ,  $*ž$ ,  $*č$ .

Afrasian correspondences (cf. Diakonoff 1988:36—39, 1992:16—22 and 36—55; Ehret 1995:251—254; Orël—Stolbova 1995:xix; Takács 2011:98):

Proto-Afrasian	*tʸ	*dʸ	*tʰy
Proto-Semitic	*tʸ	*dʸ	*tʰy
Ancient Egyptian	t̪	d̪	d̪
Proto-Berber	*s	*z	*d *z
Proto-East Cushitic	*t	*d	*d₁
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*tʸ	*dʸ	*tʰy
Proto-Chadic	*č	*ž	*čʰ

## 2.7. SIBILANTS

The Semitic sibilants have been the subject of much controversy (cf. especially Beeston 1962:222—231; Buccellati 1997b:18—22; Faber 1981:233—262; Murtonen 1966:135—150). Though there are many points of agreement among Semiticists, there is still no consensus on the number of sibilants to be reconstructed for Proto-Semitic. The sibilants remain one of the most perplexing problems in both Semitic and Afrasian comparative phonology.

According to the traditional reconstruction, Proto-Semitic is assumed to have had the following sibilants (cf. Gray 1934:8; Lipiński 1997:122—129; Moscati 1964:33—37; O’Leary 1923:53—62): \*s, \*z, \*š, \*ś, and \*ś, to which Diakonoff (1965:21) tried to add \*ś. \*s and \*ś merged into s in Classical Arabic (cf. Moscati 1964:36; Lipiński 1997:124) and Ethiopian Semitic (cf. Moscati 1964:37, §8.37; Lipiński 1997:125—126). However, ś has reappeared in modern Arabic dialects and modern Ethiopian Semitic languages through secondary developments (cf. Lipiński 1997:125—126).

As noted in the discussion of the dental affricates, it seems fairly certain that the traditional \*s, \*z, and \*š are to be at least partially reinterpreted as the dental affricates \*c, \*z, and \*cʰ, respectively, at the Proto-Semitic level.

Next, following Martinet (1975[1953]:253), \*ś is to be reinterpreted as a voiceless lateralized affricate \*tʃ (see also Steiner 1977, though Steiner prefers a fricative lateral \*ʃ over an affricate).

Finally, it may be noted that Diakonoff’s (1965:21) attempt to reconstruct an additional sibilant for Proto-Semitic, which he writes \*ś, has received little support from fellow Semiticists. Diakonoff set up this sibilant on a purely theoretical basis, noting that it was not preserved in any of the Afrasian daughter languages, with the possible exception of the most ancient stage of Old Akkadian, where it is alleged to have become ś [ś].

Semitic correspondences (cf. Bergsträsser 1928:4, table 2, and 1983:3, table 2; Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:128—136; Gray 1934:11; Moscati 1964: 44—45; O’Leary 1923:53; Stempel 1999:51—56):

Proto-Semitic	*s	*z	*s'	*sy
Akkadian	s	z	š	š
Ugaritic	s	z	š	š
Hebrew	ס /s/	ז /z/	צ /š/	ש /š/
Aramaic	ס /s/	ז /z/	צ /š/	ש /š/
Arabic	س /s/	ز /z/	ص /š/	س /s/
Epigraphic South Arabian	s <sup>3</sup>	z	š	s <sup>1</sup>
Geez / Ethiopic	s	z	š	s

Certain correspondences between Semitic and the other branches of Afrasian indicate that, at the very least, the sibilants \*s and \*sy are to be reconstructed for Proto-Afrasian, and these are the two sibilants reconstructed by Diakonoff (1988:34 and 1992:6), though he writes \*š instead of \*sy. Orël—Stolbova (1995:xvi), on the other hand, reconstruct only \*s for Proto-Afrasian, while Ehret (1995:120—124 and 251—253) reconstructs the most complete set: \*s, \*z, \*s', and \*š. The following correspondences are based primarily upon Ehret's work, though I disagree with him concerning the Semitic reflexes, and I write \*sy for his \*š — these are all very, very provisional:

Proto-Afrasian	*s	*z	*s'	*sy
Proto-Semitic	*s	*z	*s'	*sy
Ancient Egyptian	ṣ	z —	?	š ≡ s
Proto-Berber	*s	*z	*z	*s
Proto-East Cushitic	*s	*z	?	*s
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*s	*z	*c'	*š
Proto-Chadic	*s	?	*s'	*s

## 2.8. FRICATIVE LATERALS/LATERALIZED AFFRICATES

The Modern South Arabian languages contain the fricative laterals *ś* and *ž*, that is, /ɬ/ and /ʒ/, respectively (cf. Johnstone 1975:7, §2.1.3; Steiner 1977:20). The voiceless fricative lateral *ś* corresponds to sibilants in the other Semitic languages (excluding Hebrew, for the moment): Mehri, Jibbāli (formerly called Šheri), Ḥarsūsi, Soqotri *ś*, Epigraphic South Arabian *s*<sup>2</sup> (*ś*) = Akkadian *š*, Ugaritic *š*, Aramaic *s*, Arabic *š*, Geez (Classical Ethiopic) *š*. In Hebrew, however, a special character, adapted from šin (ש) and transliterated as *ś* (שׁ), appears in words whose cognates in the South Arabian languages contain fricative laterals (cf. Moscati 1964:33—34, §8.29). The evidence of Hebrew, coupled with that of the South Arabian languages, makes it seem likely that Proto-Semitic contained the voiceless lateralized affricate \*tʃ (cf. Martinet 1975[1953]:253). Cantineau (1952:84—87)

and Steiner (1977:155—156), however, would rather posit a voiceless fricative lateral *\*ɬ* for Proto-Semitic. Stempel (1999:60) notes that either *\*ɬ* or *\*tɬ* can be reconstructed. I prefer lateralized affricates to fricative laterals because the former provide a better basis for comparison with cognates in other Afrasian languages.

The original pronunciation of the Arabic sound transliterated as *ḏ* (ض) can be determined by the testimony of the native grammarians (cf. Cantineau 1952:84; Steiner 1977:57—67) and from the evidence of loanwords in other languages (cf. Steiner 1977:68—91). In all probability, this sound was originally a voiced emphatic fricative lateral (cf. Cantineau 1952:84; Steiner 1977:64—65). This sound can be derived from either an earlier glottalized lateralized affricate *\*tɬ'* (cf. Cantineau 1952:84—86, who writes *\*tɬ₂*; D. Cohen 1968:1304—1305, who writes *\*tl'*; Martinet 1975[1953]:253, who writes *\*tl'*; Stempel 1999:60) or an earlier glottalized fricative lateral *\*ɬ'* (cf. Steiner 1977:155—156). Either reconstruction can also account for the developments found in the other Semitic daughter languages. In Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Hebrew, Proto-Semitic *\*tɬ'* has the same reflex as *\*c'*, namely, *ṣ*. As for the Modern South Arabian languages, it is represented by a lateralized dental emphatic in Soqotri, while in Mehri, Ḥarsūsi, and Jibbāli, it is represented by a lateralized interdental fricative emphatic (transcribed *ḏ*). In Geez, its reflex is generally transcribed as *ḏ*, though the traditional pronunciation is identical to that of *ṣ* (cf. Lambdin 1978:4). The Aramaic developments are problematic: in the most ancient texts, Proto-Semitic *\*tɬ'* is represented by *q*, while, in later texts, it is represented by *ʕ*. For discussion of this problem and proposed solutions, cf. Cantineau (1952:86) and Steiner (1977:38—41).

Semitic correspondences (cf. Moscati 1964:43—44; Lipiński 1997:129—132; Stempel 1999:56—60; Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:128—136):

Proto-Semitic	<i>*ɬ</i> or <i>*tɬ</i>	<i>*ɬ'</i> or <i>*tɬ'</i>
Akkadian	ṣ	ṣ
Ugaritic	ṣ	ṣ
Hebrew	שׁ /š/	זׁ /š/
Aramaic	ܣ /s/	ܥ /ʕ/
Arabic	ش /š/	ض /ḏ/
Epigraphic South Arabian	s²	ḏ
Geez / Ethiopic	ṣ	ḏ

According to D. Cohen (1968:1304—1305), voiceless and glottalized lateralized affricates should also be reconstructed for Proto-Afrasian. Diakonoff (1992:6 and 15—21) tentatively reconstructs the fricative lateral *\*ɬ*, which he writes *\*s̥*, and the voiceless and glottalized lateralized affricates *\*tɬ* and *\*tɬ'*, which he writes *\*c̥* and *\*c̥̥*, respectively. Orël—Stolbova (1995:xvi) reconstruct the same set as Diakonoff. Ehret (1995:390—395) reconstructs the voiceless fricative lateral *\*ɬ*, the voiced

lateralized affricate *\*d͡ʒ*, which he writes *\*dl*, and the glottalized lateralized affricate *\*t͡ʃʼ*, which he writes *\*tlʼ*. Takács (2011:32—33) reconstructs *\*š*, *\*ĉ*, and *\*ĉʼ* but notes that the evidence for the first two is at present scanty.

Orël—Stolbova (1995:xix) give the following correspondences (their transcription has been changed to conform with the transcription used in this book):

Proto-Afrasian	*ɬ	*tɬ	*tɬʼ
Proto-Semitic	*ɬ	*tɬ	*tɬʼ
Ancient Egyptian	š 𓂏	š 𓂏	ḏ 𓂏
Proto-Berber	*s	*c	*ĉ
Proto-East Cushitic	*s	*s *š	*cʼ
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*ɬ	*tɬ (?)	*tɬʼ
Proto-Chadic	*ɬ	*tɬ	*tɬʼ

Note: Ehret (1980:37) reconstructs *\*ɬ* and *\*tɬʼ*, which he writes *\*ɬ* and *\*tl*, for Proto-Southern Cushitic.

Ehret (1995:394) gives the following correspondences (as in the preceding table, Ehret's transcription has been changed):

Proto-Afrasian	*ɬ	*d͡ʒ	*tɬʼ
Proto-Semitic	*ɬ	*d͡ʒ	*tɬʼ
Ancient Egyptian	š 𓂏	ḏ 𓂏	ṯ 𓂏
Proto-Cushitic	*ɬ	*d͡ʒ	*tɬʼ
Proto-Chadic	*ɬ	*d͡ʒ	*tɬʼ
Proto-Omoti	*l	*dʼ	*dʼ

## 2.9. GUTTURALS

Proto-Semitic had only a single guttural series, namely, the velars *\*k*, *\*g*, and *\*kʼ* (sometimes transcribed *\*q*, sometimes *\*k*). In Hebrew and Aramaic, /k/ and /g/ have the non-phonemic allophones /χ/ and /ɣ/, respectively (cf. Moscati 1964:26—27, §8.10; O'Leary 1923:52). Proto-Semitic *\*g* has become ġ [d͡ʒ] (sometimes transcribed *j*) in Classical Arabic (cf. Moscati 1964:38, §8.42; Lipiński 1997:138) — this is a context-free development and is considered the standard pronunciation, though *g* is retained unchanged in some Arabic dialects (cf. Martinet 1975 [1959]:243—245; Moscati 1964:38, §8.42). Secondary palatalization of the velars is a common innovation in modern Arabic dialects, in modern South Arabian languages, and in Ethiopian Semitic (cf. Lipiński 1997:138—139). In the Semitic languages of Ethiopia, a series of labiovelars has developed alongside the plain

velars (cf. Moscati 1964:38, §8.43; Lipiński 1997:139). The labiovelars are a secondary development and do not go back to Proto-Semitic. There are several other notable secondary developments for this series (cf. Lipiński 1997:137—140, Moscati 1964:37—38, and O’Leary 1923:49—53 for details).

Semitic correspondences (cf. Moscati 1964:44; Gray 1934:10; Lipiński 1997:137—140; Stempel 1999:44; Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:120—128):

Proto-Semitic	*k	*g	*kʷ
Akkadian	k	g	ḱ
Ugaritic	k	g	ḱ
Hebrew	כ /k/	ג /g/	ך /ḱ/
Aramaic	כ /k/	ג /g/	ך /ḱ/
Arabic	ك /k/	ج /ǧ/	ق /q/
Epigraphic South Arabian	k	g	ḱ
Geez / Ethiopic	k	g	ḱ

A series of velar stops should also be reconstructed for Proto-Afrasian (cf. M. Cohen 1947:111—128; Diakonoff 1992:6 and 22—25; Ehret 1995:174—178; Orël—Stolbova 1995:xvi). Both secondary palatalization of the velars as well as a tendency toward fricative pronunciation are widespread developments in the Afrasian daughter languages.

Afrasian correspondences (cf. Ehret 1995:174—178; Orël—Stolbova 1995:xvii—xix; Takács 2011:98):

Proto-Afrasian	*k	*g	*kʷ
Proto-Semitic	*k	*g	*kʷ
Ancient Egyptian	k 𓂀	g 𓂁	q 𓂂
Proto-Berber	*ɣ *-kḱ-	*g	*ḱ
Proto-East Cushitic	*k	*g	*kʷ
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*k	*g	*kʷ
Proto-Chadic	*k	*g	*kʷ

In some cases, sibilants in the Semitic languages correspond to affricates in Egyptian and to gutturals in the Cushitic languages (cf. Vergote 1971:44), a good example being:

Arabic *ṣubāʿ*, *ʔiṣbaʿ* ‘finger, toe’; Sabaean *ʔṣbʿ* ‘finger’; Ugaritic (pl.) *ʔṣbʿt* ‘fingers’; Hebrew *ʔeṣbaʿ* [עֶצְבָּעַ] ‘finger, toe’; Imperial Aramaic (sg. abs.) *ṣbʿ* ‘finger’, (pl. abs.) *ʔṣbʿn* ‘fingers’; Aramaic *ṣiḃʿā* ‘finger, toe’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔaṣbāʿ(ə)t* [አጽባዕት] ‘finger, toe’;  
= Egyptian *ḏbʿ* ‘finger’; Coptic *tēēbe* [ⲧⲏⲏⲃⲉ] ‘finger, digit’;

= Tamazight *a-dad* ‘finger’; Siwa *dad* ‘finger’; Ghadames (pl.) *duḍan* ‘fingers’;  
 = Proto-East Cushitic *\*k’ub-* ‘finger’ > Sidamo (pl.) *k’ubbe* ‘fingers’; Hadiyya  
*k’uba?a* ‘ring, finger-ring’; Yaaku *qop-e* ‘finger’.

Examples such as this can be accounted for by reconstructing a series of palatalized velars for Proto-North Erythraean, which Ehret (1995:489—490) sets up as the ancestor of Proto-Chadic, Proto-Semitic, Pre-Egyptian, and Proto-Berber. The palatalized velars arose through the palatalization of plain velars before *\*i* and *\*u*: *\*ki/\*ku*, *\*gi/\*gu*, *\*k’i/\*k’u* > *\*kʲ*, *\*gʲ*, *\*k’ʲ*. In Proto-Semitic, this series developed into dental affricates: *\*kʲ*, *\*gʲ*, *\*k’ʲ* > *\*cʲ*, *\*ǰʲ*, *\*c’ʲ* > *\*c*, *\*ǰ*, *\*c’*. These newly-formed dental affricates then merged completely with the previously-existing dental affricates, and the subsequent development of these two series was identical. In Egyptian, on the other hand, the palatalized velars merged with the palatalized alveolars: *\*kʲ*, *\*gʲ*, *\*k’ʲ* > *\*tʲ*, *\*dʲ*, *\*t’ʲ* > *t*, *d*, *d’* (cf. Loprieno 1997:435). The Chadic, Berber, and Omotic developments are uncertain. However, Newman (1977:9 and 11) reconstructs a series of palatalized velars for Proto-Chadic, which he writes *\*kʲ* and *\*gʲ* (Newman does not reconstruct a glottalized member). If these sounds are not due to secondary developments within Chadic itself, it may be that the original palatalized velars of Proto-North Erythraean were preserved in Proto-Chadic.

Afrasian correspondences:

Proto-Afrasian	<i>*ki/*ku</i>	<i>*gi/*gu</i>	<i>*k’i/*k’u</i>
Proto-Semitic	<i>*c</i>	<i>*ǰ</i>	<i>*c’</i>
Ancient Egyptian	<i>t̪</i>	<i>d̪</i>	<i>d̪</i>
Proto-Berber	<i>*t</i> (?)	<i>*d</i> (?)	<i>*t̪</i> (?)
Proto-East Cushitic	<i>*k</i>	<i>*g</i>	<i>*k’</i>
Proto-Southern Cushitic	<i>*k</i>	<i>*g</i>	<i>*k’</i>
Proto-Chadic	<i>*kʲ</i> (?)	<i>*gʲ</i> (?)	<i>*k’ʲ</i> (?)

In addition to the correspondences that make it seem likely that Proto-Afrasian had a series of plain velars, there are still other correspondences that point to the existence of a series of labiovelars in Proto-Afrasian (cf. D. Cohen 1968:1303; M. Cohen 1947:129—130; Diakonoff 1988:34 and 1992:6, 22—29; Ehret 1995:174—178): *\*kʷ*, *\*gʷ*, and *\*k’ʷ*. Although the labiovelars were lost in the Semitic branch, having merged with the plain velars, their former presence can be ascertained by the fact that, in primary nominal stems, they, along with the bilabials, caused a following earlier *\*ə* to be raised, backed, and rounded to *\*u* (cf. Diakonoff 1970:456 and 464, 1975:135 and 141): *\*kʷə*, *\*gʷə*, *\*k’ʷə* > *\*ku*, *\*gu*, *\*k’u*. The labiovelars were preserved in Proto-Southern Cushitic (cf. Ehret 1980:23—36) and Proto-Chadic (cf. Newman 1977:11). Orël—Stolbova (1995), on the other hand, do not reconstruct a series of labiovelars for Proto-Afrasian.



Afrasian correspondences:

Proto-Afrasian	*k <sup>w</sup>	*g <sup>w</sup>	*k'w
Proto-Semitic	*k	*g	*k'
Ancient Egyptian	k 𓆎	g 𓆏	q 𓆑
Proto-Berber	*k	*g	*ḳ
Proto-East Cushitic	*k	*g	*k'
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*k <sup>w</sup>	*g <sup>w</sup>	*k'w
Proto-Chadic	*k <sup>w</sup>	*g <sup>w</sup>	*k'w

Proto-Afrasian may also have had a series of postvelars (\*q, \*g, \*q'). The postvelars were not palatalized before \*i and \*u in Semitic, but they were in Egyptian.

## 2.10. GLIDES AND LIQUIDS

There can be no question that Proto-Semitic had \*w, \*y, \*l, and \*r. The liquids are well preserved in the Semitic daughter languages, but the glides are subject to various modifications: In later Akkadian, the glides were lost initially (cf. Moscati 1964:45—46, §8.63; O'Leary 1923:66—67), while in Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Aramaic, initial \*w mostly became y (cf. Gray 1934:19, §27; Moscati 1964:46, §8.64; O'Leary 1923:65—67) — such a development also occurs sporadically in ancient South Arabian dialects.

Semitic correspondences:

Proto-Semitic	*w	*y	*l	*r
Akkadian	Ø	y Ø	l	r
Ugaritic	w y	y	l	r
Hebrew	װ /w/ ם /y/	ם /y/	ל /l/	ר /r/
Aramaic	װ /w/ ם /y/	ם /y/	ל /l/	ר /r/
Arabic	و /w/ ي /y/	ي /y/	ل /l/	ر /r/
Epigraphic South Arabian	w y	y	l	r
Geez / Ethiopic	w	y	l	r

The glides \*w and \*y and the liquids \*l and \*r are also to be reconstructed for Proto-Afrasian (cf. Diakonoff 1992:6 and 32—35; Ehret 1995:390—395 and 452; Orël—Stolbova 1995:xx).

The Ancient Egyptian developments require special comment. Egyptian did not have separate signs for /l/. There can be no doubt, however, that /l/ existed as an independent phonemic entity since it occurs as such in the later Coptic. In Egyptian, /l/ was written with the signs <n>, <r>, <ḥ>, and <i> (<\*li-, \*lu- [cf. Diakonoff

1974:595]) (cf. Loprieno 1995:33, note c; Peust 1999:127—132; Vergote 1973.Ib: 26). *\*r* became <3> in Egyptian when it occurred at the end of an accented syllable before a following consonant or before pause. Similar developments can be observed for *t*, *d*, and *n*. In some instances, *y* represents either an earlier glottal stop or an earlier *w*.

Newman (1977) does not reconstruct *\*l* for Proto-Chadic, but the evidence presented by Jungraithmayr—Shimuzu (1981) and Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow (1994) make it clear that *\*l* must have existed. Both Ehret (1995:393—394) and Orël—Stolbova (1995:xx) reconstruct *\*l* for Proto-Chadic.

Afrasian correspondences (cf. Ehret 1995:390—395 and 452; Orël—Stolbova 1995:xx; Diakonoff 1965:27—28):

Proto-Afrasian	<i>*w</i>	<i>*y</i>	<i>*l</i>	<i>*r</i>
Proto-Semitic	<i>*w</i>	<i>*y</i>	<i>*l</i>	<i>*r</i>
Ancient Egyptian	w 𓂏	i 𓂏 y 𓂏	n 𓂏 r 𓂏 3 𓂏 i 𓂏	r 𓂏 3 𓂏
Proto-Berber	<i>*w</i>	<i>*y</i>	<i>*l</i>	<i>*r</i>
Proto-East Cushitic	<i>*w</i>	<i>*y</i>	<i>*l</i>	<i>*r</i>
Proto-Southern Cushitic	<i>*w</i>	<i>*y</i>	<i>*l</i>	<i>*r</i>
Proto-Chadic	<i>*w</i>	<i>*y</i>	<i>*l</i>	<i>*r</i>

## 2.11. GLOTTAL STOP AND GLOTTAL, VELAR, AND PHARYNGEAL FRICATIVES

Proto-Semitic is usually assumed to have had a glottal stop, a glottal fricative, voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives, and voiceless and voiced velar fricatives: *\*ʔ*, *\*h*, *\*ħ*, *\*ʕ*, *\*x*, *\*ɣ* (traditionally written *\*ʕ*, *\*h*, *\*ħ*, *\*ʕ*, *\*ħ*, *\*g*, respectively). In Akkadian, *\*ʔ*, *\*h*, *\*ħ*, *\*ʕ*, and *\*ɣ* (but not *\*x* [traditional *\*ħ*]) merged into *ʔ* /*ʔ*/ initially. The former presence of *\*ħ* and *\*ʕ* and sometimes of *\*ɣ* and *\*h* as well can be determined by the fact that they changed a contiguous *a* to *e* (cf. Moscati 1964:38—39, §8.45, and 41—42, §8.54). These same sounds were completely lost medially between a preceding vowel and a following non-syllabic in Akkadian. This change caused the vowel to be lengthened. Examples:

1. Akkadian *\*raʔšu* > *rāšu* (later *rēšu*) ‘head’; Hebrew *rōʔš* [רֹאשׁ] ‘head’; Aramaic *rēšā* ‘head’; Phoenician *rʔš* ‘head’; Arabic *raʔs* ‘head’; Epigraphic South Arabian *rʔs* ‘head’; Šheri / Jibbāli *rēš/réš* ‘head’; Soqotri *riy* ‘head’; Ugaritic *rīs* ‘head’; Geez / Ethiopic *rəʔəs* ‘head’ [ርእሰ]; Tigrinya *rəʔsi* ‘head’; Tigre *rāʔas* ‘head’; Amharic *ras* ‘head’. Cf. Militarëv 2011:75, no. 38.
2. Akkadian *\*raḥmu* > *\*reḥmu* > *\*reʔmu* > *rēmu* ‘grace, mercy’; Hebrew *raḥūm* [רחום] ‘compassionate’; Arabic *raḥīma* ‘to have mercy, compassion’, *raḥma* ‘pity, compassion’; Šheri / Jibbāli *raḥām* ‘to be kind’; Mehri *raḥām* ‘to be kind’

to someone'; Harsūsi *reḥam* 'to pity'; Ugaritic *rḥm* 'to be kind'; Tigre *rāḥama* 'to have pity on' (Arabic loan).

3. Akkadian *\*baʿlu* > *\*beʿlu* > *\*beʾlu* > *bēlu* 'owner, lord'; Hebrew *baʿal* [בַּעַל] 'lord, owner'; Ugaritic *bʿl* 'owner of the house'; Arabic *baʿl* 'husband, master, owner'; Epigraphic South Arabian *bʿl* 'master, owner'; Harsūsi *bāl* 'master, lord'; Mehri *bāl* 'owner, possessor'; Šheri / Jibbāli *báʿal* 'person owning'; Soqotri *baʿl* 'master, lord'; Geez / Ethiopic *baʿāl* [በዓል] 'owner, master'; Tigre *bāʿal* 'master'; Tigrinya *bāʿal*, *baʿal* 'master'; Amharic *bal* 'master'.

A similar phenomenon occurs in Classical Arabic, where, according to the native grammarians, as well as in the traditional reading of the Qurʾān, ʔ is weakened and even lost with compensatory vowel lengthening when the loss takes place between a preceding short vowel and a following consonant (cf. Cantineau 1960:79—80; Moscati 1964:61—62, §9.20). Likewise in modern Arabic dialects, where original ʔ is often replaced by *w*, *y*, or by compensatory vowel lengthening (cf. Kaye—Rosenhouse 1997:277).

In Hebrew and Aramaic, *\*ʕ* and *\*ɣ* have merged into ʕ /ʕ/, and *\*ħ* and *\*x* have merged into ħ /ħ/ (cf. Lipiński 1997:145—146; Moscati 1964:40, §8.49; Stempel 1999:62—63; Rendsburg 1997:74).

In the Semitic languages of Ethiopia, *\*ʕ* and *\*ɣ* have merged into ʕ /ʕ/, and the same change can be observed in Soqotri and several modern Arabic dialects (cf. Lipiński 1997:147—148). In Tigre and Tigrinya, *ħ* and *h* have merged into ħ, while all of the earlier laryngeal and pharyngeal fricatives tend to be lost in South Ethiopic (cf. Lipiński 1997:148). On the other hand, ʔ, *h*, and *ħ* are preserved in Harari, Argobba, and several dialects of Gurage under certain conditions (cf. Lipiński 1997:148).

Semitic correspondences (cf. Moscati 1964:44—45; Lipiński 1997:141—150; Stempel 1999:60—63; Gray 1934:10 and 19; Buccellati 1997b:18; Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:120—128):

Proto-Semitic	*ʔ	*ħ	*h	*ʕ	*x	*ɣ
Akkadian	ʔ Ø	ʔ Ø	ʔ Ø	ʔ Ø	ħ	ʔ Ø
Ugaritic	ʔ ʔ̄ ʔ̄̄	ħ	h	ʕ	ħ	g
Hebrew	ʔ /ʔ/	ħ /ħ/	h /h/	ʕ /ʕ/	ħ /ħ/	g /g/
Aramaic	ʔ /ʔ/	ħ /ħ/	h /h/	ʕ /ʕ/	ħ /ħ/	g /g/
Arabic	ʔ /ʔ/	ħ /ħ/	h /h/	ʕ /ʕ/	ħ /ħ/	g /g/
Epigraphic South Arabian	ʔ	ħ	h	ʕ	ħ	g
Geez / Ethiopic	ʔ	ħ	h	ʕ	ħ	ʕ

Opinions differ as to how many of these sounds are to be reconstructed for Proto-Afrasian. Indeed, the correspondences adduced to support the reconstruction of voiceless and voiced velar fricatives in Proto-Afrasian are controversial, and in

some cases, it can be shown that secondary developments have led to the appearance of these sounds in the daughter languages. Moreover, some examples of voiceless and voiced velar fricatives are considered by some specialists to be reflexes of earlier postvelars. Finally, there is some confusion among the reflexes found in the daughter languages. Nonetheless, it seems that \*ʔ, \*h, \*ħ, \*ʕ, \*x, \*ɣ need to be reconstructed for Proto-Afrasian. Labialized varieties of these sounds may also have existed (cf. Diakonoff 1975:142). These sounds were generally preserved in the earlier stages of the Afrasian daughter languages, the main exceptions being Berber, where they seem to have been mostly lost, and Chadic, where they were partially lost. In the course of its history, Egyptian also reduced and/or modified these sounds, similar to what is found in several modern Semitic languages (cf. Vergote 1973.Ib:28; Loprieno 1995:41—46; Greenberg 1969). For discussion, correspondences, and examples, cf. Diakonoff 1992:25—29 (for the velar fricatives) and 29—32 (for \*ʔ, \*h, \*ħ, \*ʕ); Ehret 1995:174—178 (for the velar fricatives) and 338—340 (for \*ʔ, \*h, \*ħ, \*ʕ); Orël—Stolbova 1995:xx (Orël—Stolbova reconstruct \*ʔ, \*h, \*ħ, \*ʕ, \*x, \*ɣ, \*q, and \*q' for Proto-Afrasian).

Afrasian correspondences (cf. Takács 2011:98):

Proto-Afrasian	*ʔ	*h	*ħ	*ʕ	*x	*ɣ
Proto-Semitic	*ʔ	*h	*ħ	*ʕ	*x	*ɣ
Ancient Egyptian	𓆎 𓆏 𓆐 𓆑	h 𓆒	ħ 𓆓	ʕ 𓆔	x 𓆕 𓆖	ɣ 𓆗
Proto-Berber	Ø	*h	*ħ	*h	*ɣ	*h
Proto-East Cushitic	*ʔ	*h	*ħ	*ʕ	*ħ	*ʕ
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*ʔ	*h	*ħ	*ʕ	*x	
Proto-Chadic		*h	*ħ			

Note: The Berber reflexes are based upon Takács 2011.

## 2.12. VOWELS

Six vowels are traditionally reconstructed for Proto-Semitic (cf. Bergsträsser 1928:5 and 1983:5; Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:44, 141—151, and 1916:54, 67—70; Kogan 2005; Lipiński 1997:152—165; Moscati 1964:46, §8.66; O'Leary 1923: 91—119; Stempel 1999:31—4):

i	u	ī	ū
a		ā	

Proto-Semitic is also assumed to have had sequences of \*a plus \*y and \*a plus \*w (cf. Moscati 1964:54, §8.97). The oldest Egyptian (cf. Callender 1975:8—9; Gardiner 1957:428—433; Loprieno 1995:35 and 1997:440; Vergote 1973.Ib:39)

and Common Berber (cf. Prasse 1975:223) probably had vowel systems identical to that posited traditionally for Proto-Semitic, though modern Berber languages are quite diverse in their vowel systems (cf. Kossmann 2012:28—33). Ancient Egyptian may have had a schwa-like vowel (ə) as well. As noted by Ehret (1995:55 — details are given on pp. 60—66), Semitic, Berber, Egyptian, and Chadic have substantially reduced the vowel system inherited from Proto-Afrasian.

The problems of vocalic patterning — within the larger context of root structure patterning in Proto-Semitic — have been thoroughly investigated by Diakonoff (1970:453—480, 1975:133—151, and 1992:65—97). According to Diakonoff, in non-derivative nominal stems, the vocalic patterning differs from that posited for Proto-Semitic as a whole:

1. There were no original long vowels in non-derivative nominal stems in Proto-Semitic.
2. The vowel *\*u* seems to be in allophonic alternation with the vowel *\*i* in non-derivative nominal stems in Proto-Semitic, being found mainly before or after the bilabials *\*p*, *\*b*, and *\*m*, after the gutturals *\*k*, *\*g*, and *\*k'* (when from earlier *\*k<sup>w</sup>*, *\*g<sup>w</sup>*, and *\*k'<sup>w</sup>*), and occasionally also after the glottal stop *\*ʔ* (perhaps from earlier *\*ʔ<sup>w</sup>*?). This point leads Diakonoff to suggest that *\*i* and *\*u* are to be derived from an earlier common vocalic entity, which he writes *\*ə*. Diakonoff also notes that unstressed *\*a* could appear as either *\*a* or *\*i* in the Semitic daughter languages.
3. If a non-derivative nominal stem has the shape *\*C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>*, then either *C<sub>2</sub>* or *C<sub>3</sub>* is *\*ʔ*, *\*w*, *\*y*, *\*m*, *\*n*, *\*l*, *\*r*. If it is *\*C<sub>2</sub>* that is one of these phonemes, then the vowel is *\*a*. This leads Diakonoff to posit syllabic resonants similar to those reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Kartvelian. This view is particularly controversial and is not widely accepted — it is rejected by Ehret (1995:16), for example.

Diakonoff then continues by discussing the ramifications of his theories, including the patterning in verbal stems. See also Kogan 2005.

According to Sasse (1979:5), Proto-East Cushitic had the following ten vowels:

i	u	ī	ū
e	o	ē	ō
a		ā	

Ehret (1980:38) reconstructs fourteen vowels for Proto-Southern Cushitic. Ehret notes, however, that this system may have developed from an earlier six vowel system similar to that traditionally reconstructed for Proto-Semitic.

i	ī	u	ī	ī	ū
e	Λ	o	ē	ā	ō
a			ā		

Newman (1977:11) assumes that Proto-Chadic had, at most, four phonemic vowels:

i                      u  
                                  ə  
                                  a

On the basis of a comparison of the vowel systems reconstructed for the various Afrasian daughter languages, it would appear that a vowel system identical to that traditionally posited for Proto-Semitic is to be posited for Proto-Afrasian as well, at least for the period of development existing immediately prior to the emergence of the individual Afrasian daughter languages. Such a reconstruction has indeed been proposed by a number of scholars. However, when the vocalic patterning is subjected to careful analysis, it becomes clear that a reconstruction modeled after that of Proto-Semitic does not represent the original state.

In a series of articles published in *Вопросы Языкознания* (*Voprosy Jazykoznanija*) in 1988 and 1990, respectively, Vladimir Orël and Olga Stolbova analyzed vowel correspondences in non-derivative nominal stems in West Chadic, Semitic, and Proto-Coptic. They also noted that the original vocalism of verbs is represented by West Chadic and Arabic imperfectives. Their analysis led them to reconstruct six vowels for Proto-Afrasian: *\*a*, *\*e*, *\*i*, *\*o*, *\*u*, and *\*ü*. Orël—Stolbova base their reconstruction upon the following correspondences:

Proto-Afrasian	<i>*a</i>	<i>*e</i>	<i>*i</i>	<i>*o</i>	<i>*u</i>	<i>*ü</i>
Proto-Semitic	<i>*a</i>	<i>*i</i>	<i>*i</i>	<i>*u</i>	<i>*u *a</i>	<i>*i</i>
Proto-West Chadic	<i>*a</i>	<i>*ya</i>	<i>*i</i>	<i>*wa</i>	<i>*u</i>	<i>*u</i>
Proto-Coptic	<i>*a *o</i>	<i>*e</i>	<i>*e *i</i>	<i>*e</i>	<i>*u *o</i>	<i>*i</i>

This reconstruction is repeated by Orël—Stolbova in their comparative dictionary (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:xxi—xxiv). They do not reconstruct long vowels for Proto-Afrasian.

Ehret (1995:61) reconstructs four vowels for Pre-Proto-Semitic: *\*a*, *\*ə*, *\*i*, and *\*u*, which later collapsed into *\*a ~ \*ə* in Proto-Semitic proper. This is essentially the position taken by Diakonoff. Ehret claims that long vowels are not required at the Proto-Semitic level and that the long vowels found in the Semitic daughter languages are due to developments specific to each language. He sees the Proto-Semitic system as due to an innovation in which an earlier, more complicated system has been substantially reduced. Ehret also accepts Newman's (1977:11) view that Proto-Chadic had a four-vowel system: *\*a*, *\*ə*, *\*i*, and *\*u*. Ehret (1995:55—67) reconstructs a system of ten vowels — five long and five short — for Proto-Afrasian: *\*a*, *\*aa*, *\*e*, *\*ee*, *\*i*, *\*ii*, *\*o*, *\*oo*, *\*u*, *\*uu*. It may be noted here that the system proposed by Ehret is more natural from a typological perspective than that proposed by Orël—Stolbova. Ehret (1995:67) bases his reconstruction upon the following correspondences:

Proto-	*a	*aa	*e	*ee	*i	*ii	*o	*oo	*u	*uu
Proto-Semitic	*a	*a	*a	*ə	*ə	*ə	*a	*ə	*ə	*ə
Pre-Egyptian	*a	*a	*a	*i	*i	*i	*a	*i	*i	*u
Proto-Cushitic	*a	*aa	*e	*ee	*i	*ii	*o	*oo	*u	*uu
Proto-North Omotic	*a	*a:	*e *i	*e: *	*e *i	*i:	*o *u	*o: *	*o *u	*u: *
Proto-Chadic	*a	*a	*a	*ə	*ə	*i	*a	*ə	*ə	*u

Though it is Ehret's views on the vowels that are followed in this book (for both Proto-Semitic and Proto-Afrasian), it must be cautioned that much work still needs to be done here.

### 2.13. ROOT STRUCTURE PATTERNING IN AFRASIAN

There has been much discussion, some of it rather heated, concerning root structure patterning within Afrasian. Until fairly recently, there was strong resistance to look objectively at the data from all of the branches of the Afrasian language family, far too much emphasis being placed on the importance of the Semitic branch alone, which was often uncritically taken to represent the original state of affairs.

In the Semitic branch, the vast majority of roots are triconsonantal. It is certain, however, that at one time there were more biconsonantal roots and that the triconsonantal system has been greatly expanded in Semitic at the expense of roots with other than three consonants (cf. Moscati 1964:72—75; Ullendorf 1958:69—72; Militarev 2005). In particular, we may note Diakonoff's (1984:1—2) comments on Afrasian root structure patterning:

The latest argument which has recently been advanced in favour of retaining the term 'Hamitic' was, as far as I know, the supposed fact that the Hamitic roots are mainly biconsonantal while those of Semitic are triconsonantal. Our work on the Comparative Historical Vocabulary of Afrasian (CHVA) has shown without a shadow of doubt that this is wrong. The Common Afrasian roots were in principle biconsonantal; most of them have been extended to a triconsonantal status either by reduplicating the second consonant of the root or by adding a real or fictitious 'weak' consonant (forming either *mediae infirmae* or *tertia infirmae* roots); the choice between the formation of a *secundae geminatae*, a *mediae infirmae* or a *tertia infirmae* secondary stem is virtually non-predictable (i.e. these types of the root are allomorphic at the Proto-Afrasian level). An additional method of forming secondary roots is the one well known from Proto-Indo-European, viz., the adding of a suffixed (very rarely prefixed) consonant 'complement' to the root. In about 90% of the cases (at least in that part of the vocabulary which we have worked through) the so-called 'three-consonantal roots' can with a great certainty be derived from well attested biconsonantal roots plus a complement which is used to modify the

main semantics of the biconsonantal roots. Note that the ‘biconsonantal cum complement’ roots are well attested not only in Semitic but also in Cushitic, Berber and Egyptian, and though they are somewhat more rare in Chadic and some of the Cushitic languages, the reason for this phenomenon is: (1) the loss of external inflection which later also caused losses in the final stem consonants and (2) the loss of a number of Proto-Semitic phonemes in Late Stage languages.

In an article published in 1989, Christopher Ehret closes the case. Through careful analysis, fully supported by well-chosen examples from Arabic, Ehret demonstrates that the third consonantal elements of Semitic triconsonantal roots were originally suffixes, which, in the majority of cases examined by him, had served as verb extensions. In particular, he identifies and categorizes thirty-seven such extensions. In subsequent works (1995:15—54, 2003a, 2003b, and 2008a), Ehret expands his investigation to encompass other branches of Afrasian. He concludes (1995:15):

The laying out of the comparative Afroasiatic data, undertaken in Chapter 5, shows that just two fundamental stem shapes can be reconstructed for proto-Afroasiatic, CVC and C(V), the latter having the possible alternative shape VC in verb roots. To the stem could be added any of a number of nominalizing suffixes of the form -(V)C- or any of a great variety of verb extensions of the shape -(V)C-. The evidence makes it probable that the underlying form of such suffixes was usually -C-, with the surfacing of a preceding vowel depending on, and its particular realization in different Afroasiatic subgroups predictable from, the syllable structure rules of the particular groups. (The particular outcomes of such processes will not be further argued here, but will be left to future studies.) Afroasiatic roots containing such suffixes are therefore given in Chapter 5 in the form  $*C_1VC_2C_s-$ , where  $C_s$  represents the suffix. Two exceptions would have been the nominal suffixes  $*w$  and  $*y$ , which probably did have fixed vowel accompaniments and -VC shapes...

Thus, the Proto-Afrasian root may be assumed to have had two forms, either  $*CV$  or  $*CVC$ .  $*CVC$  could be extended by means of a suffix to form an inflectional stem:  $*CVC-(V)C-$ . Originally, these suffixes appear to have been utilized primarily as verb extensions. Depending upon when they became separated from the rest of the Afrasian speech community, each branch exploited to a different degree the patterning that was just beginning to develop in the Afrasian parent language, with Semitic carrying it to the farthest extreme.

It thus emerges that the rules governing the structural patterning of roots and stems in the earliest stage of Proto-Afrasian (cf. Diakonoff 1988:42—56) are as follows:

1. There were no initial vowels in the earliest form of Proto-Afrasian. Therefore, every root began with a consonant. (It should be noted that Ehret [1995] assumes that roots could begin with vowels in Proto-Afrasian.)



2. Originally, there were no initial consonant clusters either. Consequently, every root began with one and only one consonant.
3. Two basic syllable types existed: (A) *\*CV* and (B) *\*CVC*, where *C* = any non-syllabic and *V* = any vowel. Permissible root forms coincided with these two syllable types.
4. A verb stem could either be identical with a root or it could consist of a root plus a single derivational morpheme added as a suffix to the root: *\*CVC-(V)C-*. Any consonant could serve as a suffix.
5. Primary (that is, non-derivational) noun stems displayed similar patterning, though, unlike verb stems, they were originally characterized by stable vocalism.

There were three fundamental stem types in Proto-Afrasian: (A) verb stems, (B) noun and adjective stems, and (C) pronoun and indeclinable stems. Pronoun and indeclinable stems could end in a vowel. Verb stems had to end in a consonant (it may be noted that this is the stem patterning posited by Ehret [1980:45—47] for Proto-Southern Cushitic), while, at least according to Ehret (1995:15), noun and adjective stems were distinguished by an additional element, the so-called “terminal vowel”:

The Omotic, Cushitic, and Chadic evidence conjoin in requiring the existence in PAA of an additional element in word formation, a terminal vowel (TV) in nouns and modifiers, the original function and meaning of which remain obscure. TVs have been subjected to comparative-historical investigation in only two groups of Afroasiatic languages. In Omotic they have no reconstructible function beyond their necessary attachment to singular noun stems in semantically predictable fashion. With the exception of Kafa, in which two TVs, *-o* and *-e*, have been grammaticalized respectively as masculine and feminine markers, they carry no grammatical or recognizable semantic load (Hayward 1987). In proto-Southern Cushitic, pairs of TVs formed a variety of singular-plural markers. Particular paired sets tended to go with either masculine or feminine nouns, but an individual TV on a singular noun generally gave no indication of the grammatical gender of that noun (Ehret 1980:49—50).

From these indicators it seems reasonable to conclude that TVs are fossils of a nominal morphology productive in pre-proto-Afroasiatic and predating the rise of grammatical gender in the family. Having lost their original grammatical function, they have been reanalyzed as markers of the singular or sometimes, as in the case of Southern Cushitic, of the plural in nominals. In the Boreafasian subgroup (Semitic, Egyptian, and Berber: see Chapter 6 for this classification), the TVs have generally been dropped entirely, leaving most nouns and adjectives as consonant-final words.

The existence of TVs at early stages of Afroasiatic evolution obviates the need to reconstruct any syllabic consonants for PAA. The usual word structure of nouns and adjectives would have been *\*C<sub>1</sub>(VC<sub>2</sub>)(C<sub>3</sub>)V<sub>TV</sub>*, in which the only possible structures are CVC and CV and never just C. The presence of syllabic

C in Boreafasian languages can be understood as the natural outcome of vowel loss, whether word-internal or word-final, within that particular subgroup (as is also separately the case in a few modern Omotic languages, notably Bench and Maji, where the same kind of sound change has independently been at work).

The consonants carried the basic meaning of the stem in Proto-Semitic, while the vowels were used as internal grammatical morphemes: that is to say, grammatical categorization was partially achieved by means of fixed vocalic patterning, at least in verb stems (for more information, see the Appendix to this chapter; see also Rubio 2004).

It is thus now certain beyond any reasonable doubt that the third consonantal element of the Proto-Semitic root, be it infix or suffix, was simply not a part of the root, in the overwhelming majority of cases, at the Proto-Afrasian level and that the underlying basic root structure patterning was biconsonantal.

#### 2.14. PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS OF THE INDIVIDUAL BRANCHES

In this section, the phonological systems reconstructed for the proto-languages of the individual branches will be presented, beginning with Semitic.

SEMITIC: The reconstruction of the Proto-Semitic phonological system has been discussed in detail in the preceding sections of this chapter. It may be summarized as follows (cf. Bergsträsser 1928:4; Bomhard 1988; Gray 1934:8; Huehnergard 2004:142; Kogan 2011:54; Moscati 1964:24; Rubin 2010:23; Stempel 1999:68):

	Labial	Palatalized	Dental	Velar	Glottal	Pharyngeal
Stops	p b	tʸ dʸ tʸy	t d tʼ	k g kʼ	ʔ	
Affricates			c ʕ cʼ			
Fricatives		sʸ	s z sʼ	x ɣ	h	ħ ʕ
Lateralized			ɬ or tɬ l ɬʼ or tɬʼ			
Nasals	m		n			
Glides	w	y				
Tap/Trill			r			

The Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic scripts and their standard transliterations were included in the tables of sound correspondences in the preceding sections and will not be repeated here. The Ethiopian script was not included in those tables — it is as follows (cf. Lambdin 1978:8—9):

	Ca	Cū	Cī	Cā	Cē	C, Cə	Cō		Ca	Cū	Cī	Cā	Cē	C, Cə	Cō
h	ሀ	ሁ	ሂ	ሃ	ሄ	ህ	ሆ	ḥ	ዐ	ዑ	ዒ	ዓ	ዔ	ዕ	ዖ
l	ለ	ሉ	ሊ	ላ	ሌ	ሎ	ሎ	z	ዘ	ዙ	ዚ	ዛ	ዞ	ዟ	ዠ
ḥ	ሐ	ሑ	ሒ	ሓ	ሔ	ሐ	ሐ	y	የ	ዩ	ዪ	ያ	ዬ	ይ	ዮ
m	መ	ሙ	ሚ	ማ	ሜ	ም	ሞ	d	ደ	ዱ	ዲ	ዳ	ዴ	ድ	ዶ
š	ሠ	ሡ	ሢ	ሣ	ሤ	ሥ	ሦ	g	ገ	጑	ጒ	ጓ	ጔ	ጕ	጖
r	ረ	ሩ	ሪ	ራ	ራ	ር	ሮ	t	ጠ	ጡ	ጢ	ጣ	ጤ	ጥ	ጦ
s	ሰ	ሱ	ሲ	ሳ	ሴ	ሰ	ሶ	p	ጸ	ጹ	ጺ	ጻ	ጼ	ጽ	ጾ
k	ቀ	ቁ	ቂ	ቃ	ቄ	ቅ	ቆ	ṣ	ጸ	ጹ	ጺ	ጻ	ጼ	ጽ	ጾ
b	በ	ቡ	ቢ	ባ	ቤ	ብ	ቦ	ḍ	ፀ	ፁ	፺	፻	፼	፽	፾
t	ተ	ቱ	ቲ	ታ	ቲ	ት	ቶ	f	ፈ	ፋ	ፊ	ፋ	ፌ	ፍ	ፎ
ḥ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ḥ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ
n	ነ	ኑ	ኒ	ና	ኔ	ኖ	ነ	k <sup>w</sup>	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ
ʔ	አ	አ	አ	አ	አ	አ	አ	ḥ <sup>w</sup>	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ
k	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	k <sup>w</sup>	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ
w	ወ	ወ	ወ	ወ	ወ	ወ	ወ	g <sup>w</sup>	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ

EGYPTIAN: Here, I will just give the Egyptian hieroglyphs and their traditional transliteration, without further interpretation (cf. Allen 2010:14; Gardiner 1957:27; Hannig 1995:XLV—XLVII; Mercer 1961a:4; Peust 1999:48; Loprieno 1995:15):

Hieroglyph	Transliteration	Hieroglyph	Transliteration
	ḥ		ḥ
	i		ḥ
	y		z
	ḥ		s
	w		š
	b		q
	p		k
	f		g
	m		t
	n		t
	r		d
	h		d
	ḥ		

The Coptic alphabet is based upon Greek, with six additional letters borrowed from Demotic. It is as follows (cf. Allen 2013:12; Lambdin 1982:x; Loprieno 1995:25; Steindorff 1904:6—7; Till 1978:40):

ⲁ a	Ⲉ ē	ⲛ n	ⲧ t	Ⲩ š
ⲃ b	Ⲑ th	Ⲭ ks	ϣ, ⲟϣ u	ϥ f
Ⲅ g	ⲓ, ⲉⲓ i	ⲟ o	ϥ ph	Ⲛ h
ⲅ d	ⲕ k	ⲡ p	ⲭ kh	ⲭ ġ
Ⲇ e	ⲗ l	ⲣ r	ϣ ps	Ⲕ č
ⲇ z	ⲙ m	ⲥ s	Ⲩ ḏ	ⲧ ti

Semivowels and diphthongs (cf. Lambdin 1982:xii—xiii):

ⲁⲓ, ⲁⲉⲓ	=	ay
ⲁϣ (rarely ⲁⲟϣ)	=	aw
ⲉⲓ (less commonly ⲉⲉⲓ)	=	ey
ⲉϣ (rarely ⲉⲟϣ)	=	ew
Ⲉⲓ	=	ey
Ⲉϣ	=	ew
ⲓⲉⲓ, ⲉⲓⲉⲓ	=	yi
ⲓⲟϣ (rare)	=	iw
ⲟⲉⲓ, ⲟⲓ	=	oy
ⲟⲟϣ	=	ow
Ⲩⲓ	=	oy
Ⲩⲟϣ	=	ow
ⲟϣⲓ (rare)	=	uy, perhaps also wi
ⲟϣⲟϣ (rare)	=	uw

BERBER: The Proto-Berber phonological system has not been reconstructed yet. The Ahaggar Tuareg consonant system may be taken as a representative example (cf. Kossmann 2012:23; Maddieson 1984:314):

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal
Voiceless Stop		t tt		k kk	qq	
Voiced Fricative	f ff	s ss	(š) (šš)		(x) (xx)	
Voiced Stop	b bb	d dd	g <sup>y</sup> gg <sup>y</sup>			
Voiced Fricative		(z) zz	(ž) (žž)		ʁ	
Pharyngealized Voiceless Stop		ṭṭ				

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal
Pharyngealized Voiced Stop		ɗ				
Pharyngealized Voiceless Fric.		z zz				
Nasal	m mm	n nn	(ɲ)	(ŋ)		
Glide	w (ww)		y (yy)			h (hh)
Rhotic		r rr				
Liquid		l ll				

The following vowels are found in Ayer Tuareg (cf. Kossmann 2012:28):

i                      u  
                     ə  
                     ă  
 e              a              o

CUSHITIC: According to Ehret (1987, 1995, and 2008c), the Proto-Cushitic consonant system is to be reconstructed as follows (see Appleyard 2011:42, Table 5.1, for a different reconstruction):

b	d	dz	dl		g	g <sup>w</sup>	ʕ
p	t	ts			k	k <sup>w</sup>	ʔ
pʼ	tʼ	tsʼ	tlʼ	ɕʼ	kʼ	k <sup>wʼ</sup>	
f	s		ɬ	ʃ	x	x <sup>w</sup>	ħ
	z						
m	n			ɲ	ɲ	ɲ <sup>w</sup> (?)	
w	l, r			y			h

Ehret (1980:37) reconstructs the Proto-Southern Cushitic consonant system thus:

b	d	ɖ	dz	l	(dʏ ?)	g	g <sup>w</sup>	ʕ
p	t	ɖ	(ts ?)	ɬ	tʏ	k	k <sup>w</sup>	ʔ
pʼ	tʼ	ɖʼ	tsʼ	tlʼ	tʏʼ	kʼ	k <sup>wʼ</sup>	
f	s			r	ʃ	x	x <sup>w</sup>	ħ
m	n				nʏ	ŋ	ŋ <sup>w</sup>	
ᵐp	ᵐt	ᵐɖ	ᵐts	ᵐɬ	ᵐtʏ	ᵐk	ᵐk <sup>w</sup>	
w					y			h

Notes:

1.  $d, t, t'$ , and  $^nt$  (Ehret writes  $d, t, t'$ , and  $^nt$ ) are retroflex.
2.  $^mp, ^nt, ^nt, ^nts, ^nd, ^nt, ^nk$ , and  $^nk^w$  are prenasalized.
3. Labialization could not occur before back vowels in Proto-Southern Cushitic; it is only found before central and front vowels.

Ehret (1980:38) reconstructs the following vowels for Proto-Southern Cushitic:

i	ĩ	u	ĩ	ĩ	ũ
e	Λ	o	ē	ā	ō
	a			ā	

Appleyard (2006:13) sets up the following table of consonant correspondences for Agaw (Central Cushitic):

Proto-Agaw	Bilin	Xamtanga	Kemant	Awngi
*f	f	f	f	f
*b	b	b	b	b
*m	m	m	m	m
*t	t- -r-	t- -r-	t- -y-	t- -r-/-t-
*d	d	d	d	d
*n	n	n	n	n
*s	s	s	s	s
*z	d	z	z	s
*c	š	s'	š	c
*ʒ	j	z	j	z/dz
*č	š	č'	š	č
*k	k	k/q/k'	k	k
*g	g	g	g	g
*ŋ	n- -ŋ-	ŋ	n- -ŋ-	ŋ
*x	-x-	Ø	Ø	-y-
*k <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup> /k
*g <sup>w</sup>	g <sup>w</sup>	g <sup>w</sup>	g <sup>w</sup>	g <sup>w</sup> /g
*ŋ <sup>w</sup>	ŋ <sup>w</sup>	ŋ <sup>w</sup>	ŋ <sup>w</sup>	ŋ <sup>w</sup> /ŋ
*x <sup>w</sup>	-x <sup>w</sup> -	-w-	-w-	-y <sup>w</sup> -
*q	k'	x- -q-	x-	y- -q-
*y	-x-	Ø	-y-	-y-
*q <sup>w</sup>	k' <sup>w</sup>	x <sup>w</sup> - -q <sup>w</sup> -	x <sup>w</sup>	y <sup>w</sup> -
*y <sup>w</sup>	-x <sup>w</sup> -	-w-	-y <sup>w</sup> -	-y <sup>w</sup> -
*l	l	l	l	l
*r	-r-	-r-/-l-	-r-	-r-
*w	w	w	w	w
*y	y	y	y	y
*ʔ	ʔ	Ø	Ø	Ø

Sasse (1979:5) reconstructs the Proto-East Cushitic phonological system as follows (for sound correspondences, see Ehret 2012:115—119):

Plain stops: voiceless:		t	k	ʔ		
voiced:	b	d	g			
Glottalized stops:		dʼ	dʼ <sub>1</sub>	kʼ		
Fricative: voiceless:	f	s	š	(x ?)	h	ħ
voiced:		z				ʕ
Liquids and nasals:	m	n				
		l				
		r				
Semivowels:	w		y			
Vowels: short:	i	e	a	o	u	
long:	ii	ee	aa	oo	uu	

Note: Sasse writes *dʼ* and *dʼ<sub>1</sub>* for *dʼ* and *dʼ<sub>1</sub>*, respectively.

The Beja / Beḍawye (= North Cushitic) phonological system is as follows (cf. Richard Hudson 1976:99; see also Maddieson 1984:216; Ruhlen 1975:167):

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Retro- flex	Velar	Labio- velar	Glottal
Stops	b	t d		ɖ ɟ	k g	kʷ gʷ	ʔ
Affricates			ʃ				
Fricatives	f						h
Sibilants		s	š				
Nasals	m	n					
Trill		r					
Lateral		l					
Glides	w		y				

Vowels:

i		u
e		o
a		

OMOTIC: Amha (2012:434) reconstructs the Proto-Omotiic consonant system as follows (see also Bender 2000 and 2003:310):

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops: voiceless	p	t		k	
voiced	b	d-		-g-	
glottalized		t-, dʼ		kʼ	





APPENDIX:  
FROM PROTO-NOSTRATIC TO PROTO-AFRASIAN:  
PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS

Though significant progress has been made in reconstructing the Proto-Afrasian phonological system and vocabulary, Proto-Afrasian morphology has not yet been reconstructed. Nevertheless, it is possible to trace, in broad outline, some of the developments that may have occurred, though much still remains uncertain.

Though Afrasian plays a critical role in the reconstruction of Proto-Nostratic morphology, there were many developments that occurred within Proto-Afrasian proper after it became separated from the rest of the Nostratic speech community. In this appendix, an attempt will be made to provide explanations for how some of the unique characteristics of Proto-Afrasian morphology may have come into being.

1. GENDER: Proto-Nostratic nouns did not distinguish gender, and Pre-Proto-Afrasian nouns must also have lacked this category. However, based upon the evidence of the Afrasian daughter languages, gender must be reconstructed as an inherent part of noun morphology in Proto-Afrasian proper.

Like Proto-Nostratic, Proto-Afrasian was most likely an active language. Two declensional types were inherited by Proto-Afrasian from Proto-Nostratic, each of which was distinguished by a special set of markers:

1. *\*-u* was used to mark the subject in active constructions;
2. *\*-a* was used to mark:
  - (a) The direct object of transitive verbs;
  - (b) The subject in stative constructions;
  - (c) The so-called “*status indeterminatus*”.

Now, Sasse (1984:117) reconstructs the following two declensional paradigms for nouns with short final vowels for Proto-East Cushitic:

	Masculine	Feminine
Absolute Case	<i>*-a</i>	<i>*-a</i>
Subject Case	<i>*-u/i</i>	<i>*-a</i>

Note: The absolute case is not to be confused with the “absolute” case of ergative languages. It is a translation of Italian *forma assoluta* first used by Moreno in 1935 (cf. Mous 2012:369).

Sasse (1984) discusses the development of this system within Cushitic and ends by noting that traces of the above patterning can also be found in Berber and Semitic (Proto-Semitic nom. *\*-u*, acc. *\*-a*, gen. *\*-i* [cf. Hasselbach 2013]).

Sasse notes:

Regardless of whether the neutralization of the case forms in the feminine nouns was inherited from the proto-language (that is, case forms for feminines never developed) or represents a historical stage during the reduction of the case-marking system which was once more elaborate, it is obvious that the lack of subject-object distinction with feminine nouns can be explained in functional terms. It is well known that in addition to the semantic category of neutral sex which is of minor importance the Cushitic gender categories primarily denote the notions of social significance (masculine) vs. social insignificance (feminine)... Since the primary function of subject and object cases is the distinction of agent and patient nouns, it is clear that case marking is more important for those noun classes that are designated to denote items which normally occur on both agents and patients (i.e. animates, big and strong beings, etc.) than for those noun classes which do not (inanimates, insignificant things, etc.). There is an interesting parallel in Indo-European, where neuter nouns generally do not distinguish subject and object. The personal pronouns and the demonstratives are naturally excluded from this neutralization, because they are more likely to refer to animates.

Thus, the feminine forms reconstructed for Proto-East Cushitic by Sasse are to be derived from the *\*-a* found in the masculine absolute. This must have been the oldest patterning, and, inasmuch as there are traces of this patterning in Berber and Semitic, it must ultimately go back to Proto-Afrasian. Once the category of gender was firmly established in Afrasian, the individual daughter languages exploited other means to indicate the feminine, such as, for example, the formant *\*-t-*. For more information on how the category of gender is treated in the various branches, cf. especially D. Cohen (ed.) 1988 and Fajzyngier—Shay (eds.) 2012.

2. PRONOUNS: Proto-Afrasian had independent personal pronouns distinct from subject and object pronouns. The following independent personal pronouns may be reconstructed for Pre-Proto-Afrasian:

	Singular	Plural
1	*ʔV-	*nV+Plural
2	*tV-	*tV+Plural
3	*sV-	*sV+Plural

Notes:

1. The first and second person forms were exactly as given above for the prefix conjugation personal prefixes, except that the third person prefix

was based upon the stem  $*yV-$ . This is an important piece of information, for it allows us to ascertain what the most archaic forms of the personal pronouns may have been and to speculate about their later development.

2. In Omotic, the first person is built upon the stem  $*ta-$  and the second upon the stem  $*ne-$  (cf. Welaïtta 1st sg. subject  $ta-ni$ , 2nd sg. subject  $ne-ni$ ).

It should be noted that the first person singular and plural were originally two distinct stems. The first innovation was the combining of the two first person stems into a new compound form:

	Singular	Plural
1	$*?V+nV-$	$*?V+nV+Plural$
2	$*tV-$	$*tV+Plural$
3	$*sV-$	$*sV+Plural$

Then,  $*?V-$  was extended to the second and third person forms in imitation of the first person forms:

	Singular	Plural
1	$*?V+nV-$	$*?V+nV+Plural$
2	$*?V+tV-$	$*?V+tV+Plural$
3	$*?V+sV-$	$*?V+sV+Plural$

Next,  $*-n-$  was analogically inserted into the second person forms on the basis of the first person forms:

	Singular	Plural
1	$*?V+nV-$	$*?V+nV+Plural$
2	$*?V+n+tV-$	$*?V+n+tV+Plural$
3	$*?V+sV-$	$*?V+sV+Plural$

Finally, separate feminine third person forms were created.

No doubt, the changes described above occurred over a long period of time and may not have been fully completed by the time that the individual Afrasian daughter languages began to appear. Each daughter language, in turn, modified the inherited system in various ways. Here are attested forms in select Afrasian daughter languages (only the singular and plural forms are given) (cf. Lipiński 1997:298—299; Moscati 1964:102; Stempel 1999:82; Diakonoff 1988:72—73; Gray 1934:62; Gardiner 1957:53; Frajzyngier—Shay [eds.] 2012):

	Semitic: Arabic	Egyptian	Berber: Tuareg	Cushitic: Rendille
Singular				
1	ʔanā	in-k	n-ək	an(i)
2 (m.)	ʔanta	nt-k	kay	at(i)
(f.)	ʔanti	nt-ṭ	kəm	at(i)
3 (m.)	huwa	nt-f	nt-a	us(u)
(f.)	hiya	nt-s	nt-a	iče
Plural				
1 (m.)	naḥnu	in-n	n-əkkā-ni	inno
(f.)	naḥnu	in-n	n-əkkā-nəti	inno
2 (m.)	ʔantum(ū)	nt-ṭn	kāw-ni	atin
(f.)	ʔantunna	nt-ṭn	kāmā-ti	atin
3 (m.)	hum(ū)	nt-sn	əntā-ni	ičo
(f.)	hunna	nt-sn	əntā-nəti	ičo

3. CONJUGATION: Proto-Afrasian had two conjugations: (1) a prefix conjugation (active) and (2) a suffix conjugation (stative). The prefix conjugation became fixed in Proto-Afrasian, while the suffix conjugation was flexible. Thus, the various daughter languages inherited a common prefix conjugation from Proto-Afrasian (except for Egyptian), while the suffix conjugations differed slightly from branch to branch. The Proto-Afrasian personal prefixes were as follows (cf. Diakonoff 1988:80; D. Cohen 1968:1309; Lipiński 1997:370—371):

	Singular	Plural
1	*ʔV-	*nV-
2	*tV-	*tV-
3 (m.)	*yV-	*yV-
(f.)	*t-	*yV-

It is instantly obvious that these prefixes are based upon earlier Proto-Nostratic pronominal elements (cf. Bomhard 2014.1:296—324 for details). It should be noted here that Banti (2004:40) reconstructs a nearly identical set of forms for the Proto-Cushitic *suffix* conjugation (SC1):

	Singular	Plural
1	*Stem-ʔV	*Stem-anV (?)
2	*Stem-tV	*Stem-tin
3 (m.)	*Stem-i	*Stem-in
(f.)	*Stem-tV	

Notes:

1. The 2nd and 3rd plural forms contain the plural marker *\*-n*. It may be noted in passing that similar forms are found in several Indo-European daughter languages (for example, Hittite and Greek).
2. Masculine and feminine are not distinguished in the 3rd plural.
4. ORIGIN OF APOPHONY: In §2.13, the Proto-Afrasian root structure patterning was reconstructed as follows:
  1. There were no initial vowels in the earliest form of Proto-Afrasian. Therefore, every root began with a consonant.
  2. Originally, there were no initial consonant clusters either. Consequently, every root began with one and only one consonant.
  3. Two basic syllable types existed: (A) *\*CV* and (B) *\*CVC*, where *C* = any non-syllabic and *V* = any vowel. Permissible root forms coincided with these two syllable types.
  4. A verb stem could either be identical with a root or it could consist of a root plus a single derivational morpheme added as a suffix to the root: *\*CVC-(V)C-*. Any consonant could serve as a suffix.
  5. Primary (that is, non-derivational) noun stems displayed similar patterning, though, unlike verb stems, they were originally characterized by stable vocalism.

One of the most striking characteristics of the Semitic verb is the overwhelming preponderance of triconsonantal roots: CCC. Another salient characteristic is that the lexical meaning falls exclusively on the consonants. The vowels, on the other hand, alternate according to well-defined patterns that indicate specific inflectional and derivational functions. That is to say, the vowels have morphological rather than semantic significance. This alternation of vowels is technically known as “apophony”. The triconsonantal template and the apophonic alternations form a tightly integrated system. Cf. Moscati 1964:72—75; Brockelmann 1910:113—114 and 1916:96—97; Bergsträsser 1928:6—7 and 1983:5—6; Diakonoff 1970; Lipiński 1997:201—209 and 331—335; Rubin 2010:26—28 and 43—47; Stempel 1999:69—74.

In Proto-Afrasian, one of the grammatical functions of vowels was to serve as aspect markers in active verb stems. According to Zaborski, the patterning was as follows: *a* marks present (imperfective), *i ~ e* mark past (perfective), and *u ~ o* mark subordinate. Thus, following Zaborski’s views, the Proto-Afrasian active verb stems would have had the following patterning:

Imperfective aspect	<i>*CVCaC-</i>
Perfective aspect	<i>*CVCiC-</i>
Subordinate	<i>*CVCuC-</i>

At this stage, the vowel of the first syllable was stable, while that of the second syllable changed as indicated above.

The innovation that led to the rise of apophony was the modification of the vowel of the first syllable to indicate different morphological functions in imitation of the patterning of the second syllable. A repercussion of the rise of apophony was the need to bring all verbal roots into conformity with the triconsonantal scheme, at the expense of other root types. The reason for this was that the emerging apophonic patterning could only function properly within the context of a fairly rigid structure. This system became so tightly integrated that it was, for all practical purposes, impervious to further change. Even to the present day, the verbal patterning is highly homologous among the Semitic daughter languages. For details, see especially Diakonoff 1988:85—110 and Kuryłowicz 1962; Rubio 2004. Rössler 1981 is also of interest.

5. STATE: Proto-Semitic nouns had two distinct forms, depending upon their syntactic function: (1) construct state; (2) free state (additional states are found in the daughter languages). The construct state was used when a noun governed a following element. It had no special marker and was the unmarked form. The free state was used elsewhere and was the marked form. It was indicated by the markers *\*-m(a)/\*-n(a)*, which were appended after the case endings (cf. Rubin 2010:38—40). Ultimately, these markers had the same origin as the relational markers *\*-ma* and *\*-na*, which were originally used to mark the direct object of transitive verbs as well as the subject in stative constructions (cf. Bomhard 2014.1:421—425, §17.5; see also Michalove 2002:94, note 2). In Proto-Semitic, they were reinterpreted as markers of the free state.

## CHAPTER THREE

### BILABIALS

Proto-Afrasian	*p	*b	*p'	*f	*m
Proto-Semitic	*p	*b	*b	*p	*m
Ancient Egyptian	p □	b 𓆎	b 𓆎	f 𓆏	m 𓆑
Proto-Berber	*f	*b (?)	?	*f	*m
Proto-East Cushitic	*f	*b	?	*f	*m
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*p	*b	*p'	*f	*m
Proto-Chadic	*p	*b	*p'	*f	*m

#### 3.1. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*p

1. Proto-Afrasian *\*pac-* '(vb.) to destroy, to break; (n.) crack, split, opening, break' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:412, no. 1416, *\*pac-* 'to break, to destroy'):
  - A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*pac-ac-* 'to destroy, to break' > Akkadian *pasāsu* 'to wipe out, to destroy'; Hebrew *pāsas* [פָּסַס] 'to end, to cease, to disappear, to vanish'; Aramaic *pāsas* 'to dissolve, to pluck apart'. Klein 1987:517; Murtonen 1989:342.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*pac-ak'-* 'to part, to open wide' > Hebrew *pāsaḵ* [פָּסַח] 'to divide, to split', *pešek* [פֶּשֶׁק] 'detached piece, remainder'; Aramaic *pasaḵ* 'to cut, to split, to sever'; Akkadian *pasāku* 'to cut' (?). Klein 1987:517; Murtonen 1989:343; Jastrow 1971:1199—1201.
  - B. Cushitic: (?) Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *\*pas-* or *\*pats-* 'daybreak, dawn' > Burunge *pisaru* 'daylight'; Alagwa *pisema* 'dawn'; K'wadza *pasiko* 'sky'. Ehret 1980:339. Assuming semantic development from 'to come out, to break forth' as in Lithuanian *rytas* 'morning', from the same root found in Latvian *rietu* 'to break forth'.
  - C. Chadic: East Chadic *\*pac-* 'to break' > Tumak *paž-* 'to break'.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p<sup>h</sup>ač<sup>h</sup>-* (~ *\*p<sup>h</sup>əč<sup>h</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:91—92, no. 81):  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>ač<sup>h</sup>-* 'to split or break open, to split or break apart';  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>ač<sup>h</sup>-a* 'crack, split, opening, break'
2. Proto-Afrasian *\*pah-* (vb.) 'to take into the mouth, to eat' (Ehret 1995:92, no. 42, *\*pah-* or *\*peh-* 'to take into the mouth'):
  - A. Semitic: Arabic *faḥasa* 'to take out of the hand with the tongue or lips'.
  - B. Egyptian (Demotic) *phs* 'to bite' (also *pzh* 'to bite'); Coptic *pōhs* [ⲡⲟⲩⲥ] 'to bite'. Vycichl 1983:167; Černý 1976:132.

- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*paḥ-* or *\*peḥ-* ‘to eat’ > K’wadza *pis-* ‘to serve up portions of food’; Ma’a *-pá* ‘to eat’. Ehret 1980:144.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p<sup>h</sup>aḥ-* (~ *\*p<sup>h</sup>əḥ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:92—93, no. 83):  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>aḥ-* ‘to eat’;  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>aḥ-a* ‘food, nourishment’
3. Proto-Afrasian *\*pal-* ~ *\*lap-* (metathesis from *\*pal-*) (n.) ‘spleen’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:358, no. 1651, *\*lap-* ‘spleen’):
- A. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*hifella* ‘spleen’ (prefix *\*hi-*, secondary *\*-e-*) > Hadiyya *hilleffa* ‘spleen’; Kambata *efeella* ‘spleen’; Sidamo *efelegg’o* ‘spleen’. Hudson 1989:140. East Cushitic: Afar *aleefu* ‘spleen’ (prefix *\*ʔa-*, secondary *\*-e-*).  
 B. Chadic: West Chadic *\*lap-* ‘spleen’ > Sura *llap* ‘spleen’; Angas *lap* ‘spleen’; Kulere *ma-laf* ‘liver’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>al-a* (metathesized variant *\*lap<sup>h</sup>-a* in Uralic, Altaic, and part of Afrasian) ‘spleen’ (Bomhard 2014.2:93—94, no. 85)
4. Proto-Afrasian *\*pal-* ‘(vb.) to split, to cleave; (n.) split, crack’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:416, no. 1937, *\*pal-* ‘to break’, and no. 1938, *\*pal-* ‘to cut, to divide’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*pal-ag-* ‘to split, to cleave, to divide’ > Hebrew *pālay* [פָּלַי] ‘to split, to cleave, to divide’, *peley* [פֶּלֶי] ‘canal, channel’; Arabic *falaḡa* ‘to split, to cleave’; Phoenician *plg* ‘to divide’; Ugaritic *plg* ‘canal, stream’; Akkadian *palgu* ‘canal’; Ḥarsūsi *felēg* ‘water-course’; Mehri *fālēg* ‘stream, water-course’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fālōg* ‘to split open, to make a hole in (tin, barrel, rock)’, *fēlēg* ‘oasis’ (Eastern dialect = ‘stream’); Geez / Ethiopic *falaga* [ፈለገ] ‘to flow, to cause to flow in torrents, to dig out, to hollow out, to divide, to split, to hew, to prepare, to arrange’, *falag* [ፈለግ] ‘river, brook, valley’, *fəlug* [ፍሉግ] ‘hollow, hollowed, dug out, divided, prepared, ready, arranged’; Tigre *fālāg* ‘ravine’; Tigrinya *fālāg* ‘riverbed’; Amharic *fālāg* ‘stream’ (Geez loan). Klein 1987:508; Leslau 1987:159; Murtonen 1989:340.
- Proto-Semitic *\*pal-ay-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Arabic *faliya* ‘to be cut off’; Aramaic *pālā* ‘to split, to cut open’; Geez / Ethiopic *falaya* [ፈለየ] ‘to separate, to divide, to distinguish’; Tigrinya *fālāyā* ‘to separate’; Tigre *fāla* ‘to separate’. Leslau 1987:161. Proto-Semitic *\*pal-aḥ-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Hebrew *pālāḥ* [פָּלַח] ‘to cleave’; Arabic *falaḥa* ‘to split, to cleave, to plow, to till’. Klein 1987:509; Murtonen 1989:340.
- Proto-Semitic *\*pal-am-* ‘to split, to divide’ > Arabic (Daḡina) *falām* ‘to notch, to indent’; Geez / Ethiopic *falama* [ፈለመ] ‘to split, to divide, to strike the first blow (in combat), to be the first to do something’; Tigre



*fälma* ‘to break to pieces’; Tigrinya *fällämä* ‘to begin’; Amharic *fällämä* ‘to strike the first blow, to initiate an action’. Leslau 1987:159.

Proto-Semitic *\*pal-ak-* ‘to split, to cleave, to break forth’ > Akkadian *palāku* ‘to kill’; Arabic *falaḡa* ‘to split, to cleave; to burst, to break (dawn)’; Sabaean *flk* ‘system of irrigation by dispersion of water by means of inflow cuts’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fālāk* ‘to split, to crack’; Tigrinya *fālākākā* ‘to split up, to crack up’; Tigre *fālāk* ‘division’; Harari *fālāka* ‘to hit the head with a stone or stick so that blood comes out or the head swells’; Amharic *fālākākākā* ‘to split, to break loose’; Gurage (Wolane) *fālākākā* ‘to card wool by splitting’. Leslau 1963:62 and 1979:232.

Proto-Semitic *\*pal-at-* ‘to separate’ > Hebrew *pālaṭ* [פָּלַט] ‘to escape’; Phoenician *plṭ* ‘to escape’; Geez / Ethiopic *falaṭa* [ፈለጠ] ‘to separate’; Harari *fālāṭa* ‘to split wood with an ax’; Argobba *fällāṭa* ‘to split’; Amharic *fällāṭā* ‘to split’; Gurage *fālāṭā* ‘to split wood with an ax’. Klein 1987:509; Leslau 1963:63, 1979:232, and 1987:161; Murtonen 1989:340—341.

Proto-Semitic *\*pal-asʷ-* ‘to break open or through’ > Hebrew *pālaš* [פָּלַשׁ] ‘to break open or through’; Akkadian *palāšu* ‘to dig a hole’. Klein 1987:512.

Proto-Semitic *\*pal-al-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Arabic *falla* ‘to dent, to notch, to blunt; to break; to flee, to run away’; Hebrew *pālāl* [פָּלַל] ‘to arbitrate, to judge’; Akkadian *palālu* ‘to have rights, to secure someone’s rights’; Sabaean *fll* ‘to cut channels’; Mehri *fāl* ‘to make off, to get away’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fell* ‘to make off, to get away, to run away’; Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *falfala* [ፈለፈለ] ‘to break out, to burst, to gush’; Tigre *fālāla* ‘to sprout forth, to break through’; Tigrinya *fālfālā* ‘to break, to make a hole’; Amharic *fālāffālā* ‘to shell (peas, beans), to gush out’; Harari *filāfāla* ‘to detach a piece from the main bunch (bananas, corn), to shell, to pick up grains one by one from the stock’; Gurage *fālāfālā* ‘to shell, to hatch out, to make a hole by scratching’. Klein 1987:511; Leslau 1987:158—159.

Proto-Semitic *\*pal-aṣ-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Arabic *falaṣa* ‘to split, to cleave, to rend, to tear asunder’, *faṣa*, *fiṣa* ‘crack, split, crevice, fissure, cleft, rift’.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *əfli*, *əfləh* ‘to be split; to split, to crack’, *səfli*, *zəfləh* ‘to cause to split’; Siwa *əfli* ‘to be split’; Mzab *fāl* ‘to pierce; to be pierced’; Kabyle *flu* ‘to pierce’.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*fald<sub>1</sub>-* ‘(vb.) to split (wood); (n.) log’ > Yaaku *pilc-* ‘small sticks of firewood’; Galla / Oromo *fatat-a* ‘log’, *fatat-* ‘to cut wood’; Somali *falliid* ‘a chip of wood, splinter’; Saho *-fliḍ-* ‘to split’. Sasse 1979:26 and 31.
- D. Chadic: West Chadic *\*pal-* ‘to cut off’ > Hausa *fallè* ‘to hit someone hard’. Central Chadic *\*pal-* ‘to cut’ > Zime *fal-* ‘to cut’. Central Chadic *\*pal-* ‘to break (stone)’ > Mafa *pal-* ‘to break (stone)’. East Chadic *\*pal-* ‘to carve, to cut, to peel’ > Tumak *pāl-* ‘to carve, to cut, to peel’; Sokoro *fal-* ‘to carve, to cut, to peel’.

Note: The Semitic and Berber forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may belong either here or with Proto-Afrasian *\*fil-* ‘to split, to cleave’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p<sup>h</sup>al-* (~ *\*p<sup>h</sup>əl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:94—97, no. 86):  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>al-* ‘to split, to cleave’;  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>al-a* ‘split, crack’  
 Derivative:  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>al-a* ‘stone’
5. Proto-Afrasian *\*pal-* (n.) ‘stone’:
- A. Semitic: Hebrew *peleḥ* [פֶּלֶחַ] ‘millstone’; Akkadian *pīlu*, *pūlu* ‘limestone cutting-block’. Klein 1987:509.  
 B. Chadic: Lamang *palak* ‘stone’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>al-a* ‘stone’ (Bomhard 2014.2:97—98, no. 87):  
 Derivative of:  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>al-* ‘to split, to cleave’ (in the sense ‘to chip or break stone[s]’);  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>al-a* ‘split, crack’
6. Proto-Afrasian *\*pal-* (adj.) ‘flat, level, broad’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*pal-/p<sup>h</sup>il-* ‘flat, level, broad’ > Hebrew *pālas* [פָּלַס] ‘to be even, level’, *peles* [פֶּלֶס] ‘balance, scale’; Phoenician *p<sup>h</sup>ls* ‘level’; Arabic *faltāḥa* ‘to make broad; to broaden, to flatten’, *fiṭāḥ* ‘broad, flattened, flat’; Akkadian *palkū* ‘wide’, *napalkū*, *nepelkū* ‘(vb.) to become wide, wide open, extended, wide apart; (adj.) wide, spacious’. Klein 1987:511.  
 B. Berber: Tamazight *fliy* ‘wide’.  
 C. Chadic: Hausa *fālale* ‘large flat rock’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p<sup>h</sup>al-* (~ *\*p<sup>h</sup>əl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:98—99, no. 88):  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>al-* ‘to spread, to extend’;  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>al-a* ‘that which is wide, flat, level, broad, open: expanse, open space or surface’; (adj.) ‘wide, flat, level, broad, open’  
 Derivative:  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>al-* ‘flat of the hand, palm’
7. Proto-Afrasian *\*pan-*, *\*pin-* (n.) ‘front part, forehead, face’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:417, no. 1943, *\*pan-/p<sup>h</sup>in-* ‘face’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*pan-* ‘front part, face’ > Akkadian *pānu* ‘front part; (pl.) face, countenance’, *pānū* ‘earlier, prior’, *pānātu* ‘front’; Hebrew *\*pāneh* [פָּנֶה], (pl.) *pānīm* [פָּנִים] ‘face, front part’; Phoenician (pl.) *\*pnm* ‘face, front part’, *lpn* ‘before’; Ugaritic (pl.) *pnm* ‘face’, *lpn* ‘before’;

Mehri *fōnəh* ‘earlier, before’, *fənfənw-* ‘in front of, before’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fēne* ‘face, front part’, *fēné* ‘earlier, firstly, in front of’; Harsūsi *fēn* ‘before, in front of; earlier, ago’. Klein 1987:513—514; Murtonen 1989:341—342.

- B. Cushitic: Proto-Agaw *\*fin-* ‘forehead, face’ > Awngi / Awiya *fen, feni* ‘forehead, face’. (?) Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *\*pand-* (*-d-* suffix ?) ‘prominence, protuberance, projecting surface or point’ > Iraqw *panda* ‘abnormal backward extension of skull’; Burunge *panda* ‘forehead, face; in front’; Alagwa *panda* ‘forehead, face; in front’; Asa *pandek* ‘knife’ ([‘s]emantic derivation: via an intermediate specification of the root to apply to a particular kind of projection, the blade or point of a weapon’). Ehret 1980:339.
- C. Chadic: East Chadic *\*pVn-* ‘temple’ > Kera *pən-ay* ‘temple’.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*phaŋ-a* ‘front part, head, forehead, face’ (Bomhard 2014. 2:108—109, no. 96)

8. Proto-Afrasian *\*par-* ‘(vb.) to be fond of, to care for, to feel affection for; to be pleased, happy, satisfied, or delighted with; (n.) love, affection; delight, joy’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*par-ah-* ‘to be glad, happy, delighted; to rejoice’ > Arabic *fariha* ‘to be glad, happy, delighted; to rejoice; to be gay, merry, cheerful’, *farah* ‘joy, gladness, glee, gaiety, hilarity, mirth, exhilaration, merriment, joy’, *farha* ‘joy’, *farih, fāriḥ* ‘merry, gay, cheerful, joyful, glad, delighted, happy’; Mehri *fīrəh* ‘to be happy’, *fərhāt* ‘happiness’, *fōrəh* ‘to make happy’; Harsūsi *fēreh* ‘to rejoice, to be happy’, *ferhet* ‘happiness’, *fēreh* ‘to make happy’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fērəh* ‘to be happy, pleased’, *effrāh* ‘to make happy’, *farh, fərhāt* ‘happiness’. Zammit 2002:318.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *ifrar* ‘to be good, to be abundant, to be of good quality’, *səfrar* ‘to make good, to make abundant, to make of good quality’, *təfərə* ‘character of that which is good, good quality, abundance’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*phar-* (~ *\*phər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:109—110, no. 97):  
 (vb.) *\*phar-* ‘to be fond of, to care for, to feel affection for; to be pleased, happy, satisfied, or delighted with’;  
 (n.) *\*phar-a* ‘love, affection; delight, joy’

9. Proto-Afrasian *\*par-* ‘(vb.) to separate, to divide, to break (apart); (n.) part, portion, share. division’ (Ehret 1995:95, no. 50, *\*par-/pir-* ‘to separate’, *\*pur-* ‘to take apart’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:418, no. 1951, *\*par-* ‘to break, to thresh’, 420, no. 1957, *\*parVm-* ‘to cut, to split’, 420, no. 1958, *\*paroḵ-* ‘to tear, to rip’, 420, no. 1959, *\*paruḵ-* ‘to cut, to break through’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*par-ad-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Hebrew *pāraḏ* [פָּרַד] ‘to separate, to divide’, *pēraḏ* [פִּרַּד] ‘to separate, to disintegrate, to loosen, to decompose’; Aramaic *pəraḏ* ‘to separate, to scatter’; Mandaic

*prd* ‘to break through, to tear apart’; Arabic *farada* ‘to set aside, to separate, to segregate’; Sabaeen *frd* ‘sole, unique’; Geez / Ethiopic *farada* [ፈፈፈ] ‘to separate, to judge’, *fərud* [ፍፍፍ] ‘separated’, *fərd* [ፍፍፍ] ‘judgment’; Tigre *fārda* ‘to judge’; Tigrinya *fārädä* ‘to judge’; Amharic *färrädä* ‘to judge, to dispense justice, to render judgment, to pronounce sentence’, *fərd* ‘judgment, sentence, justice, trial, verdict’; Gurage *fārädä* ‘to judge, to pass judgment’; Harari *färäda* ‘to judge’. Zammit 2002:318; Murtonen 1989:346; Klein 1987:523; Leslau 1963:63—64, 1979:241, and 1987:165.

Proto-Semitic *\*par-ak-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Hebrew *pāraḵ* [פָּרַךְ] ‘to break, to break in pieces; to break off; to deliver, to set free’, *pereḵ* [פֶּרֶךְ] ‘violence, murder’; Arabic *farāḵa* ‘to separate, to part, to split, to divide, to sever’; Ugaritic *prḵ* ‘to break, to open’; Akkadian *parāḵu* ‘to separate, to detach, to remove’; Mandaic *prḵ* ‘to sever, to detach, to free, to deliver, to save’; Sabaeen *frḵ* ‘to leave, to escape’; Mehri *ferōḵ* ‘to distribute, to divide’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fōtrəḵ* ‘to become separated’; Harsūsi *fātəreḵ* ‘to be or become separated’; Geez / Ethiopic *farāḵa* [ፈፈፍ] ‘to save, to redeem, to divide, to separate, to create’; Tigre *fārḵa* ‘to pierce, to perforate’; Tigrinya *färräḵä* ‘to split, to divide’; Amharic *färräḵä* ‘to separate, to divide’; Gurage *färäḵä* ‘to split, to tear off a branch’. Zammit 2002:320; Murtonen 1989:349; Klein 1987:532; Leslau 1987:166.

Proto-Semitic *\*par-at-* ‘to divide into parts’ > Hebrew *pāraṭ* [פָּרַט] ‘to change (money); to give details, to itemize; to divide into parts’; Syriac *pəraṭ* ‘to rend, to tear away, to burst open’; Akkadian *parātu* ‘to separate, to remove, to break off’; Arabic *farāṭa* ‘to separate, to part’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fērōṭ* ‘(car, bus) to go off without one’; Harsūsi *ferōṭ* ‘to depart without one (caravan, car)’; Mehri *fərōṭ* ‘to slip out of one’s hands; (car, bus, etc.) to go off without one’; [Tigrinya *fārṭa*’ *bälä*, (with metathesis) *fäṭra*’ *bälä* ‘to be torn, to burst’; Harari *färäṭa* ‘to burst (a wound from which liquid or pus comes out)’; Amharic *färräṭä* ‘to burst, to smash’; Argobba *färräṭa* ‘to burst, to smash’; Gurage *färäṭä* ‘to burst, to burst and make the sound of bursting, to explode’]. Klein 1987:527; Leslau 1979:245; Murtonen 1989:347—348.

Proto-Semitic *\*par-ax-* ‘to break out’ > Hebrew *pāraḥ* [פָּרַח] ‘to break out (of leprosy and like eruptions), to break open (a boil)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fērəx* ‘(egg) to split open’; Mehri *fərōx* ‘(girl) to throw the legs wide apart in playing (which is punished by a slap)’. Murtonen 1989:347.

Proto-Semitic *\*par-ar-* ‘to break; to destroy’ > Akkadian *parāru* ‘to break, to destroy, to annihilate’; Hebrew *pārar* [פָּרַר] ‘to break; to destroy; to put an end to, to frustrate’, *pārar* ‘to crush, to crumble, to break into crumbs’; Aramaic *pərar* ‘to crush, to crumble’; Geez / Ethiopic *farra* [ፈፈፈ] ‘to shell, to husk’; Tigrinya *färrärä* ‘to dissolve’; Amharic *fär(r)* ‘furrow’. Klein 1987:533; Leslau 1987:166; Murtonen 1989:346. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*par-par-* ‘to crumble, to break’ > Arabic *farfara* ‘to cut, to break, to tear to pieces’; Aramaic *parper* ‘to break’; Geez / Ethiopic

*farfara* [ፈፍፈፈ] ‘to crumble bread’, *fərfār* [፳፻፳፻] ‘crumbs’; Tigre *färfärä* ‘to be reduced to powder’; Tigrinya *färfärä* ‘to cut wood or a stone into small pieces, to break into small pieces’, *fərfar* ‘small pieces of wood’; Amharic *färäffärä* ‘to crumble’; Harari *firäffärä* ‘to crumble into small pieces’; Gurage *färäffärä* ‘to crumble bread’, *fərfar* ‘bread crumbs’; Argobba *färäffari* ‘crumbs’. Leslau 1963:64, 1979:241, and 1987:165.

Proto-Semitic *\*par-ac-* ‘to break through’ > Hebrew *pāraš* [פָּרַשׁ] ‘to break through, to break or burst out’, *pereš* [פָּרַץ] ‘breach (in a wall)’; Aramaic *pəraš* ‘to break through’; Mandaic *prš* ‘to break through’; Akkadian *parāšu* ‘to break through’; Ugaritic *prš* ‘to open’; Arabic *farāša* ‘to cut’; Geez / Ethiopic *farāša* [ፈፈሰ] ‘to break open, to cut open, to split’; [Tigrinya *fārtaʿ bälä*, (with metathesis) *fätraʿ bälä* ‘to be torn, to burst’; Harari *färäta* ‘to burst (a wound from which liquid or pus comes out)’; Amharic *färräta* ‘to burst, to smash’; Argobba *färräta* ‘to burst, to smash’; Gurage *färäta* ‘to burst, to burst and make the sound of bursting, to explode’]. Klein 1987:532; Leslau 1987:167; Murtonen 1989:349.

Proto-Semitic *\*par-am-* ‘to cut, to split’ > Hebrew *pāram* [פָּרַם] ‘to tear, to rend’; Syriac *pəram* ‘to cut, to split, to chop’; Arabic *farama* ‘to cut into small pieces (meat, tobacco), to mince, to chop, to hash (meat)’. Klein 1987:529; Murtonen 1989:348.

Proto-Semitic *\*par-až-* ‘to split apart, to separate’ > Arabic *faraza* ‘to set apart, to separate, to detach, to isolate’.

Proto-Semitic *\*par-at-* ‘to split’ > Aramaic *pəraθ* ‘to split up’; Mandaic *pri* ‘to split up’.

Proto-Semitic *\*par-as-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Hebrew *pāras* [פָּרַס] ‘to break in two, to divide’; Aramaic *pəras* ‘to divide, to break up’; Akkadian *parāsu* ‘to separate, to divide’; Arabic *farasa* ‘to kill, to tear (prey)’; Geez / Ethiopic *farasa* [ፈፈሰ] ‘to be demolished, to be destroyed’; Tigre *fārsa* ‘to be ruined’; Tigrinya *fāräsä* ‘to be ruined’; Argobba (a) *färräsä* ‘to demolish’; Amharic *färräsä* ‘to be demolished’; Gurage (Gogot) *färräsä* ‘to be demolished’, (Endegeñ) *afäräsä* ‘to demolish, to destroy’. Klein 1987:530; Leslau 1987:167; Murtonen 1989:348.

Proto-Semitic *\*par-ay-* ‘to cut, to split; to mince, to chop’ > Arabic *farā* ‘to split lengthwise, to cut lengthwise; to mince, to chop’.

Proto-Semitic *\*par-ag-* ‘to split open, to split apart, to separate’ > Arabic *farāga* ‘to open, to part, to separate, to cleave, to split, to breach’. Zammit 2002:318.

- B. Egyptian *prt*, *prḏ* ‘to separate’, *prh* ‘to divide, to separate’, *prš* ‘to break open’; Coptic *pōrġ* [ⲡⲟⲣⲗ] ‘to divide, to separate’. Hannig 1995:287; Vycichl 1983:164; Černý 1976:129.
- C. Berber: Tawlemmet *fardat* ‘to be cut into small pieces’, *səffərdət* ‘to cut into small pieces’; Tamazight *afərdu* ‘wooden mortar’, *tafərdut* ‘small mortar, a piece of wood used to plug a hole’, *sfurdu* ‘to crush, to pound’, *tisfərdut* ‘pestle’; Zenaga *affurdi* ‘large wooden mortar’.

- D. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*paraḥ-* ‘to pull apart’ > Iraqw *parḥami* ‘piece’; Asa *parames-* ‘to split up (firewood)’; Ma’a *-paráʔa* ‘to disperse’, *-paráti* ‘to scatter (something)’; Dahalo *poroh* ‘to pull apart’. Ehret 1980:143.
- E. Chadic: West Chadic *\*par-* ‘to smash, to break to pieces’ > Angas *par-p-* ‘to smash’; Tangale *puure-* ‘to break to pieces’. Central Chadic: Mofu *pərč-* ‘to cut’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p<sup>h</sup>ar-* (~ *\*p<sup>h</sup>ər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:110—112, no. 98):  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>ar-* ‘to separate, to divide, to break (apart)’;  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>ar-a* ‘part, portion, share’
10. Proto-Afrasian *\*par-* ‘(vb.) to spread, to scatter; (adj.) broad, extended, spread out, scattered’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*par-atṭ-* ‘to spread, to scatter’ > Hebrew *pāraś* [פָּרַשׁ] ‘to spread, to expand, to spread out’, *pēraś* [פָּרַשׁ] ‘to stretch, to spread, to scatter’; Aramaic *pāras* ‘to spread out, to extend’; Arabic *faraša* ‘to spread, to spread out’; Ḥarsūsi *ferōś* ‘to spread’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fērōś* ‘to spread’; Mehri *fārōś* ‘to spread’. Klein 1987:533; Murtonen 1989:350; Zammit 2002:319.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*par-ad-* ‘to spread, to spread out, to extend, to stretch’  
 > Arabic *farada* ‘to spread, to spread out, to extend, to stretch’.
- B. Egyptian *prš* ‘to stretch out’; Coptic *pōrš* [ⲡⲟⲣⲩⲥ] ‘to spread, to stretch, to extend’. Vycichl 1983:164; Černý 1976:128.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *əfrəd* ‘to sweep, to be swept’, *səfrəd* ‘to make sweep’, *tasəfrətt* ‘broom’; Ghadames *əfrəd* ‘to split in two (a fruit)’; Mzab *əfrəd* ‘to sweep, to be swept’; Kabyle *əfrəd* ‘to sweep, to clean’.
- D. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*paraḥ-* ‘to pull apart’ > Iraqw *parḥami* ‘piece’; Asa *parames-* ‘to split up (firewood)’; Ma’a *-paráʔa* ‘to disperse’, *-paráti* ‘to scatter (something)’; Dahalo *poroh* ‘to pull apart’. Ehret 1980:143.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p<sup>h</sup>ar-* (~ *\*p<sup>h</sup>ər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:113—115, no. 99):  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>ar-* ‘to spread, to scatter’;  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>ar-a* ‘breadth, width, extension, space’; (adj.) ‘broad, extended, spread out, scattered’
11. Proto-Afrasian *\*par-* ‘(vb.) to precede, to surpass, to outstrip, to overtake; (n.) leader, master, lord, hero; (adj.) chief, foremost, first’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*par-aš-* ‘to surpass, to outstrip, to excel’ > Hebrew *peraʕ* [פָּרַע] ‘leader, prince’; Ugaritic *prʕ* ‘chief’; Arabic *faraʕa* ‘to surpass, to outstrip, to excel’; Sabaeen *frʕ* ‘summit’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fēraʕ* ‘to win’, *fēraʕ* ‘brave’, *ferʕūn* ‘strong and muscular, brave; winner’;

Ḥarsūsi *fēra* ‘brave’; Mehri *fōra* ‘to win (usually children) in a game where palms are turned up and down’, *frā* ‘to go up, to ascend’, *far?* ‘brave’. Murtonen 1989:348. Arabic *faraṭa* ‘to precede, to hasten in advance, to overtake’.

- B. Egyptian *prī* ‘to go up, to ascend; to advance against’, *pry* ‘champion, hero’. Hannig 1995:283—284 and 285; Gardiner 1957:565; Erman—Grapow 1921:54 and 1926—1963.1:520—521; Faulkner 1962:90—91 and 91.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*phar-* (~ *\*phər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:115—118, no. 100):  
(vb.) *\*phar-* ‘to press forward, to precede, to hasten in advance, to overtake, to surpass, to outstrip’;  
(n.) *\*phar-a* ‘leader, master, lord, hero’; (adj.) ‘chief, foremost, first’

12. Proto-Afrasian *\*par-* (n.) ‘young bull or calf’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:418, no. 1950, *\*par-* ‘cattle’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*par-/pur-* ‘young bull or calf’ > Hebrew *par* [פָּר] ‘young bull or calf’, *pārāh* [פָּרָה] ‘heifer, calf’; Ugaritic *pr* ‘bull’; Akkadian *pūru* ‘young bull or calf’. Klein 1987:522.  
B. Egyptian *pry* ‘ferocious bull’. Hannig 1995:285; Faulkner 1962:91; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:526; Gardiner 1957:565.  
C. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*par-* ‘cattle’ > Mbara *far-ay* ‘cattle’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*phar-a* ‘calf, heifer’ (Bomhard 2014.2:119—120, no. 102)

13. Proto-Afrasian *\*par-* (n.) ‘house’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:418, no. 1949, *\*par-* ‘house, enclosure’):

- A. Egyptian *pr* ‘house’; Coptic *-pōr* [-ⲡⲟⲣ], *per-* [ⲡⲉⲣ-] ‘house’. Hannig 1995:278—279; Faulkner 1962:89; Erman—Grapow 1921:53 and 1926—1963.1:511—516; Gardiner 1957:565; Vycichl 1983:162; Černý 1976:127.  
B. Berber: Proto-Berber *\*far(r)-* ‘enclosure’ > Ahaggar *a-farra* ‘enclosure’; Tawlemmet *a-farra* ‘enclosure’.  
C. Chadic: East Chadic *\*par-* ‘hangar’ > Migama *para* ‘hangar’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*phar-a*, (?) *\*phur-a* ‘house’ (Bomhard 2014.2:120, no. 103)

14. Proto-Afrasian *\*par-* (vb.) ‘to go out; (n.) going, passage, journey, crossing’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:419, no. 1955, *\*par-/pir-* ‘to go out’):

- A. Egyptian *prī* ‘to go, to come out, to go forth; to go up, to ascend’, *prw* (*prīw*) ‘motion, procession, outcome, result’, *pri* ‘(ritual) procession’; Coptic *pire* [ⲡⲉⲣⲉ] ‘to come forth’. Hannig 1995:283—284 and 285;



Faulkner 1962:90—91; Gardiner 1957:565; Erman—Grapow 1921:54 and 1926—1963.1:518, 1:525, 1:526; Černý 1976:127; Vycichl 1983:162.

- B. Cushitic: Beja / Beḡawye *farāʔ*- ‘to go out’. Reinisch 1895:82. Saho-Afar *\*far*- ‘to go out’ > Saho *far*- ‘to go out’.

Note: Orël—Stolbova also include Hadiyya *fīr*- ‘to go out, to exit’ (< Highland East Cushitic *\*fīr*- ‘to go out’). However, Hudson (1989:71 and 409) derives Hadiyya *fīr*- from Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*ful*- ‘to go out, to exit’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*phar*- (~ *\*phər*-) (Bomhard 2014.2:120—122, no. 104):  
(vb.) *\*phar*- ‘to go or pass; to go or pass over or across; to go forth or out’;  
(n.) *\*phar-a* ‘going, passage, journey, crossing’

15. Proto-Afrasian *\*par*- (adj.) ‘white’:

- A. Omotic: Yemsa / Janjero *poro* ‘white’.  
B. Chadic: Hausa *fārī* ‘white’; Guruntum *fari* ‘white’; Margi *pàrth*, *pàrtù* ‘white’; Gisiga-Marua *babaraŋ* ‘white’; Gidar *bábara* ‘white’; Lele *bòré* ‘white’; Kabalay *bùrùwa* ‘white’; Dangla *pórtà* ‘white’; Migama *púrtà* ‘white’; Jegu *pórórân* ‘white’; Birgit *fóróórà* ‘white’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:178 *\*pr*, II:344—345; Newman 1977:34, no. 145.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*pharʷ*- (~ *\*phərʷ*-) (Bomhard 2014.2:122—123, no. 106):  
(vb.) *\*pharʷ*- ‘to ripen, to mature, to grow old, (hair) to turn gray’;  
(n.) *\*pharʷ-a* ‘ripeness, maturity’; (adj.) ‘ripe, mature, gray’

16. Proto-Afrasian *\*pasʷ*- (vb.) to split, to cleave, to break, to shatter; (n.) split, break; part, share, portion’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*pasʷ-ax*- ‘to tear, to render asunder, to sever’ > Hebrew *pāšah* [פָּשַׁח] ‘to tear to pieces’; Syriac *pəšah* ‘to tear, to rend asunder, to cut off’; Arabic *fasaḥa* ‘to dislocate, to disjoint, to sever, to sunder, to tear’. Klein 1987:534.

Proto-Semitic *\*pasʷ-at*- ‘to tear off, to strip off’ > Hebrew *pāšaʔ* [פָּשַׁע] ‘to strip off, to flay’; Syriac *pəšaʔ* ‘to stretch out, to extend, to reach out’; Akkadian *pašātu* ‘to expunge, to obliterate’. Klein 1987:534.

- B. Egyptian *pzš* (if dissimilated from *\*pšš*) ‘to divide, to share; division’, *pzšty* ‘part, division’, *pzšt* ‘sharing out; share, portion’; Coptic *pōš* [ⲡⲱⲥ] ‘to divide’, *paše* [ⲡⲁⲥⲉ] ‘division, half’. Faulkner 1962:94—95; Hannig 1995:294; Gardiner 1957:566; Erman—Grapow 1921:55 and 1926—1963.1:553—554; Vycichl 1983:166; Černý 1976:130 and 131.  
C. Berber: Tuareg *əfsi* ‘to break up, to be broken up, to melt (grease, ice), to liquify’; Mzab *əfsi* ‘to melt’, *əfsu* ‘to disentangle, to undo’; Tamazight



*əfsəy* ‘to melt, to dissolve’, *fsu* ‘to undo, to stretch out, to disentangle; to be undone, *əfsay* ‘melting, dissolution’; Kabyle *əfsi* ‘to melt, to be broken up, to fray, to be undone’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*phasʷ-* (~ *\*phəsʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:124—125, no. 108):  
 (vb.) *\*phasʷ-* ‘to split, to cleave, to break, to shatter’;  
 (n.) *\*phasʷ-a* ‘split, break; part, share, portion’
17. Proto-Afrasian *\*pat-* ‘(vb.) to flutter, to quiver, to tremble, to palpitate, to move rapidly, to fall down; (n.) haste, hurry’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*pat-* (*\*ha-pat-*, *\*pat-at-*, *\*pat-pat-*) ‘to fall down, to collapse, to weaken, to crumble’ > Arabic *ha-fata* ‘to fall down, to collapse; to suffer a breakdown’, *fatta* ‘to weaken, to undermine, to sap, to crumble’, *fatfata* ‘to fritter, to crumble (something, especially bread)’; Mandaic *ptt* ‘to crumble’; Hebrew *pāθaθ* [פָּתַח] ‘to break up, to crumble’; Aramaic *pəθaθ* ‘to crumble’; Ḥarsūsi *fet* ‘to crumble’; Mehri *fət* ‘to crumble’; Geez / Ethiopic *fatta* [ፈተ], *fatata* [ፈተተ], *fattata* [ፈተተተ] ‘to break off a piece, to fracture, to crush, to break the Host during communion, to break and distribute (bread and anything else), to give out, to make a gift, to appoint a portion, to give a share’, *fatfata* [ፈተፈተ] ‘to crumble bread’; Tigre *fātāta* ‘to crumble bread, to break into small pieces’, *fātfāta* ‘to crumble’; Tigrinya *fättätä* ‘to crumble’, *fätfätä* ‘to crumble’; Amharic *fättätä*, *fätäffätä* ‘to crumble’; Gurage *fätäffätä* ‘to crumble’. Klein 1987:538; Leslau 1987:169—170 and 171; Murtonen 1989:351.
- B. Egyptian *ptpt* in *ptpt (r) hry* ‘to fall to the ground’ (*hry* = ‘that which is under’), *pth* ‘to cast to the ground’, *ptht* in *ptht nt 3pdw* ‘flight of birds’ (*3pdw* = ‘birds’); Coptic *potpt* [ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲧ] ‘to fall away, to make fall, to drop’. Hannig 1995:298 and 299; Faulkner 1962:96; Gardiner 1957:566; Vycichl 1983:165; Černý 1976:130; Erman—Grapow 1921:56, 57, and 1926—1963.1:563, 1:565—566.
- Note: Two distinct Proto-Afrasian roots seem to have fallen together in Semitic — *\*pat-* ‘to flutter, to quiver, to tremble, to palpitate, to move rapidly, to fall down’ > ‘to crumble’ and *\*pVt-* ‘to break, to split, to cut’ > ‘to crush, to crumble’ (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:433, no. 2030, *\*pVtok-* ‘to split, to cut’, 1995:178, no. 784, *\*fatVq-* ‘to pierce, to split’, and 1995:180, no. 795, *\*fet-* ‘to break, to cut’).
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*path-* (~ *\*phəth-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:126—129, no. 110):  
 (vb.) *\*path-* ‘to flutter, to quiver, to tremble, to palpitate, to move rapidly’;  
 (n.) *\*path-a* ‘haste, hurry’
18. Proto-Afrasian *\*pat-* ‘(vb.) to hasten, to move quickly; (n.) foot’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*pat'-an-* 'to be quick, rapid, fast' > Geez / Ethiopic *faṭana* [ፈጠነ] 'to be fast, to be swift, to hurry, to be in a hurry, to be prompt, to speed up'; Tigrinya *fātānā* 'to be rapid'; Harari *fātāna* 'to be fast, quick, rapid'; Gurage *fātānā* 'to be fast, quick'; Amharic *fāṭṭānā* 'to be fast, quick'. Leslau 1963:66, 1979:250—251, and 1987:171.
- B. Egyptian *pd* 'foot, knee', *pd* 'to run away, to flee, to hasten'; Coptic *pat* [ⲡⲁⲧ] 'leg, shin, knee, foot', *pōt* [ⲡⲱⲧ] 'to run, to flee'. Faulkner 1962:96; Erman—Grapow 1921:57 and 1926—1963.1:566; Gardiner 1957:566; Vycichl 1983:165; Černý 1976:129.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p<sup>h</sup>at'-* (~ *\*p<sup>h</sup>at'-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:129—130, no. 111):  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>at'-* 'to hasten, to move quickly';  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>at'-a* 'foot'
19. Proto-Afrasian *\*pir-* '(vb.) to bring forth, to bear fruit; (n.) birth, issue, offspring, descendant, fruit' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:424, no. 1983, *\*pir-* 'fruit, corn', 425, no. 1984, *\*pirah-* 'sprout, flower' [derived from *\*pir-* 'fruit, corn']; Ehret 1995:106, no. 85, *\*fir-* 'to flower, to bear fruit'):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*par-ay-* 'to bring forth, to bear fruit' > Hebrew *pārāh* [פָּרָה], *pārāʔ* [פָּרָא] 'to bring forth, to bear fruit', *pārī* [פָּרִי] 'fruit'; Aramaic *pārā* 'to bear fruit, to be fruitful'; Phoenician *pry* 'to bear fruit'; Ugaritic *pr* 'fruit'; Sabaean *fīy* 'to cultivate'; Šheri / Jibbāli *efrēʔ* 'to become ripe, to ripen'; Geez / Ethiopic *farya* [ፈርየ], *faraya* [ፈረየ] 'to bear fruit, to produce fruit, to yield fruit, to be fruitful, to engender', *fārē* [ፋረ] 'fruit'; Tigrinya *fārāyā* 'to bear fruit'; Tigre *fāra* 'to bear fruit'; Amharic (*a*)*fārā* 'to bear fruit'; Gurage (*a*)*fārā* 'to bear fruit', *fre* 'fruit'. Klein 1987:522, 523, and 527—528; Leslau 1979:240 and 1987:167; Murtonen 1989:347.
- Proto-Semitic *\*par-ax-* 'to sprout' > Hebrew *pārāh* [פָּרַח] 'to bud, to sprout'; Aramaic *pārāh* 'to blossom, to sprout'; Akkadian *parāhu* 'to sprout', *pirhu* 'sprout', *pirʔu* 'issue, offspring, descendant'; Arabic *farraḥa* 'to have young ones (bird), to hatch; to germinate, to sprout', *farḥ* 'young bird; shoot, sprout (of a plant or a tree)'; Šheri / Jibbāli *fērāg* '(flower) to open up', *fērg* 'fully-grown, fast grown'; Harsūsi *fātereḡ* 'to ripen, to bloom'; Mehri *fārōḡ* '(bird) to hatch (eggs)', *fātrāḡ* 'to bloom'; Geez / Ethiopic *farḥa* [ፈርዝ] 'to sprout, to germinate'. Murtonen 1989:347; Leslau 1987:166; Klein 1987:527.
- B. Egyptian *pṛt* 'fruit, seed, offspring, posterity', *pṛi* 'to be born, to arise from', *pṛḥ* 'flower, bloom, blossom'. Faulkner 1962:90 and 91; Erman—Grapow 1921:54; Hannig 1995:286 and 287.
- C. Berber: Guanche *a-faro* 'corn'.
- D. Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *firi* 'fruit'; Xamir *fir* 'fruit'; Bilin *fir* 'fruit'; Saho *fire* 'flowers, fruit'. Appleyard 2006:73; Reinisch 1887:125.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*phir-* (~ *\*pher-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:134—136, no. 117):  
 (vb.) *\*phir-* ‘to bring forth, to bear fruit’;  
 (n.) *\*phir-a* ‘birth, issue, offspring, descendant, fruit’
20. Proto-Afrasian *\*pir-* ‘(vb.) to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee; (n.) flying, flight, fleeing’ (Ehret 1995:96, no. 51, *\*pir-* ‘to fly’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:424, no. 1981, *\*pir-* ‘to fly, to soar’, and 422, no. 1971, *\*per-* ‘bird’; Takács 2011:116—117):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*par-* (*\*na-par-*, *\*par-ar-*, *\*par-ax-*, *\*par-ad-*, *\*par-ah-*, *\*par-par-*) ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’ > Akkadian *naprušu* ‘to fly, to take flight, to flee’; Arabic *farra* ‘to flee, to run away, to desert’, *naḥara* ‘to flee, to run away’, *farḥ* ‘young bird’, (reduplicated) *farfara* ‘to move, (birds) to shake wings’, *furfur* ‘small bird’; Hebrew *pāraḥ* [פָּרַח] ‘to fly’; Aramaic *pəraḥ* ‘to fly’, *parḥā* ‘young bird’; Syriac *pəraḥ* ‘to flee’; Ugaritic *\*pr̥r* ‘to flee’ (imptv. *pr̥* ‘flee!’), *npr* ‘fowl’; Sabaean *frh* ‘to flee’; Harsūsi *fer* ‘to fly, to jump, to spring’, *ferfāyr* ‘feather’, *ferōd* ‘to run off in panic, to stampede, to flee’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ferr* ‘to fly, to flee, to jump up quickly’, *fērōd* ‘to stampede, to panic’, *ferfōr* ‘hasty’, *ənfērfer* ‘to have a fit, to have epilepsy, to panic’; Mehri *fər* ‘to fly, to jump up’, *fərōd* ‘to stampede, to panic, to make off, to run away’, *fərfir* ‘hasty person’; Geez / Ethiopic *farḥ* [ፈርዝ] ‘chick, young bird’, *ʾanfarfara* [አንፈርፈር] ‘to thrash about, to flail about, to move convulsively’; Tigre *fərfərāt* ‘a bird’; Tigrinya *färärä* ‘to fly, to fly away’, *ʾanfärfärä* ‘to writhe, to flop about’; Amharic *tānfäräffärä* ‘to flop around, to writhe, to thrash about’, *fərfərt* ‘partridge’. Klein 1987:527; Leslau 1987:165 and 166; Militarev 2010:70 Proto-Semitic *\*pr̥h*; Zammit 2002:318.
- B. Egyptian *pry* ‘to soar, to rise’. Hannig 1995:283—284; Faulkner 1962:90—91 *pr̥i* (2) ‘to go up, to ascend’; Gardiner 1957:565; Erman—Grapow 1921:54 and 1926—1963.1:520—521.
- C. Berber: Kabyle *ffərfər* ‘to flap the wings, to fly away; to fly; to go quickly’, *ifərr* ‘wing; leaves, foliage’; Tamazight *afrəw* ‘to fly’, *afər* ‘wing’; Semlal *firri* ‘to fly’; Ahaggar *fəra-t* ‘to fly’.
- D. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*pur-* or *\*pir-* ‘to fly’ > Ma’a *púru* ‘to fly’, *-púrupúru* ‘to hop’. Ehret 1980:321. Beja / Beḍawye *fir-* ‘to fly’. Reinisch 1895:81.
- E. Chadic: West Chadic *\*pir-* ‘to soar’ > Hausa *fūra* ‘to soar’; Angas *fūr* ‘to stretch the wings’. Central Chadic *\*pVr-* ‘bird’s flight’ > Mafa *parr*, *perr* ‘bird’s flight’. Newman 1977:26 Proto-Chadic *\*pəra* ‘to fly, to jump’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*phir-* (~ *\*pher-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:136—137, no. 118):  
 (vb.) *\*phir-* ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’;  
 (n.) *\*phir-a* ‘flying, flight, fleeing’

Note also:

(vb.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>ar-* ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’;

(n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>ar-a* ‘flying, flight, fleeing’

21. Proto-Afrasian *\*pit-* ‘(vb.) to open; (n.) opening, open space; (adj.) open, spacious; wide, broad’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:425—425, no. 1989, *\*pitaḥ-* ‘to open’):

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *pat-ah-* ‘to open’ > Hebrew *pāṭaḥ* [פָּתַח] ‘to open, to untie, to loosen’; Aramaic *pəṭaḥ* ‘to open’; Arabic *fataḥa* ‘to open’; Akkadian *pitū, petū, patū* ‘to open’; Phoenician *pth* ‘to open’; Ugaritic *pth* ‘to open’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fētəḥ* ‘to open’; Harsūsi *fetōḥ* ‘to open’; Mehri *fəṭṭəḥ, fōṭəḥ* ‘to open’; Geez / Ethiopic *fəṭṭa* [ፈጥሏ] ‘to open, to untie, to loosen, to unfasten, to release, to dissolve, to disengage, to make of no effect, to set free, to solve, to absolve, to forgive (sins), to judge’; Tigre *fāṭṭa* ‘to loosen, to open, to untie, to release’; Tigrinya *fāṭṭe* ‘to loosen, to open, to untie, to release’; Harari *fāṭaḥa* ‘to untie, to set free’; Amharic *fāṭta* ‘to release, to untie, to unfasten, to divorce’; Argobba *fāṭta* ‘to undo, to release, to absolve of sin, to divorce’; Gurage *fāta* ‘to untie, to loosen, to divorce’. Klein 1987:536; Leslau 1979:247 and 1987:170; Murtonen 1989:351—352; Zammit 2002:315.

Proto-Semitic *\*pat-ay-* ‘to be wide, spacious, open’ > Hebrew *pāṭāḥ* [פָּתָח] ‘to be wide, spacious, open’; Aramaic *pəṭā* ‘to be spacious’; Gurage (Wolane) *fātti* ‘wide, broad’. Gurage (Wolane) *fetātā* ‘to be wide, broad’, *afetātā* ‘to widen’. Klein 1987:536; Leslau 1979:248.

B. Egyptian *pth* ‘to be open’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:565.

C. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*pVtVH-* ‘to open’ > Mofu *pəṭh-* ‘to open’. East Chadic *\*pit-* ‘to open’ > Bidiya *pit-* ‘to open’; Sokoro (reduplicated) *fītifīti* ‘to open’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p<sup>h</sup>ith-* (~ *\*p<sup>h</sup>eth-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:140—142, no. 121):  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>ith-* ‘to spread, to open; to burst open; to be open’;  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>ith-a* ‘opening, open space’; (adj.) ‘open, spacious; wide, broad’

22. Proto-Afrasian *\*pit’v-* ‘(vb.) to give birth to; (n.) genitals (male or female)’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:70, no. 279, *\*bičur-/pičur-* ‘pudenda’):

A. Semitic: Arabic *faza, fazan* ‘womb’.

B. (?) Egyptian *pzdd* ‘testicles (of the god Seth)’.

C. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*pičur-in-* ‘testicles’ > Fali Jilvu *fčerin* ‘testicles’; Fali Mubi *fučuru* ‘testicles’.

Note: According to Orël—Stolbova, the original Central Chadic stem seems to have been *\*pičur-*. The Semitic material cited by Orël—Stolbova is too

divergent phonetically and semantically to be related to the Chadic forms.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p<sup>hit</sup>ʔ-* (~ *\*p<sup>het</sup>ʔ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:142—143, no. 122):  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>hit</sup>ʔ-* ‘to give birth to’;  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>hit</sup>ʔ-a* ‘genitals (male or female); birth, origin’

23. Proto-Afrasian *\*puʔ-* ‘(vb.) to swell, to fatten; (n.) swelling, fullness, fat(ness)’

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*paʔ-am-* ‘to be or become full, to be fat’ > Hebrew *pīmāh* [פִּמְאָה] ‘superabundance, fat’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Arabic *faʔama* ‘to quench one’s thirst with water; to be full’, *faʔima* ‘to be fat’; Akkadian *piāmu* ‘robust’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔafʔama* [አፋአመ] ‘to put a morsel of food in another’s mouth, to give bread to a beggar’; Gafat (tä)famä ‘to take a mouthful’; Amharic *fämma* (< *\*fmʔ*) ‘to eat’. Klein 1987:505; Leslau 1987:154.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*puʔ-* ‘clump of hair’ > Iraqw *puʔumpuʔay* ‘clump of hair’; Ma’a *kipupú* ‘vulva’. Ehret 1980:146.  
 Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*puʔus-* ‘to swell, to rise’ > K’wadza *puʔus-* ‘to swell, to rise’; Ma’a *-puʔú* ‘to rise (of the sun)’. Ehret 1980:146.  
 According to Ehret, “[*\*puʔus-* ‘to swell, to rise’] appears to be a verb derivative of the noun stem in [*\*puʔ-* ‘clump of hair’]; a pre-Southern Cushitic root with the meaning ‘clump, lump, mound, swelling’ would thus seem to underlie both [*\*puʔ-* ‘clump of hair’] and [*\*puʔus-* ‘to swell, to rise’].”

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p<sup>hu</sup>ʔ-* (~ *\*p<sup>ho</sup>ʔ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:143—144, no. 123):  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>hu</sup>ʔ-* ‘to swell, to fatten’;  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>hu</sup>ʔ-a* ‘swelling, fullness, fat(ness)’

24. Proto-Afrasian *\*pul-* verbal stem indicating any kind of downward motion: ‘to fall, to fall down, to collapse, to set (sun), etc.’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:416, no. 1936, *\*pal-* ‘to fall’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*na-pal-* ‘to fall, to fall down’ > Hebrew *nāḫal* [נָחַל] ‘to fall, to lie’, *mappālāh* ‘decaying ruins, heap of rubble’, *mappeleθ* ‘fall, collapse’; Aramaic *nəḫal* ‘to fall, to fall down’; Akkadian *napālu* ‘to fall’ (West Semitic loan), *napalsuḫū* ‘to fall to the ground, to fall upon something, to throw oneself to the ground, to let oneself fall to the ground’; Ugaritic *npl* ‘to fall’; Arabic *nafl* ‘supererogation, what is optional, prayer of free will’, *naḫala* ‘to do more than is required by duty or obligation, to supererogate (specifically, prayers, charity, or the like)’, *naḫal* ‘booty, loot, spoil’; Sabaeen *nfl* ‘to fall upon an enemy, to make an attack’; Mehri *haṇḫūl* ‘to throw stones down; (goats, etc.) to have stones fall onto them’;

Šheri / Jibbāli *enfēl* ‘to throw stones down’. Klein 1987:422; Murtonen 1989:286.

Hebrew *pālāl* [פָּלַל] ‘to pray’ (originally ‘to prostrate oneself in prayer’). Klein 1987:511; Murtonen 1989:339.

Proto-Semitic \**ʔa-pal-* ‘to set (sun), to grow dark’ > Arabic *ʔafala* ‘to go down, to set (stars)’, *ʔufūl* ‘setting (of stars)’; Hebrew \**ʔāḡal* [אָגַל] ‘to grow dark’, *ʔōḡel* [אָגַל] ‘darkness’, *ʔāḡēl* [אָגַל] ‘dark, obscure, gloomy’, *ʔāḡēlāh* [אָגַל] ‘darkness’; Aramaic *ʔaḡal* ‘to grow dark, to darken’; Akkadian *aplu* ‘late’. Klein 1987:47; Murtonen 1989:98; Zammit 2002:75.

B. West Chadic \**pal-* ‘to fall’ > Sura *pal* ‘to fall’; Chip *pal* ‘to fall’; Dera *yupele* ‘to fall’.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**pʰul-* (~ \**pʰol-*) stem indicating downward motion (Bomhard 2014.2:144—146, no. 124):

(vb.) \**pʰul-* ‘to fall, to fall down, to collapse, to ruin, etc.’;

(n.) \**pʰul-a* ‘fall, collapse, ruin’; (adj.) ‘fallen, ruined, weakened; low, base, vile, mean’

### 3.2. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*b

25. Proto-Afrasian \**baṣ-* ‘(vb.) to pour; (n.) torrent, outpour’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:45, no. 180, \**baṣ-* ‘to pour’; Ehret 1995:91, no. 39, \**baaṣ-* ‘to flow heavily, to defecate’):

A. Semitic: Arabic *baʿʿa* ‘to pour out in abundance’, *baʿʿ* ‘abundant outpour’, *buʿāḡ*, *baʿāḡ*, *biʿāḡ* ‘raining cloud, waterspout, first shower, noise of torrent’, *baʿbaʿ* ‘gurgling of water’. D. Cohen 1970—:74.

B. Egyptian *bʿhy* ‘to be inundated; to flood, to inundate; to pour’, *bʿ* ‘to drink (blood)’, *bʿbʿ* ‘to drink’, *bʿbʿt* ‘stream’, *bʿh* ‘basin (for irrigation)’, *bʿh* ‘inundated land’, *bʿhw* ‘inundation, flood’. Hannig 1995:249; Erman—Grapow 1921:47 and 1926—1963.1:446, 1:447, 1:448—449; Faulkner 1962:81; Gardiner 1957:564.

C. Chadic: West Chadic \**baṣ-* ‘to pour’ > Tsagu *va-*, *vo-* ‘to pour’; Mburku *vaɣ*, *vaw* ‘to pour’. East Chadic \**bwa(y)-* ‘to pour’ > Somray *bo* ‘to pour’; Kabalay *bəyi* ‘to pour’; Mokilko (perf.) *buuye* ‘to pour’; Lele *boy-* ‘to pour’.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**baṣ-* (~ \**bəṣ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:7, no. 1):

(vb.) \**baṣ-* ‘to pour’;

(n.) \**baṣ-a* ‘torrent, outpour’

26. Proto-Afrasian \**baṣ-* ‘(vb.) to tie, to bind; to attach, to fasten; (n.) tie, bond, bandage, fastening’ (Takács 2011:54—55 \**b-ʿ-l-*):

- A. Egyptian *bʿn* ‘to set (a precious stone in gold)’, *bʿn* ‘setting (a piece of jewelry)’. Hannig 1995:249; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:447.
- B. Chadic: West Chadic: Sura *ḥâl* ‘to join or bind together’; Mupun *ḥāal* ‘to join’; Goemai *ḥal* ‘to fasten’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*baʕ-* (~ *\*bəʕ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:7—8, no. 2):  
 (vb.) *\*baʕ-* ‘to tie, to bind; to attach, to fasten’;  
 (n.) *\*baʕ-a* ‘tie, bond, bandage, fastening’
27. Proto-Afrasian *\*baba* (n.) ‘father’ (nursery word) (Orël—Stolbova 1995:42, no. 165, *\*bab-* ‘father’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bābā* ‘father’ > Syriac *bābā* ‘father’; Arabic *bābā* ‘papa, father, daddy’; Soqotri *bāba* ‘father’; Geez / Ethiopic *bābā* [ᐁᐁ] ‘grandfather, ancestor’; Argobba *baba* ‘grandfather’; Harari *bāb* (in address: *bābā*) ‘grandfather’. D. Cohen 1970— :40; Leslau 1963:39 and 1987:85; Hudson 2013:127.
- B. Berber: Proto-Berber *\*baba* ‘father’ > Nefusa *baba* ‘father’; Ghadames *baba* ‘father (term of respect preceding a masculine name)’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *baba* ‘father’; Wargla *baba* ‘father’; Riff *baba* ‘father’; Tamazight *baba* ‘father’; Kabyle *baba* ‘father, grandfather’; Chaouia *baba* ‘father’; Zenaga *baba* ‘father’. Note: Some of the Berber forms may be borrowed from Semitic.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*baabb-* ‘father’ > Dasenech *baaba* ‘father’; Gawwada *papp-o* ‘father’. Sasse 1979:44. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *\*baba* ‘father’ > Iraqw *baba* ‘father’.
- D. Chadic: Proto-Chadic *\*baba* ‘father’ > Hausa *bàaba* ‘father’; Angas *baba* ‘father’; Karekare *babo* ‘father’; Ngizim *bàabá* ‘father’ (term by which a person refers to or addresses his own father or an older man with whom he feels a father-like attachment); Tera *baba* ‘father’; Gabin *babu* ‘father’; Gisiga *baba* ‘father’; Buduma *baabei* ‘father’; Mubi *baaba* ‘father’.
- E. Omotic: Proto-Omotic *\*baba* ‘father’ > Bench / Gimira *baba* ‘ancestors’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*baba* ‘father’ (nursery word) (Bomhard 2014.2:8—9, no. 3)
28. Proto-Afrasian *\*ba(a)b-* (n.) ‘child’ (nursery word) (Orël—Stolbova 1995:42, no. 166, *\*bab-* ‘child’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bāb-* ‘child, babe’ > Akkadian *bābu* ‘child, baby’; Arabic *bābūs* ‘child, young of an animal, foal’. D. Cohen 1970— :40.
- B. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *baabuu* ‘child’.
- C. Chadic: East Chadic: Mubi *bobu* ‘child’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*baaba* ‘child, babe’ (nursery word) (Bomhard 2014.2:9, no. 4)
29. Proto-Afrasian *\*bad-* ‘(vb.) to split, to cleave, to separate; (n.) split, crack, breach, opening’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:43, no. 171, *\*bad-* ‘to separate’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bad-ak-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Hebrew *beḏek* [בִּזֵּק] ‘breach, fissure’; Aramaic *bəḏak* ‘to penetrate, to break through’, *biḏkā* ‘breach (of a dike, etc.)’; Akkadian *badāku* ‘to cleave, to split’; Ugaritic *bdk-t* ‘openings, sluices’ (?); Geez / Ethiopic *bedek* [ቤደክ], *bedaḥ* [ቤደሐ] ‘cracks in a wall, wall about to collapse’ (Hebrew loan [cf. Leslau 1987:87]). Klein 1987:64; Murtonen 1989:106; D. Cohen 1970— :46.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*bad-ad-* ‘to split, to divide, to separate’ > Hebrew *bāḏād* [בִּזְזָד] ‘to be separated, isolated, alone’, *baḏ* [בִּז] ‘part, piece, portion’; Phoenician *bdd* ‘to be separate’; Arabic *badda* ‘to divide, to separate, to spread’; Sabaeen *bdd* ‘to distribute, to share out’; Harsūsi *abdōd* ‘to separate, to sever’; Mehri *abdēd* ‘to separate’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bedd* ‘to separate’; Geez / Ethiopic *badada* [ቤደደ], *badda* [በደ] ‘to detach, to separate, to make single’. D. Cohen 1970— :44—45; Klein 1987:63; Murtonen 1989:105; Leslau 1987:86; Tomback 1978:44.
  - B. Cushitic: Bilin *bid-* ‘to open’; Beja / Beḏawye *bādo* ‘furrow’; Sidamo *bad-* ‘to differentiate, to separate’, *bad-am-* ‘to be different’. Hudson 1989:351; Leslau 1987:86.
  - C. Omotic: Proto-Omotic *\*bad-* ‘to split, to cut (wood)’ > Kefa *bad* ‘to split, to cut (wood)’; Mocha *badda-* ‘to split, to cut (wood)’ (Leslau 1987:86 gives the Mocha form as *bādda(ye)* ‘to split wood’).
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bad-* (~ *\*bəd-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:9—11, no. 5):  
 (vb.) *\*bad-* ‘to split, to cleave, to separate, to divide’;  
 (n.) *\*bad-a* ‘split, crack, breach, opening’
30. Proto-Afrasian *\*bad-* ‘(vb.) to decay, to weaken; to perish; (n.) lying down, fall, sleep, ruin’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ba/ya/d-* ‘to perish, to die, pass away’ > Arabic *bāda* (*byd*) ‘to perish, to die, to pass away, to become extinct’; Ṭamūdīc *byd* ‘to pass away’, *bd* ‘(vb.) to perish; (n.) loss, ruin’. Syriac *bāḏ* (*bwd*) ‘to perish’.  
 Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*bad-bad-* ‘to perish, to die; to decay, to weaken’ > Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *badbada* [ቤደበደ] ‘to perish, to disappear, to decay, to weaken, to get sick, to die, to get rusty’. D. Cohen 1970— :44, 50, and 61; Leslau 1987:86.
  - B. Egyptian *bdš* ‘to become faint, weak, exhausted’, *bdšt* ‘weakness’. Hannig 1995:266; Erman—Grapow 1921:51 and 1926—1963.1:487; Faulkner 1962:86; Gardiner 1957:564.



- C. Berber: Tuareg *əbdəh* ‘to be out of wind, to be no longer able’, *zəbbədəh* ‘to run out of breath’; Ghadames *əbdəz* ‘to be faint, weak, tired’, *əbəddəz* ‘weakness, faintness, tiredness’, *aməbduz* ‘faint, weak, tired’.
- D. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *badar-* ‘to tire, to become tired’. Hudson 1989:351.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bad-* (~ *\*bəd-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:13—14, no. 9):  
 (vb.) *\*bad-* ‘to fall down, to lie down; to decay, to weaken; to perish’;  
 (n.) *\*bad-a* ‘lying down, fall, sleep, ruin’
31. Proto-Afrasian *\*bad-* ‘(vb.) to bring into being, to bring forth; to initiate, to instigate, to activate, to originate; (n.) creation, initiation, origination’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:43—44, no. 172, *\*badaʔ-* ‘to begin’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bad-af-* ‘to bring into being, to bring forth; to initiate, to produce, to create’ > Arabic *badaʕa* ‘to introduce, to originate, to start, to do (something) for the first time; to create; to achieve unique, excellent results; to invent, to contrive, to devise, to think up’, *badʕ* ‘innovation, novelty; creation’, *bidʕa* ‘innovation, novelty; heretical doctrine, heresy; (pl.) creations (of fashion, art)’, *mubdiʕ* ‘producing, creating’; Tigre *bədʕ* ‘sudden action’. D. Cohen 1970— :46; Zammit 2002:90.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*bad-aʔ-* ‘to begin, to start’ > Hebrew *bāḏāʔ* [בָּדָא] ‘to devise, to invent, to fabricate, to concoct’; Aramaic *bəḏā* ‘to invent, to fabricate’; Arabic *badaʔa* ‘to begin, to start; to arise, to spring up, to crop up’, *badʔ*, *badʔa* ‘beginning, start’, *mabdaʔ* ‘beginning, start, starting point; basis, foundation; principle’, *mabdaʔī* ‘original, initial; fundamental, basic’; Sabaeen *bdʔ* ‘beginning, first occasion’; Ḥarsūsi *bedō* ‘to begin’, *abed* ‘to start, to start up’; Mehri *əbtōdi* ‘to begin’; Šḥeri / Jibbālī *bédéʔ* ‘to begin’; Soqotri *bédəʔ* ‘to begin’. D. Cohen 1970— :44; Klein 1987:63; Zammit 2002:90.
- B. Berber: Kabyle *əbdu* ‘to begin’ (this may be an Arabic loan).
- C. Chadic: Ngizim *bàdītú* ‘to begin, to begin doing’; Mubi *badaa* ‘to begin’ (these may be Arabic loans).
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bad-* (~ *\*bəd-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:14—15, no. 10):  
 (vb.) *\*bad-* ‘to bring into being, to bring forth; to bring into action, to initiate, to instigate, to activate, to originate’;  
 (n.) *\*bad-a* ‘creation, initiation, origination’
32. Proto-Afrasian *\*bag-* (n.) ‘goat, sheep’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:44, no. 173, *\*bag-* ‘goat, sheep’):
- A. Berber: Proto-Berber *\*bag-*, *\*bagag-* ‘calf, lamb, ram’ > Ahaggar *a-bayaγ* ‘lamb’; Nefusa *byu* ‘calf’; Ayr *a-bagag* ‘ram’; Tawlemmet *a-bagag* ‘ram’.

- B. Cushitic: Central Cushitic: Bilin *bäggä* ‘sheep’; Xamir *bega* ‘sheep’; Xamta *biga* ‘sheep’; Kemant *bäga* ‘sheep’; Quara *bagā* ‘sheep’. Appleyard 2006:121 Proto-Northern Agaw *\*bäg-a*; Reinisch 1887:71. Cushitic loans in: Geez / Ethiopic *baggə* [በግፊ] ‘sheep, ram’; Tigre *bəggū* ‘sheep’; Tigrinya *bägʼi* ‘sheep’; Amharic *bäg* ‘sheep’; Gafat *bäg* ‘sheep’; Argobba *bägi* ‘sheep’. Leslau 1987:88.
- C. Omotic: Kefa *bagee* ‘sheep’; Bworo *baggoo* ‘sheep’.
- D. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*bag-* ‘sheep’ > Gude *baga* ‘sheep’; Fali Jilvu *bäga* ‘sheep’; Fali Bwagira *bəgə-n* ‘sheep’; Bachama *m-baga-te* ‘sheep’; Fali Mubi *bəgə* ‘sheep’. East Chadic *\*bag-* (pl.) ‘goats’ > Sibine *bage* ‘goats’.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*bag-a* ‘goat, sheep’ (Bomhard 2014.2:15, no. 11)

33. Proto-Afrasian *\*bah-* ‘(vb.) to shine; (n.) brilliance, brightness, splendor, beauty; light; (adj.) shining, bright, radiant’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:88, no. 364, *\*bVhVw-* ‘to shine’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bah-ar-* ‘to shine’ > Hebrew *bāhīr* [בְּהִיר] ‘bright, brilliant (of light)’; Arabic *bahara* ‘to glitter, to shine’; Aramaic *bəhar* ‘to shine’.

Proto-Semitic *\*bah-aw-* ‘to be beautiful, shining, brilliant’ > Arabic *bahā* ‘to be beautiful, to shine with beauty’, *bahīy* ‘beautiful, splendid, brilliant, radiant, shining’.

Proto-Semitic *\*bah-ag-* ‘to be shining, beautiful, bright, brilliant; to rejoice’ > Arabic *bahiḡa* ‘to be glad, happy’, *bahuḡa* ‘to be beautiful’, *bahḡa* ‘splendor, magnificence, beauty’; Tigre *bāhagä* ‘to rejoice’. Zammit 2002:102.

Proto-Semitic *\*bah-ak-* ‘to shine, to be white’ > Hebrew *bōhak* [בֹּהַק] ‘a harmless eruption on the skin, vitiligo’; Aramaic *bəhak* ‘to shine’; Arabic *bahak* ‘herpetic eruption, a mild form of leprosy’; Harsūsi *behōk* ‘having uncolored (white) blotches on the skin’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bhək* ‘white patches on the skin’. D. Cohen 1970— :47 and 49; Klein 1987:65; Murtonen 1989:107.

- B. Chadic: Central Chadic: Dghwede *ḡiya* ‘light’; Lame Pewe *buwo* ‘lightning’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bah-* (~ *\*bəh-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:16—17, no. 13):

(vb.) *\*bah-* ‘to shine’;

(n.) *\*bah-a* ‘brilliance, brightness, splendor, beauty; light’; (adj.) ‘shining, bright, radiant’

34. Proto-Afrasian *\*baah-* (n.) ‘voice’ (Ehret 1995:81, no. 7, *\*baah-* ‘voice’):

- A. Egyptian *bḥn* ‘to bark, to bay, to bellow’. Hannig 1995:258; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:469.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*baah-* ‘to shout, to cry, to yell’ > Alagwa *baḥus-* ‘to shout’; Ma’a *-boha* ‘to bark’. Ehret 1980:136.
- C. Chadic: Proto-Chadic *\*ba* ‘mouth’ > Hausa *baa-kii* ‘mouth’; Bole *bo* ‘mouth’; Zaa *vi* ‘mouth’; Daba *ma* ‘mouth’; Lamang *ewe* ‘mouth’; Musgu *ma* ‘mouth’; Dangla *bii* ‘mouth’; Sokoro *bo-* ‘mouth’. Newman 1977:29, no. 88.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*baḥ-* (~ *\*bəḥ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:14—15, no. 14):  
 (vb.) *\*baḥ-* ‘to make noise’;  
 (n.) *\*baḥ-a* ‘noise, sound; voice’
35. Proto-Afrasian *\*baḥ-* ‘(vb.) to cut, to cut off, to strike; (n.) cut, strike, blow’ (Ehret 1995:81, no. 6, *\*baḥ-* ‘to strike with a blade or point’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:47, no. 188, *\*baḥar-/baḥir-* ‘to cut, to tear’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*baḥ-ar-* ‘to cut’ > Arabic *baḥara* ‘to cut (camel’s ear)’. D. Cohen 1970— :56—57.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*\*baḥ-aṣ-* ‘to cut, to cut off, to strike’ > Arabic *baḥaza* ‘to strike’; Syriac (Southern dialect) *baḥaz* ‘to separate, to draw apart, to part’. D. Cohen 1970— :56.
- B. Egyptian *bḥn* ‘to cut off, to wound; to drive off’. Erman—Grapow 1921:49 and 1926—1963.1:468; Faulkner 1962:83; Hannig 1995:258.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*baḥ-* ‘to kill (animal)’ > Asa *bahat* ‘trap’; Dahalo *baḥ-* ‘to kill’. Ehret 1980:136.
- D. Chadic: West Chadic *\*baḤar-* ‘to cut’ > Tangale *ber* ‘to cut’; Galambu *ḥar* ‘to cut’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*baḥ-* (~ *\*bəḥ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:18—19, no. 15):  
 (vb.) *\*baḥ-* ‘to cut, to cut off, to strike’;  
 (n.) *\*baḥ-a* ‘cut, strike, blow’
36. Proto-Afrasian *\*bak’-* ‘(vb.) to cleave, to split, to break open; (n.) crack, split, break’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:50, no. 200, *\*bak’-* ‘to cut, to split’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bak’-aṣ-* ‘to cleave’ > Hebrew *bāka’* [בָּקַע] ‘to cleave, to break open or through’; Aramaic *bəka’* ‘to cleave’; Ugaritic *bḳ’* ‘to split’; Geez / Ethiopic *bak’w’a* [በቀላ] ‘to scratch, to tear, to scrape, to rake’; Tigre *bāk’a* ‘to be sharp (knife)’, (?) *bḳ’a* ‘to sharpen’. D. Cohen 1970— :78; Klein 1987:81; Leslau 1987:100; Murtonen 1989:118.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*bak’-ar-* ‘to split open’ > Arabic *baḳara* ‘to split open, to rip open, to cut open’; Hebrew *bākar* [בָּקַר] ‘to inquire, to seek’; Sabaean *bkr* ‘to bore, to excavate’. D. Cohen 1970— :79; Murtonen 1989:118; Klein 1987:81.

Proto-Semitic *\*bak'-ak'*- 'to split, to break open' > Hebrew *bāḳaḳ* [בָּקַק] 'to lay waste'; Geez / Ethiopic *baḳḳa* [ባቅ] 'to split, to break up (clods of earth)'; Amharic *bäḳḳäkä* 'to open'; Gurage *bʷäḳḳä* 'crack in the ground after the rainy season'. D. Cohen 1970— :79; Klein 1987:81; Murtonen 1989:118. Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *baḳbaḳa* [ባቅባቅ] 'to cultivate the soil'; Amharic *bäḳäbbäḳä* 'to break the soil'. D. Cohen 1970— :79; Leslau 1987:100 and 101.

Proto-Semitic *\*bak'-aw-* 'to separate, to split, to open, to break, to cut' > Geez / Ethiopic *baḳawa* [ባቃወ] 'to separate, to split, to open, to break, to cut, to be wide open'. D. Cohen 1970— :79; Leslau 1987:101.

- B. Egyptian *bqy* 'to open', (?) *bq* 'to be hostile, rebellious', (?) *bqbq* 'rebelliousness'. Hannig 1995:262—263 and 263; Faulkner 1962:85; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:479.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*bak'*- 'to crush' > Afar *bak-* 'to crush'; Somali *baq-* 'to curdle'; Galla / Oromo *bak'*- 'to melt', *bak'ak'*- 'to crack'; Burji *bak'*- 'to split'. Sasse 1979:48 and 1982:32.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bak'*- (~ *\*bək'*-) (Bomhard 2014.2:19—21, no. 17):  
 (vb.) *\*bak'*- 'to cleave, to split, to break open';  
 (n.) *\*bak'-a* 'crack, split, break'

37. Proto-Afrasian *\*bal-* '(vb.) to be blind; (adj.) blind' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:51—52, no. 204, *\*bal-* 'eye, eyelid; blind'):

- A. Egyptian: Coptic *bllē* [ⲃⲗⲗⲉ] 'blind'. Vycichl 1983:27; Černý 1976:23.
- B. Proto-East Cushitic *\*balʕ-/ballaʕ-* 'blind, one-eyed' > Burji *balʕ-āa* 'blind'; Sidamo *balʕ-icca* ~ *ball-icca* 'blind'; Gedeo / Darasa *ball-eʕ-* 'to be blind'; Harso *pallaʕ-akko* 'blind'; Galla / Oromo *balla-a* 'blind'. Sasse 1982:33; Hudson 1989:28. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*balaʕ-* 'blind' > Kʷadza *balangayo* 'blind person'. Ehret 1980:320.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bal-* (~ *\*bəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:21—22, no. 18):  
 (vb.) *\*bal-* 'to be or become dark, obscure, blind';  
 (n.) *\*bal-a* 'darkness, obscurity, blindness'; (adj.) 'dark, obscure, blind'

38. Proto-Afrasian *\*bal-* '(vb.) to flow, to overflow, to pour over; (n.) outpour, downpour, surge, flow' (Ehret 1995:84, no. 13, *\*bal-* 'to wet'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bal-al-* 'to overflow, to pour over' > Hebrew *bālāl* [בָּלַל] 'to anoint, to moisten (with oil), to pour (oil on someone)'; Phoenician *bll* 'a type of offering'; Arabic *balla* 'to moisten, to wet, to make wet', *billa*, *balal* 'moisture, humidity', *ball* 'moistening, wetting; moisture'; Old Akkadian *balālum* 'to pour out'; Sabaeen *bll* 'wet, moist'; Šheri / Jibbālī *eblēl* 'to give (animals) their fill'; Geez / Ethiopic *balla* [ባለ] 'to moisten, to wet, to immerse in liquid'; Tigre *bālāl* 'to be full, to

overflow, to flow, to rain'. Murtonen 1989:112; D. Cohen 1970— :67—68; Klein 1987:75; Leslau 1987:96.

Proto-Semitic *\*ba/wa/-* 'to make water, to urinate' > Arabic *bāla* 'to make water, to urinate', *bawl* 'urine'. D. Cohen 1970— :51.

Proto-Semitic *\*wa-bal-* 'to flow, to rain' > Arabic *wabala* 'to shed heavy rain', *wabl* 'downpour', *wābil* 'heavy downpour; hail, shower'; Hebrew *yāḇāl* [יָבַל] 'watercourse, stream', *ʾūḇāl* [אוּבַל] 'stream, river', *yūḇal* [יוּבַל] 'stream'; Amharic *wābālo* 'heavy rain'; Gurage (Eža) *wābār* 'strong rain with wind'. Murtonen 1989:210; D. Cohen 1970— :485—486; Klein 1987:253; Leslau 1979:641.

B. Berber: Tuareg *bəlulu* 'to be very runny', *ssəbəlulu* 'to make very runny'.

C. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*bal-* 'to be wet', *\*bale* 'well' > Gedeo / Darasa *bale(essa)* 'well', *ba'lessa* 'fall, season of small rains'; Sidamo *bale* 'well', (pl.) *balla* 'springs, wells'. Hudson 1989:60 and 165—166.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bal-* (~ *\*bəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:22—23, no. 19):

(vb.) *\*bal-* 'to well up, to surge, to overflow, to pour over';

(n.) *\*bal-a* 'outpour, downpour, surge, flow'

39. Proto-Afrasian *\*bal-* '(vb.) to bite, to eat; (n.) bite' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:52, no. 208, *\*bal-af-* 'to eat, to swallow'):

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bal-af-* 'to eat, to swallow, to gulp down' > Arabic *balaʿa* 'to swallow, to gulp down', *balʿa* 'large bite, big gulp', *balʿama* 'to swallow greedily'; Hebrew *bālaʿ* [בָּלַע] 'to swallow, to gulp down'; Aramaic *bəlaʿ* 'to swallow'; Mehri *bōla* 'to swallow'; Ḥarsūsi *bōla* 'to swallow'; Šheri / Jibbāli *bēlaʿ* 'to swallow'; Geez / Ethiopic *balʿa* [በለዐ] 'to eat, to consume, to devour'; Tigre *bālʿa* 'to eat'; Tigrinya *bālʿe* 'to eat'; Amharic *bälla* 'to eat'; Gafat *bällä* 'to eat'; Harari *bālaʿa* 'to eat'; Gurage (Selti) *bāla*, (Soddo) *bälla* 'to eat', (Selti) *bīli* 'food'. D. Cohen 1970— :68—69; Leslau 1979:138 and 1987:94—95; Zammit 2002:100—101; Murtonen 1989:113.

B. Cushitic: Bilin *bālʿ-* 'to eat', *belāʿ* 'food, nourishment'; Saho *balaʿ* 'to eat'. Reinisch 1887:78. Note: According to Leslau (1987:95), these forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic. Beja / Beḍawye *bāla* 'throat'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bal-* (~ *\*bəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:23—25, no. 20):

(vb.) *\*bal-* 'to bite, to eat';

(n.) *\*bal-a* 'bite, morsel'

40. Proto-Afrasian *\*bal-* '(vb.) to shine, to be bright; (n.) glitter, gleam, brightness' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:52, no. 207, *\*balag-/ \*balug-* 'to shine' [deverbative in Somali *bilig* 'sparkling']):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bal-ag-* ‘to gleam, to shine’ > Hebrew *bālay* [בָּלַי] ‘to gleam, to smile’; Arabic *balaġa* ‘to shine, to dawn’, *balīġa* ‘to be happy, glad’, *ʔablaġ* ‘bright, clear, gay, serene, fair, beautiful, nice’. D. Cohen 1970— :65; Murtonen 1989:113.

Proto-Semitic *\*bal-ac-* ‘to sparkle, to glitter’ > Syriac *bəlsūšītā* ‘spark’; Geez / Ethiopic *balāsa* [በለሰ] ‘to sparkle, to glitter’; Tigrinya *bəlləččə bälä*, *bəlləčəlləččə bälä* ‘to sparkle, to glitter’; Tigre *bäläččə bēla*, *bäläččəlläččə* ‘to sparkle, to glitter’; Amharic *bəlləččə alä*, *täbläččəlläččə* ‘to shine, to twinkle, to glitter, to sparkle, to dazzle, to flash’; Argobba *bəlləččə alä* ‘to sparkle, to glitter’; Harari *bilič bilič bāya* ‘to scintillate’; Gurage (Wolane) *bəlləč alä* ‘to flash (lightning), to scintillate, to lighten’, (Wolane) *bəlləččəlläččə* ‘lightning’. D. Cohen 1970— :69; Leslau 1963:41, 1979:140, and 1987:97.

Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*bal-bal-* ‘to blaze’ > Geez / Ethiopic *balbala* [በለበለ], *ʔanbalbala* [አንበለበለ] ‘to blaze, to emit flames, to kindle into a blaze, to let glitter, to flash’, *nabalbāl* ‘flame’; Tigrinya *bälbälä*, *bälbäl*, *bälä*, *tänbälbälä* ‘to flame, to blaze, to flicker’, *näbälbal* ‘flame’; Amharic *tänbäläbbälä*, *tänboläbbolä* ‘to blaze, to emit flames’, *näbälbal* ‘flame’; Gurage (Wolane) *bolbol bälä* ‘to flicker, to blaze’. Leslau 1979:139 and 1987:95.

Proto-Semitic *\*bal-bic-* ‘to gleam, to glitter’ > Neo-Syriac *balbiṣ* ‘to gleam, to glitter’. D. Cohen 1970— :65.

- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *balak’a* ‘lightning’; Sidamo *belek’ó* ‘lightning’; Kambata *belell-ees-* ‘to reflect (of lightning), to shine’; Hadiyya *belel-* ‘to reflect, to shine’. Hudson 1989:92 and 122. Proto-Sam *\*bil-ig-* ‘to flash (lightning)’ > Somali *bilig* ‘sparkling’; Boni *bilikso* ‘lightning’. Heine 1978:54. Perhaps also: Beja / Beḍawye *balōl-* ‘to burn, to flame’, *balōl* ‘flame’. Reinisch 1895:48.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bal-* (~ *\*bəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:25—27, no. 21):  
 (vb.) *\*bal-* ‘to shine, to be bright’;  
 (n.) *\*bal-a* ‘glitter, gleam, brightness’

41. Proto-Afrasian *\*ban-* ‘(vb.) to separate, to open, to spread; (n.) separation, opening, stretch, spread, scattering’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:53, no. 210, *\*ban-* ‘field’, no. 212, *\*ban-* ‘to open’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ban-an-* ‘to spread, to scatter’ > Geez / Ethiopic *banana* [በነነ] ‘to rise (dust), to ascend (smoke from a fire)’; Harari *bānānā* ‘to be sprinkled’, *biñbiñ āša* ‘to scatter’; Amharic *bännānā* ‘to fly here and there (dust, smoke)’; Tigrinya *bānānā* ‘to evaporate’; Gurage (Soddo) *abännānā* ‘to spread, to scatter’. D. Cohen 1970— :72; Leslau 1963:43, 1979:144, and 1987:99.
- B. Egyptian *bnbn* ‘to extend, to stretch out’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:459; Hannig 1995:253.

- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*ban-* ‘to separate, to open’ > Somali *ban*, *ban-n-aan* ‘plain, plateau’, (causative) *ban-n-ay-* ‘to make room’; Bayso *ban-* ‘to open’; Galla / Oromo *ban-* ‘to open’; Konso *pan-* ‘to open’; Gidole *pan-* ‘to spread the legs’; Gedeo / Darasa *ban-* ‘to open’, *ban-em-* ‘to be open’, *ban-ema* ‘(adj.) open’; perhaps Hadiyya *ban-* ‘to separate, to distinguish’; Burji *ban-* ‘to chase away’, *ban-d-* ~ *ban-ʔ-* ‘to put to flight, to be defeated’, *ban-ʔ-a* ‘defeat’, *band-am-* ‘to lose, to be defeated’. Sasse 1982:33; Hudson 1989:49—50 and 108. Perhaps also: Proto-Agaw *\*bän-* ‘to divide’ > Bilin *bän-* ‘to divide’, *bänä* ‘half; part, division; gift; payment’; Xamir *bin-* ‘to divide’; Quara *bän-* ‘to divide’; Awngi / Awiya *ben-* ‘to divide’. Reinisch 1887:80; Appleyard 2006:54.
- D. Chadic: West Chadic *\*ban-* ‘to open, to uncover’ > Hausa *bányèè* ‘to open, to uncover’. Central Chadic *\*ban-H-/\*byan-H-* ‘to open’ > Mofu *baŋ*, *beŋ* ‘to open’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:264—265.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ban-* (~ *\*bän-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:27—28, no. 23):  
 (vb.) *\*ban-* ‘to separate, to open, to spread’;  
 (n.) *\*ban-a* ‘separation, opening, stretch, spread, scattering’
42. Proto-Afrasian *\*bar-* ‘(vb.) to swell, to puff up, to expand; (n.) swelling, bulge, increase’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*na-bar-* ‘(vb.) to raise, to elevate; to swell, to become swollen; (n.) raised or elevated place’ > Arabic *nabara* ‘to raise, to elevate; to go up with the voice, to sing in a high-pitched voice; to stress, to emphasize, to accentuate; to shout, to yell, to scream, to cry out; to swell, to become swollen’, *nabra* ‘swelling, protuberance’, *mimbar* ‘pulpit, chair (of a teacher); platform’; Geez / Ethiopic *manbar* [መንበር] ‘seat, chair, base, socle, residence, dwelling, high place, pulpit, throne, see (of bishop), altar on which the ark rests, session, office, function, state, position’. Leslau 1987:383—384.  
 Hebrew *bārāʔ* [בָּרָא] ‘to be fat’, *bārīʔ* [בָּרִי] ‘fat’. Klein 1987:82; D. Cohen 1970— :80.  
 Arabic *barḥ* ‘increase, abundance’. D. Cohen 1970— :83.
- B. Egyptian *brbr* ‘to boil’; Coptic *brbr* [ⲃⲣⲃⲣ] ‘to boil over’. Hannig 1995:256; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:466; Vycichl 1983:30; Černý 1976:26.
- C. Berber: Ghat *abər* ‘to boil’, *sibər* ‘to make to boil’; Nefusa *awər* ‘to boil’; Ghadames *abər* ‘to boil’, *ubbər* ‘boiling water’; Mzab *abər* ‘to boil’, *ssibər* ‘to make to boil’; Kabyle *bbərbər* ‘to be boiled, to be boiling (for example, boiling with anger)’, *sbbərbər* ‘to boil’.
- D. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *barkat-* ‘to be abundant’; Kambata *baraat-* ‘to multiply’, *barg-* ‘to add (to), to repeat’. Hudson 1989:271 and 309. Proto-Sam *\*bar-ar-* ‘to swell’ > Somali *barar* ‘to swell’; Boni *barer/bareeraʔ* ‘to swell’. Heine 1978:53.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bar-* (~ *\*bər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:31—33, no. 26):  
 (vb.) *\*bar-* ‘to swell, to puff up, to expand’;  
 (n.) *\*bar-a* ‘swelling, bulge, increase’  
 Derivatives:  
 (vb.) *\*bar-* ‘to bristle (up), to stand on end’;  
 (n.) *\*bar-a* ‘bristle, point, spike’  
 (vb.) *bar-* ‘to blow’;  
 (n.) *\*bar-a* ‘wind’  
 (vb.) *\*bar-* ‘to be thick, bushy, shaggy; to be coarse, rough, harsh’  
 (n.) *\*bar-a* ‘roughness, coarseness, harshness; thickness, shagginess’; (adj.)  
 ‘rough, harsh, coarse; thick, shaggy, bushy’
43. Proto-Afrasian *\*bar-* (vb.) to blow; (n.) wind’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:55, no. 220, *\*bar-* ‘wind’):
- A. Cushitic: Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *\*baraʃ-* or *\*baraʔ-* ‘to blow’ > Iraqw *barʕas-* ‘to blow away’; Kʼwadza *balatuko* ‘bellows’. Ehret 1980:338.
- B. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*baraw-* ‘wind’ > Mbara *baraw-ay* ‘wind’. East Chadic *\*(ka-)bar-* ‘wind’ > Kera *ka-bar* ‘wind’ (*\*ka-* prefix).
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bar-* (~ *\*bər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:35—36, no. 28):  
 (vb.) *bar-* ‘to blow’;  
 (n.) *\*bar-a* ‘wind’  
 Derivative of:  
 (vb.) *\*bar-* ‘to swell, to puff up, to expand’;  
 (n.) *\*bar-a* ‘swelling, bulge, increase’
44. Proto-Afrasian *\*bar-* (n.) ‘child’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:53, no. 213, *\*bar-* ‘child’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bar-aw-* ‘child, son’ > Aramaic *bar* ‘son’; Sabaeen *brw* ‘child, son’; Ḥarsūsi *berō* ‘to bear children’, *ber* ‘son’; Soqotri *bīroh* ‘to bear children’, *ber* ‘son’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *bīri* ‘to give birth’, *ber* ‘son’.
- B. Berber: Proto-Berber *\*barar-* ‘son’ > Ayr *a-barar* ‘son’; Ahaggar *a-burir* ‘son’; Tawlemmet *barar-* ‘son’.
- C. Chadic: Proto-Chadic *\*bərɗ-* ‘to give birth’ > Warji *vurɗ-* ‘to give birth’; Tsagu *vərɗə* ‘to give birth’; Jimbin *vurɗ-* ‘to give birth’; Zime-Batna *fràʔà/vəràʔà* ‘to give birth’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrisimow 1994.I:77 and II:160—161. West Chadic *\*bar-/byar-* ‘young girl, child’ > Hausa *beera* ‘young girl’; Angas *par* ‘child’; Galambu *baryawa* ‘young girl’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bar-* (~ *\*bər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:36—38, no. 30):  
 (vb.) *\*bar-* ‘to bear children, to give birth’;  
 (n.) *\*bar-a* ‘child’



45. Proto-Afrasian *\*bar-* ‘to take or seize hold of, to grasp; (n.) *\*bar-* ‘hold, grasp, seizure’ (Ehret 1995:86, no. 21, *\*ber-* ‘to hold’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:54, no. 215, *\*bar-* ‘to take’):
- A. Berber: Kabyle *bbər* ‘to take, to take a small quantity of’; Tuareg *abər* ‘to take’.
  - B. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Saho *bar-* ‘to grasp, to hold’. Beja / Beḍawye *bari-* ‘to get, to collect, to have’. Reinisch 1895:49. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ber-* ‘to touch’ > K’wadza *belet-* ‘to grasp’; Ma’a *ber-* ‘to touch’. Ehret 1980:137.
  - C. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*mV-bwar-* ‘to seize, to grasp’ > Sukur *mbwər* ‘to seize, to grasp’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bar-* (~ *\*bər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:38—39, no. 31):  
(vb.) *\*bar-* ‘to take or seize hold of, to grasp’;  
(n.) *\*bar-a* ‘hold, grasp, seizure’
46. Proto-Afrasian *\*bar-/bur-* (n.) ‘grain, cereal’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:56, no. 224, *\*bar-/bur-* ‘grain, cereal’ and 84, no. 344, *\*b[u]ray-* ‘grain, corn’ [derived from no. 224, *\*bar-/bur-* ‘grain, cereal’]):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*barr-/burr-* ‘grain, cereal’ > Hebrew *bar* [בַּר] ‘grain’; Arabic *burr* ‘wheat’; Akkadian *burru* ‘a cereal’; Sabaeen *brr* ‘wheat’; Ḥarsūsi *berr* ‘corn, maize, wheat’; Mehri *ber* ‘corn, maize, wheat’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bohr* ‘maize’; Soqotri *bor* ‘wheat’. D. Cohen 1970—:87; Klein 1987:82.
  - B. Berber: Ayr *a-bora* ‘sorghum’; Ghadames *a-βar-ən* ‘flour’; Ahaggar *a-bōra* ‘sorghum’.
  - C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*bar-/bal-* ‘grain (generic)’ > Iraqw *balan* ‘grain’; Burunge *baru* ‘grain’; Alagwa *balu* ‘grain’; K’wadza *balayiko* ‘grain’. Ehret 1980:338. East Cushitic: Somali *bur* ‘wheat’.
  - D. Chadic: West Chadic *\*bar-/bur-* ‘a kind of flour, gruel’ > Hausa *buri, biri* ‘a kind of flour’; Ngizim *bār̄bār̄i* ‘gruel flavored with the desert date *ákdā*’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*bar-a* ‘seed, grain’ (Bomhard 2014.2:39—40, no. 32)
47. Proto-Afrasian *\*bar-/bir-* (vb.) to shine, to be bright, to sparkle, to flash; (n.) light; lightning; (adj.) bright, shining’; *\*bar-ak-*, *\*bar-ik-*, *\*bir-ik-* (vb.) to flash; (n.) lightning’ (Ehret 1995:86, no. 22, *\*bir-* ‘to burn brightly’, no. 23, *\*birk-/bark-* ‘to flash’ [*\*bir-* ‘to burn brightly’ plus *\*-k-* intensive extension of effect]; Orël—Stolbova 1995:56, no. 223, *\*bar-/bur-* ‘morning’, 57, no. 225, *\*barak-* ‘lightning’, 58, no. 321, *\*barik-* ‘to shine, to be bright’; Diakonoff 1992:82 *\*bar(-)ak-* ‘lightning’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*barak*- ‘to shine, to glitter, to sparkle, to flash’, *\*bark*-/*\*birk*- ‘lightning’ > Hebrew *bāraḵ* [בָּרַךְ] ‘to flash’, *bārāk* [בָּרַךְ] ‘lightning’; Aramaic *barkā* ‘lightning’; Ugaritic *brḵ* ‘lightning’; Arabic *baraḵa* ‘to shine, to glitter, to sparkle’, *barḵ* ‘lightning’; Akkadian *birḵu* ‘lightning’, *barāḵu* ‘to flash’; Amorite *brḵ* ‘to shine, to lighten’; Sabaeen *brḵ* ‘lightning’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bórōḵōt* ‘to flash’, *berḵ* ‘lightning’; Ḥarsūsi *hebērēḵ* ‘lightning’, *berḵōt* ‘to flash, to lighten’; Mehri *bərḵāwt* ‘to lighten, to flash’, *bōrēḵ* ‘lightning’; Geez / Ethiopic *baraḵa* [በረቀ] ‘to flash, to lighten, to scintillate, to shine, to become shining, to sparkle’, *mabarḵ* [መበርቀ], *mabrēḵ* ‘lightning, thunderbolt, bright light’; Tigre *bārḵa* ‘to flash, to lighten, to scintillate’; Tigrinya *bārākā* ‘to flash, to lighten, to scintillate’; Amharic *bārrākā* ‘to lighten, to shine, to scintillate’, *bəraḵ* ‘thunderbolt’; Harari *bəraḵ* ‘lightning’; Gurage *bəraḵ* ‘lightning’. D. Cohen 1970— :86; Klein 1987:85; Leslau 1987:106; Murtonen 1989:122; Zammit 2002:93.

Proto-Semitic *\*bar-ac*- ‘to sparkle, to shine’ > Akkadian *barāšu* ‘to sparkle, to shine brightly’; Arabic *barīš* ‘shining, glistening’; Geez / Ethiopic *tabāraša* [ተባረሰ] ‘to scintillate, to flash, to redden’; Tigrinya *bāršāšā* ‘to shine, to flash’; Gurage (*a*)*braṣa* ‘to be smooth and shiny’ (from either *\*brš?* or *\*brʔ?*); Amharic *boräboč*, *borboč* ‘multicolored smooth pebbles’. D. Cohen 1970— :86; Leslau 1987:107—108.

Proto-Semitic *\*bar-ar*- ‘to be or become clear or bright, to purify, to clean’ > Hebrew *bārar* [בָּרַר] ‘to purify’, *bar* [בָּר] ‘bright, clean, pure’; Aramaic *bərar* ‘to purify’; Akkadian *barīru* ‘(sun’s) rays’; Ugaritic *brr* ‘pure, clean’; Geez / Ethiopic *barra* [በረ] ‘to purify, to make white’, *bərrur* [ብሩር] ‘silver’; Tigrinya *bərrur* ‘silver’; Amharic *bərr* ‘silver, thaler’; Gurage *bər* ‘silver, thaler’, (reduplicated) *bərbər* ‘to shimmer, to flicker (flame), to burn in a wavy way’. D. Cohen 1970— :87; Klein 1987:86; Leslau 1979:149 and 1987:106—107; Murtonen 1989:119.

Proto-Semitic *\*bar-ah*- ‘to light up’ > Geez / Ethiopic *barha* [በርሀ] ‘to shine, to be bright, to be light, to light up, to be clear’, *bərhān* [በርሃን] ‘light, brightness, glitter, splendor, proof’; Tigre *bārha* ‘to be bright, to be clean, to shine’; Tigrinya *bārhe* ‘to shine’; Amharic *bārra* ‘to be lit’, *abārra* ‘to be aglow, to shine, to be bright’, *mābrat* ‘lamp, light’, *bərhan* ‘light, glow, flame’; Gurage *abārra* ‘to glitter, to shine, to illuminate’. D. Cohen 1970— :82; Leslau 1979:150 and 1987:103—104.

- B. Egyptian *brg* ‘to give light’; Coptic *ebrēce* [ⲉⲃⲣⲏⲥⲉ] ‘lightning’ (Semitic loans [cf. Černý 1976:33; Vycichl 1983:39]).
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*bar*-/*\*ber*-/*\*bor*- ‘dawn, morning, tomorrow’ > Bayso *gee-bari* ‘tomorrow’, *bar-i* ‘morning’; Galla / Oromo *bor-u* ‘tomorrow’; Saho-Afar *beera* ‘tomorrow’; Somali *ber-iy*- ‘to dawn’, *ber-r-i(to)* ‘tomorrow’; Burji *buráy* ‘yesterday’, *bóru* ‘tomorrow’ (this may be a loan from Galla / Oromo); Kambata *bere* ‘yesterday’; Gedeo / Darasa *berek’e* ‘yesterday’; Sidamo *bero* ‘yesterday’. Sasse 1982:34 and 40; Hudson 1989:156 and 171. Proto-East Cushitic *\*bark*-/*\*birk*- ‘lightning’

> Dasenech *biddi* (< *\*birk'-ti*) 'lightning'; Elmolo *i-birgā* 'lightning'. Sasse 1979:49. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*bur-* 'morning' > Dahalo *burra* 'morning'. Ehret 1980:321. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*birik'-* 'lightning' > Dahalo *birik'ina* 'lightning'. Ehret 1980:321.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bar-* (~ *\*bər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:40—42, no. 33):

(vb.) *\*bar-* 'to shine, to be bright, to sparkle, to flash';

(n.) *\*bar-a* 'light, brightness; lightning'

48. Proto-Afrasian *\*bar-* '(vb.) to cut, to cut off, to cut down; to carve, to scrape; (n.) carving, engraving, cuttings, chip':

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bar-aʔ-* 'to cut, to carve' > Hebrew *bērēʔ* [בִּרְעָ] 'to cut down (timber, woods), to cut out'; Punic *brʔ* 'engraver'; Liḥyānite *baraʔ* 'to cut, to carve'. D. Cohen 1970— :80—81; Klein 1987:82.

Proto-Semitic *\*bar-ay-* 'to cut, to trim, to carve' > Arabic *barā* 'to trim, to shape, to sharpen, to scratch off, to scrape off'; Sabaean *bry* 'carved monument'. D. Cohen 1970— :82—83.

B. Berber: Senglal *bri* 'to cut'.

C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *barc'umma* 'stool of wood'; Sidamo *barc'im-* 'to be circumcised', *barc'in-šiiš-* 'to circumcise'. Hudson 1989:40, 232, and 352.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bar-* (~ *\*bər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:43—45, no. 35):

(vb.) *\*bar-* 'to split (with a tool or weapon); to cut into, to carve; to scrape';

(n.) *\*bar-a* 'carving, engraving, cuttings, chip'

49. Proto-Afrasian *\*bar-* '(vb.) to go (away), to leave, to depart; (n.) walking, going (away), leaving, departing' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:58, no. 230, *\*bariḥ-* 'to run, to go'):

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bar-aḥ-* 'to go (away), to leave, to depart' > Arabic *bariḥa* 'to leave (a place), to depart', *barāḥ* 'departure; cessation, stop', *mubāraḥa* 'departure'; Ugaritic *brḥ* 'to flee' (?); Hebrew *bāraḥ* [בָּרַח] 'to go or pass through, to flee'; Phoenician *brḥ* 'to depart'; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *bəraḥ* 'to flee'; Geez / Ethiopic *barrəḥa* [ቦርሐ] 'to enter the wilderness, to take to the woods, to flee, to escape, to run'. D. Cohen 1970— :83; Murtonen 1989:120—121; Klein 1987:84; Tomback 1974:55; Zammit 2002:91—92; Leslau 1987:104—105.

B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*bariḥ-* 'to travel' > Ma'a *-bári* 'to travel'; Dahalo *barij-* 'to go out, to depart'. Ehret 1980:135.

C. Chadic: West Chadic: Angas *bar-* 'to escape'; Tangale *bar-* 'to go out'; Warji *var-* 'to go out'; Ngizim *vərú* 'to leave, to go out and leave a place; to escape, to get out of a dangerous situation'. Jungrathmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:164.

- ← Proto-Nostratic *\*bar-* (~ *\*bər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:47—48, no. 37):  
 (vb.) *\*bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’;  
 (n.) *\*bar-a* ‘walking, going (away), leaving, departing’
50. Proto-Afrasian *\*bar-* (n.) ‘open, fallow, barren, or uncultivated land’
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*barr-* ‘open country, field’ > Akkadian *barru*, *bāru* ‘open country’; Hebrew *bar* [בַּר] ‘field, open country’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Syriac *barrā* ‘open field’; Arabic *barr* ‘land, mainland, open country’, *barrīya* ‘open country, steppe, desert’; Sabaeen *barr* ‘open country’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ēbrór* ‘far away desert’. D. Cohen 1970— :87; Klein 1987:82; Murtonen 1989:119; Zammit 2002:92.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*ba/wa/r-* ‘fallow, uncultivated; wasteland’ > Syriac *būrā* ‘uncultivated land’, *bayyīrā* ‘barren, fallow, uncultivated’; Arabic *būr* ‘uncultivated, fallow’ (Syriac loan). D. Cohen 1970— :53.  
 Proto-Semitic *bar-aḥ-* ‘a wide, open, empty tract of land; uncultivated land’ > Arabic *barāḥ* ‘a wide, empty tract of land, vast expanse, vastness’; Geez / Ethiopic *baraḥā* [፳፯.ሐ] ‘wilderness, uninhabited place’ (Amharic loan); Tigrinya *bārāka* ‘desert’; Tigre *bārāka* ‘desert’; Gurage *bārāha* ‘uncultivated land, uncultivated pasture land’; Amharic *bārāha* ‘wild region, wilderness’, *bārāhamma* ‘deserted’. D. Cohen 1970— :83; Leslau 1979:153 and 1987:104—105.
- B. Chadic: East Chadic *\*bar-H-* ‘field’ > Kwan *koo-ḥaraa* ‘field’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*barʷ-* (~ *\*bərʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:48—49, no. 38):  
 (vb.) *\*barʷ-* ‘to be or become barren, desolate, useless, unfruitful’;  
 (n.) *\*barʷ-a* ‘open, fallow, or barren land’; (adj.) ‘barren, desolate, useless, unfruitful’
51. Proto-Afrasian *\*bay-* ‘(vb.) to apportion, to divide into shares; to trade, to buy and sell; (n.) portion, share’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:64, no. 254, *\*bayVʃ-* ‘to sell’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bay-aʃ-* ‘to trade, to buy and sell’ > Arabic *bāʿa* ‘to sell, to offer for sale; to buy, to purchase’, *bayʿ* ‘sale, exchange’, *mubtāʿ* ‘buyer, purchaser’, *bayʿa* ‘agreement, arrangements, business deal, commercial transaction, bargain; sale, purchase’; Tāmūdīc *byʿ* ‘to sell’; Punic *bʿt* ‘tariff’. D. Cohen 1970— :62—63; Zammit 2002:104.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*bay-aḥ-* ‘to cut into pieces and distribute’ > Arabic *bayyaha* ‘to cut into pieces and distribute’; Soqotri *ʔebiḥ* ‘to fall to one’s lot’, *šeʔebah* ‘to share’. D. Cohen 1970— :62.
- B. Berber: Tamazight *bbay* ‘to cut, to divide, to pluck’, *ubuy* ‘cut, pluck’; Kabyle *abbi* ‘to cut, to pluck’, *tibbit* ‘plucked’; Nefusa *abbi* ‘to gather, to pick fruit’; Ghadames *abbək* ‘to gather’; Mzab *abbi* ‘to take, to take away, to remove, to gather’.

- C. Cushitic: Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *\*biʔ-* ‘to trade, to buy and sell’ > Iraqw *bu-* ‘to pay’; Alagwa *bu-* ‘to pay’; K’wadza *beʔ-* ‘to buy, to sell, to trade’. Ehret 1980:338.
- D. Chadic: West Chadic *\*bay-* ‘to sell, to trade’ > Tangale *paya* ‘to trade’; Kirfi *bayi* ‘to sell’; Galambu *baya-* ‘to sell’; Hausa *bayaɗ* ‘to give’.
- E. Ongota *biʔe* ‘to give’. Fleming 2002b:48.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bay-* (~ *\*bəy-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:50—51, no. 40):  
(vb.) *\*bay-* ‘to apportion, to divide into shares, to distribute, to allot, to share’;  
(n.) *\*bay-a* ‘portion, share’
52. Proto-Afrasian *\*bi* ‘in addition to, with, together with’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ba ~ \*bi* ‘in, with, within, among’ > Hebrew *bə-* [בִּ] ‘in, at, on, with’; Arabic *bi* ‘in, within, among’; Ugaritic *b* ‘in, with, from’; Sabaean *b* ‘from, of, in, on, at’; Šheri / Jibbāli *b-* ‘at, about, by, with, in’; Harsūsi *b(e)-* ‘in, with, by’; Geez / Ethiopic *ba* [በ] ‘in, at, into, on, by, through, with (by means of), after (kind and means), by reason of, because of, out of, on account of, according to, concerning, against (contiguity)’; Harari *-be* ‘with, from, by, of, in, on, at’; Gurage *bä* ‘with, in, at, by, out, out of, from’. Klein 1987:62; D. Cohen 1970— :39—40; Leslau 1987:82; Zammit 2002:87.
- B. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye (postposition) *-b* ‘by, in, of’. Reinisch 1895:38; Appleyard 2007a:456.
- ← Proto-Nostratic relational marker *\*bi* ‘in addition to, with, together with’ (Bomhard 2014.2:54—55, no. 46)
53. Proto-Afrasian *\*ben-* ‘(vb.) to tie; (n.) tie, bond’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:66, no. 262, *\*ben-* ‘to tie’):
- A. Berber: Ghadames *aβən* ‘to tie’; Ahaggar *ahən* ‘to tie’.
- B. Central Chadic *\*byan-* ‘to tie’ > Logone *βən, bən* ‘to tie’; Buduma *peenai, fanai* ‘to tie’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bin-* (~ *\*ben-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:55—56, no. 47):  
(vb.) *\*bin-* ‘to tie (together), to fasten, to twist together, to bind (together)’;  
(n.) *\*bin-a* ‘tie, bond’
54. Proto-Afrasian *\*bin-/ban-* (n.) ‘(m.) younger brother, younger son; (f.) younger sister, younger daughter’ (Ehret 1995:85, no. 18, *\*bin-/ban-* ‘to beget’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:72, no. 288, *\*bin-* ‘man, male relative’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic (m.) *\*bin-* ‘son’, (f.) *\*bint-* ‘daughter’ > Akkadian *bīnu, binnu, būnu* ‘son’, *bintu, bunatu, buntu* ‘daughter’; Amorite *binum*,

*bunum* ‘son’, *bintum*, *bittum*, *bina* ‘daughter’; Hebrew *bēn* [בֶּן] ‘son’ (construct *ben-* [בֶּן־]), *baṯ* [בַּת] ‘daughter’; Phoenician *bn* ‘son’, *bt* ‘daughter’; Moabite *bn* ‘son’; Ugaritic *bn* /bun-/ ‘son’, *bnt*, *bt* ‘daughter’, *bnš* /bun(n)ōš-/ or /bunuš-/ ‘man’ (< *bn* /bun-/ ‘son’); Arabic *ʾibn* ‘son’, *bint* ‘daughter’; Liḥyānite *bin* ‘son’, *bint* ‘daughter’; Sabaean *bn* ‘son’, *bnt* ‘daughter’; Mehri *ḥə-bōn* (construct *bāni*) ‘children’. Murtonen 1989:114; D. Cohen 1970— :70—71; Zammit 2002:102; Klein 1987:76.

- B. Chadic: West Chadic *\*mV-bVn-* ‘person’ (prefix *\*mV-*) > Buli *mbən*, *mban* ‘person’. Central Chadic *\*bin-* ‘brother’ > Lame Pewe *bin* ‘brother’.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*bin-a*, *\*ban-a* ‘younger relative: (m.) younger brother, younger son; (f.) younger sister, younger daughter’ (Bomhard 2014.2:56—57, no. 48)

55. Proto-Afrasian *\*bir-V-g-* (vb.) ‘to be high’; *\*bir-g-* (n.) ‘height, high place; (adj.) high, tall, lofty’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:73, no. 294, *\*birVg-* ‘to be high’) (derivative of *\*bir-* ‘[vb.] to swell, to rise, to grow; [n.] largeness, greatness, height, tallness; [adj.] big, large, great, tall’):

- A. Berber: Tuareg *burg-ət* ‘to rise’.  
B. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *birga* ‘high, tall’; Galla / Oromo *borgi* ‘height’. Reinisch 1895:51.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bir-* (~ *\*ber-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:57—59, no. 49):  
(vb.) *\*bir-* ‘to swell, to rise, to grow’;  
(n.) *\*bir-a* ‘largeness, greatness, height, tallness’; (adj.) ‘big, large, great, tall’  
Extended form:  
(vb.) *\*bir-V-g-* ‘to be high’;  
(n.) *\*bir-g-a* ‘height, high place’; (adj.) ‘high, tall, lofty’

Note: The unextended form is found in Dravidian.

56. Proto-Afrasian *\*bir-* (vb.) ‘to cut, rip, pull, break, or tear off; to pull’; (n.) ‘the act of cutting, ripping, pulling, breaking, or tearing off’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:67, no. 266, *\*ber-* ‘to cut’):

- A. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*biir-* ‘to cut off’ > K’wadza *bilaʔi-* ‘dull’, *bilat-* ‘to drill, to cut a hole’; Dahalo *biir-* ‘to cut grass, to mow’. Ehret 1980:138.  
B. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*byar-* ‘to cut off’ > Tangale *ber* ‘to cut off’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bir-* (~ *\*ber-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:59—60, no. 51):  
(vb.) *\*bir-* ‘to cut, rip, pull, break, or tear off; to pull’;  
(n.) *\*bir-a* ‘the act of cutting, ripping, pulling, breaking, or tearing off’

57. Proto-Afrasian *\*bitɫ-* ‘to break, to split, to prick (tr.); to break open, to burst forth (intr.); (?) to spit; (n.) break, slit, hole, piece broken off’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:43, no. 170, *\*baçaɫ-* ‘to tear off, to break off’ [but, for Chadic, cf. Newman 1977:23, no. 15, Proto-Chadic *\*ḡahlə* ‘to break’], and 70, no. 280, *\*bič-* ‘to spit’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*batɫ-aɫ-* ‘to prick, to pierce, to break or tear off’ > Geez / Ethiopic *basʿa* [ḡḡḡ] ‘to flay alive’; Tigrinya *bäsʿe* ‘to pierce’; Tigre *bašʿä* ‘to tear off a very small piece’; Amharic *bässa* ‘to perforate, to puncture, to pierce, to drill a hole’. Amharic *bässäkä* ‘to tear, to rip’. D. Cohen 1970—:73 *\*bsɛ* (that is, *\*bsɛ*); Leslau 1987:109. Proto-Semitic *\*batɫ-at-* ‘to slit’ > Šheri / Jibbāli *bəsšōɫ* ‘to slit’; Ḥarsūsi *besōɫ* ‘to slit’; Mehri *bəsšōɫ* ‘to slit’.
  - B. (?) Egyptian *bšy*, *bšī* ‘to spit; to vomit’, *bšw* ‘vomit’ (semantic development as in German *sich (er)brechen* ‘to vomit’ < ‘to break open, to burst forth’). Hannig 1995:262; Faulkner 1962:85; Erman—Grapow 1921:50 and 1926—1963.1:477; Gardiner 1957:564.
  - C. (?) Chadic: West Chadic *\*bitɫ-* ‘to spit’ > Angas *bis*, *bes* ‘to spit’. (?) East Chadic *\*bVɪɫ-* ‘to spit’ > Somray *bə:sə* ‘to spit’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bitɫh-* (~ *\*betɫh-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:62—63, no. 54):
- (vb.) *\*bitɫh-* ‘to break, to split, to prick (tr.); to split apart, to break open, to burst forth (intr.)’;
  - (n.) *\*bitɫh-a* ‘break, slit, hole, piece broken off’
58. Proto-Afrasian *\*bor-* ‘(n.) a dark color; (adj.) dark-colored’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:76, no. 307, *\*boHar-* ‘to be yellow, to be gray’):
- A. Egyptian *br* ‘pigment, color’. Hannig 1995:256.
  - B. Berber: Mzab *bbərçən* ‘to be or become dark’, *abərçən* ‘black’; Tamazight *bərkin*, *bərčin* ‘to be black, swarthy; to blacken’, *abərkan* ‘black; Kabyle *ibrik* ‘to be black’, *abərkan* ‘black, dark, swarthy, of a dark complexion’.
  - C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*boʔr-* (< *\*borʔ-*) ‘red, yellow, brown, dark-colored’ > Burji *bóor-ee* ‘(n.) yellow color’; Somali *bor-a* ‘gray, dirty’; Arbore *bur-iy-dā* ‘red’; Dasenech *bur* ‘red’; Konso *poor-* (pl. *puʔʔur-*) ‘black’; Elmolo *burr-i-dā* ‘red’; Galla / Oromo *boor-uu* ‘ash-colored, dim, dull’; Hadiyya *bork-* (< *\*borʔ-*) ‘dark-colored’; Gidole *poor-* ‘black’; Dobase *poor-e* ‘burned or carbonized material’. Sasse 1982:39.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*borʷ-a* ‘a dark color’; (adj.) ‘dark, dark-colored’ (Bomhard 2014.2:63—64, no. 55)
59. Proto-Afrasian *\*bud-* (n.) ‘stick’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:80, no. 325, *\*bud-* ‘stick’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*badd-* ‘pole, stick, beam’ > Hebrew *\*baḏ* [בַּד] ‘pole, bar, rod; branch (of a tree)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *baddā* ‘pole, stick’; Arabic *badd-* ‘beam’. D. Cohen 1970— :44—45; Klein 1987:63.
- B. Berber: Proto-Berber *\*budid-* ‘pole of a hut’ > Kabyle *a-budid* ‘wooden post’.
- C. Chadic: East Chadic *\*bVdVH-* ‘stick’ > Kera *bəḏ-uwa* ‘stick’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*bud-a* ‘stick’ (Bomhard 2014.2:66, no. 58)
60. Proto-Afrasian *\*bok’-* (n.) ‘goat’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:76, no. 309, *\*boḵ-* ‘goat’ and no. 310 *\*boḵar-* ‘cattle’ [derived from *\*boḵ-* ‘goat’]):
- A. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*ḡwak-* (< *\*bwak’-*) ‘goat’ > Mafa *ḡokw* ‘goat’. Central Chadic *\*bwakVr-* ‘goat’ > Tera *bokəra* ‘goat’; Bachama *bogər-ey* ‘goat’.
- B. Cushitic: Beja / Beḡawye *bōk* ‘goat’. Reinisch 1895:46.
- C. (?) Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bak’-ar-* ‘cattle’ > Akkadian *bukāru* ‘cattle’ (West Semitic word); Hebrew *bāḡār* [בָּגָר] ‘cattle, herd, oxen’; Phoenician *bkr* ‘cattle’; Syriac *baḡrā* ‘herd of cattle’; Arabic *baḡar* ‘cattle’; Sabaeen *bkr* ‘cattle’; Ḥarsūsi *beḡerēt* ‘cow’; Mehri *bəḡərēt* ‘cow’. Murtonen 1989:118; Klein 1987:81; D. Cohen 1970— :79—80; Zammit 2002:98—99.
- D. (?) Berber: Proto-Berber *\*bukVr-* ‘one year old camel’ > Tawlemmet *əbuḡer* ‘one year old camel’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*buk’-a* (~ *\*bok’-a*) ‘male of small, hoofed animals: he-goat, buck’ (Bomhard 2014.2:67—68, no. 61)
61. Proto-Afrasian *\*bul-* ‘(vb.) to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate; (n.) large quantity or amount; expansion, spread, inflation; puff, blow’. Reduplicated: *\*bul-bul-* ‘(vb.) to swell, to bubble up; (n.) puff, bubble, swelling’. Extended form: *\*bul-V-γ-* (vb.) ‘to ripen, to blossom, to bloom, to sprout, to mature’; (n.) *\*bul-γ-* ‘increase, growth, ripening, maturity, prosperity, blossoming’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:77, no. 312, *\*bol-* ‘to flow, to be wet’, 1995:81, no. 331, *\*bul-bul-* ‘to pour, to flow’, and 1995:82, no. 334, *\*bulul-* ‘to flow, to be wet’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bal-aγ-* ‘to ripen, to mature, to attain puberty’ > Arabic *balāḡa* ‘to reach, to arrive, to come, to attain puberty, to ripen, to mature’; Ḥarsūsi *belōḡ* ‘to arrive’, *bēlēḡ* ‘to reach puberty, to be fully grown’; Mehri *bēlāḡ* ‘to reach maturity, puberty’, *bōlēḡ* ‘grown up, adult’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bēlāḡ* ‘to reach puberty’. D. Cohen 1970— :69; Zammit 2002:100—101.



- B. Berber: Kabyle *bbəlbəl* ‘to be fat, pudgy, chubby’, *abəlbəl* ‘fat, pudgy, chubby’; Tuareg *bələl* ‘to have everything in abundance’, *səbbələl* ‘to give abundantly, to lack nothing’, *ənəbbələl* ‘a person who has everything in abundance’.
- C. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic *\*bulul-* ‘to flow’ > Galla / Oromo *bulula* ‘to flow’.
- D. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*HV-bwal-* ‘rain’ > Bachama *bole* ‘rain’. West Chadic (reduplicated) *\*bul-bul-* ‘to pour out’ > Hausa *bulbulaa* ‘to pour liquid in or out of a vessel with gurgling sound’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bul-* (~ *\*bol-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:68—73, nos. 62, 63, 64, and 65):
- (vb.) *\*bul-* ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate’;
- (n.) *\*bul-a* ‘large quantity or amount; expansion, spread, inflation; puff, blow’
- Derivatives:
- (n.) *\*bul-a* (~ *\*bol-a*) ‘penis, testicle(s)’
- (vb.) *\*bul-V-γ-* ‘to ripen, to blossom, to bloom, to sprout, to mature’;
- (n.) *\*bul-γ-a* ‘increase, growth, ripening, maturity, prosperity, blossoming’
- Reduplicated:
- (vb.) *\*bul-bul-* ‘to swell, to bubble up’;
- (n.) *\*bul-bul-a* ‘puff, bubble, swelling’
62. Proto-Afrasian *\*bul-* ‘(vb.) to mix, to mix up, to confuse; (n.) mixture, confusion, turbidity, blur’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bal-al-* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse’ > Akkadian *balālu* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse, to mingle’; Hebrew *bālāl* [בָּלַל] ‘to mingle, to mix, to confuse’; Syriac *bəlīl* ‘mixed, confused’; Mandaic *blila* ‘confused, idle, useless’; Geez / Ethiopic *balla* [በለ] ‘to spoil, to ruin, to destroy, to mix, to confuse’. D. Cohen 1970— :67; Klein 1987:75; Leslau 1987:96.
- Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*bal-bal-* ‘to confuse, to mix’ > Arabic *balbala* ‘to disquiet, to make uneasy or restive, to stir up, to rouse, to disturb, to trouble, to confuse’; Geez / Ethiopic *bābbala* [ባበለ] ‘to be mixed up, messed up, confused, scattered’, *ʔabābbala* [አባበለ] ‘to mix, to confuse’; Tigre *ʔabälbäla* ‘to be confused’; Amharic *boläbbolä* ‘to combine *nug*-seeds with flax seeds’. D. Cohen 1970— :65; Klein 1987:74; Leslau 1987:85 and 96.
- Proto-Semitic *\*bal-aʕ-* ‘to destroy, to confuse’ > Hebrew *billaʕ* [בִּלְעַל] ‘to destroy, to confuse’; Soqotri *balaʕ* ‘to be changed, ruined’. D. Cohen 1970— :68.
- B. Cushitic: Galla / Oromo (reduplicated) *bulbul-addä* ‘to mix’; Sidamo (reduplicated) *bulbul-* ‘to melt, to add water and shake, to mix’. Hudson 1989:100 and 355. Burji *bull-ānc-i* ‘gray; all mixed colors; spotted’;

Hadiyya *bula* ‘(horse) spotted: black and white’; Konso *pull-a* ‘gray’. Sasse 1982:43.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bul-* (~ *\*bol-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:73—74, nos. 66 and 67):  
 (vb.) *\*bul-* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse’;  
 (n.) *\*bul-a* ‘mixture, confusion, turbidity, blur’

Derivative:

- (n.) *\*bul-a* ‘that which is dark, dark colored; that which has mixed colors, that which is spotted’

63. Proto-Afrasian *\*bul-* ‘(vb.) to crush, to grind, to weaken, to wear down; to become worn out, weak, tired, old; (adj.) worn out, weak, tired’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bal-ay-* ‘(vb.) to become worn out, weak, tired, old; (adj.) worn out, weak, tired’ > Akkadian *balū* ‘to come to an end, to become extinguished’; Hebrew *bālāh* [בָּלָה] ‘to become old and worn out’, *beleh* [בִּלְהָ] ‘worn out, old’, *bālī* [בָּלִי] ‘destruction, defeat, failure’; Aramaic *bālē* ‘to become worn out’; Ugaritic *bly-m* ‘worn out’; Arabic *baliya* ‘to be or become old, worn, shabby; to dwindle away, to vanish; to deteriorate, to decline, to become decrepit; to disintegrate (corpse), to decay, to rot; to wear out’, *bilan* ‘decline, deterioration; decay, putrefaction, decomposition; worn condition; wear; shabbiness’, *balīy* ‘worn, decrepit, old, shabby’, *balīya* ‘trial, tribulation, affliction, distress, misfortune, calamity’; Mehri *bālō* ‘to trouble, to tire out; to nag, to interrupt’; Ḥarsūsi *belō* ‘to trouble; to nag’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bélé* ‘to tire out, to nag’; Geez / Ethiopic *balya* [በልሃ] ‘to be old, worn out, decrepit, obsolete’, *bəluṃ* [ብሉጅ] ‘old, ancient, antiquated, decrepit, obsolete, worn out’; Tigrinya *bäläyā* ‘to be old, worn out’; Tigre *bāla* ‘to be old, worn out’; Amharic *bəluṃ* ‘old’ (loan from Geez). D. Cohen 1970—:66; Klein 1987:74; Leslau 1987:98; Murtonen 1989:113; Zammit 2002:101.

B. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Afar *bulul-* ‘to become pulverized’; Galla / Oromo *bull-aw-* ‘to become pulverized’; Konso *pull-a* ‘flour made from dried ensete’. Sasse 1982:43. Highland East Cushitic *\*bulle* ‘flour’ > Burji *bull-a* ‘a type of flour’; Gedeo / Darasa *bulle* ‘flour’, *bull-eess-* ‘to grind’, *bullo?* ‘to be fine (for example, powder)’; Hadiyya *bullo* ‘flour, porridge’; Sidamo *bullee* ‘flour’, *bulleess-am-* ‘to be fine (for example, powder)’. Hudson 1989:65 and 74.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bul-* (~ *\*bol-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:74—76, no. 68):  
 (vb.) *\*bul-* ‘to crush, to grind, to weaken, to wear down; to become worn out, weak, tired, old’;

- (n.) *\*bul-a* ‘that which is worn out, weak, tired: weakness, decline, decay, wear, etc.; (adj.) worn out, weak, tired, old’

64. Proto-Afrasian *\*bun-* (vb.) ‘to flow, to overflow’:

- A. Egyptian *bnn* ‘to overflow’, *bnbn* ‘to flow, to run’. Hannig 1995:254; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:459 and 1:460; Faulkner 1962:82—83.
- B. Proto-Chadic *\*bəna* ‘to wash oneself, to bathe’ > Bole *binaa* ‘to wash oneself, to bathe’; Hausa *wànkàà* ‘to wash something, to wash off or away’; Tera *vənə* ‘to wash oneself, to bathe’; Paduko *para* ‘to wash oneself, to bathe’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.I:174 and II:338—339; Newman 1977:33.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bun-* (~ *\*bon-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:78, no. 70):

(vb.) *\*bun-* ‘to flow, to overflow’;

(n.) *\*bun-a* ‘flow, flood’

Derivative of:

(vb.) *\*bun-* ‘to puff up, to inflate, to expand, to swell’;

(n.) *\*bun-a* ‘rounded protuberance, swelling, lump, hump, growth’

65. Proto-Afrasian *\*bur-* (vb.) ‘to bore, to pierce’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bar-aʒ-* ‘to bore, to pierce’ > Aramaic *bəraz* ‘to bore, to pierce’; Arabic *barzaḥ* ‘interval, gap, break’; Ḥaḍramawt *barzat-* ‘hole’.

Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*bar-bar-* ‘to bore, to pierce, to hollow out’ > Amharic *boräbborä* ‘to hollow out, to cut a groove’; Tigre *bärabära* ‘to pierce’.

Proto-Semitic *\*bar-ar-* ‘to pierce, to penetrate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *barra* [ḳḳ], *barara* [ḳḳḳ] ‘to pierce, to penetrate, to go through’; Amharic *bärrärä* ‘to pierce, to make a hole in a water jug’, *bärr* ‘door, gate’; Tigrinya *bärri* ‘passage, entrance’. D. Cohen 1970— :81, 83, and 87; Leslau 1987:107.

- B. Berber: Nefusa *bərsi* ‘clump of earth’; Tamazight *brəc* ‘to crush, to grind, to be crushed, to bruise’, *abrəc* ‘crushing, grinding’; Riff *abərsəssi* ‘clump of earth’; Kabyle *əbrəc* ‘to crush, to grind’, *abrərac* ‘grain, lump’.
- C. Cushitic: Somali *burur* ‘broken piece’; Saho *burūr* ‘broken piece’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bur-* (~ *\*bor-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:80—82, no. 73):

(vb.) *\*bur-* ‘to bore, to pierce’;

(n.) *\*bur-a* ‘gimlet, borer, auger’

Derivative of:

(vb.) *\*bur-* ‘to twist, to turn’;

(n.) *\*bur-a* ‘twist, turn’

66. Proto-Afrasian *\*bur-* (vb.) ‘to blow’; (n.) ‘storm, whirl, rage; dust’:

- A. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*bur-* ‘to blow (of wind)’ > Alagwa *bur-* ‘to fan’; K’wadza *bul-* ‘to blow’; Dahalo *búri* ‘to fart’. Ehret 1980:140. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*buru-* ‘dust, blowing dust’ (derivative of *\*bur-*

- ‘to blow’) > K’wadza *bulatiko* ‘high stratus overcast’; Asa *buʔurita* ‘cloud’; Ma’a *maburú* ‘dung (of sheep or goat)’; Dahalo *búruné* ‘dust’. Ehret 1980:141.
- B. Proto-Chadic *\*bVr-* ‘to blow’ > Kwang *bō:ré* ‘to blow’; Kera *bò:rè* ‘to blow’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1995.I:15 *\*b-r* ‘to blow’ and II:32—33.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bur-* (~ *\*bor-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:82—83, no. 74):  
 (vb.) *\*bur-* ‘to blow, to blow about, to whirl, to rage’;  
 (n.) *\*bur-a* ‘storm, whirl, rage’
67. Proto-Afrasian *\*bor-* ‘(vb.) to bite, to eat; (n.) food, nourishment’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:77, no. 315, *\*bor-* ‘to eat’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*bar-ay-* ‘to eat’ > Hebrew *bārāh* [בָּרַח] ‘to eat (bread)’, *bārūθ* [בָּרוּת], *bārōθ* [בָּרוֹת] ‘food, nourishment’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). Klein 1987:83 and 84.
- B. Egyptian *br* ‘food, nourishment’, *brbr* ‘food, drink’, *brbs* ‘a kind of drink’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:465 and 1:466; Hannig 1995:256 and 257.
- C. Chadic: East Chadic *\*HV-bwar-* ‘to eat’ > Tumak *bor* ‘to eat’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*bur-* (~ *\*bor-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:83—84, no. 75):  
 (vb.) *\*bur-* ‘to bite, to eat’;  
 (n.) *\*bur-a* ‘food’
68. Proto-Afrasian *\*buw-* ‘(vb.) to come, to go (in), to enter; (n.) going, coming, staying; abode, dwelling, residence’ (different etymology in Orël—Stolbova 1995:39—40, no. 157, *\*baʔ-/baw-/bay-* ‘to walk, to go’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*baw-aʔ-* ‘to enter, to go in, to abide, to dwell’ > Hebrew *bōʔ* [בֹּא] ‘to come in, to come, to go in, to enter’; Arabic *bāʔa* ‘to come again, to return, to come back; to take a place, to settle down, to live or stay at a place, to reside’, *mabāʔa* ‘abode, dwelling, habitation’; Old Akkadian *buāʔum* ‘to come’; Amorite *bwʔ* ‘to come’; Ugaritic *bāʔ* ‘to come, to enter’; Sabaean *bwʔ* ‘to enter’; Geez / Ethiopic *bōʔa* [ቦአ] ‘to enter, to penetrate, to proceed, to penetrate, to be involved, to intermingle, to have intercourse’; Tigrinya *bōʔa* ‘to enter’; Tigre *bōʔa* ‘to enter’; Harari *bōʔa* ‘to enter, to go in’. D. Cohen 1970—:50; Murtonen 1989:107—108; Klein 1987:65; Leslau 1987:114—115; Militarëv 2010:60; Zammit 2002:103.
- B. Cushitic: Beja / Beɣawye *biʔ-* ‘to return home, to rest’. Reinisch 1895:38.
- C. Chadic: North Bauchi Chadic *\*buw-* ‘to come’ > Jimbinanci *boo-* ‘to come’; Warjanci *buw-* ‘to come’; Miyanci *bəə-/bu-* ‘to come’; Mburkanci *buu-* ‘to come’; Kāriyanci *bə-/buu-* ‘to come’. Skinner 1977:16.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*buw-* (~ *\*bow-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:87—89, no. 79):  
 (vb.) *\*buw-* ‘to go, to come, to proceed, to spend time’;  
 (n.) *\*buw-a* ‘going, coming, staying; abode, dwelling, residence’
69. Proto-Afrasian *\*buw-* ‘(vb.) to become large, to grow, to arise; (n.) growth, fullness, prosperity; blossom, bloom’:
- A. Egyptian *bwʔ* ‘to be high’. Hannig 1995:251; Erman—Grapow 1921:48 and 1926—1963.1:454.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Sam *\*buuh-* ‘to be full’ > Rendille *buh* ‘to be full’; Somali *buh*, *buuh-so* ‘to be full’. Proto-Sam *\*buuh-i*, *\*buuh-ica* ‘to fill’ > Rendille *buhi* ‘to fill’; Somali *buuhi* ‘to fill’; Boni *buhi*, *buhhia* ‘to fill’. Proto-Sam *\*buur* ‘big (of things)’ > Rendille *buur* ‘big (of things)’; Somali *buur-an* ‘stout’. Heine 1978:54 and 55.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*buw-* (~ *\*bow-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:89—90, no. 80):  
 (vb.) *\*buw-* ‘to become, to arise, to come into being, to grow’;  
 (n.) *\*buw-a* ‘growth, fullness, prosperity; blossom, bloom’

### 3.3. PROTO-AFRASIAN *\*p*’

70. Proto-Afrasian *\*p’ul-* ‘(vb.) to swell; (adj.) swollen, round’, (reduplicated) *\*p’ul-p’ul-* ‘(vb.) to swell; (adj.) swollen, round’ (Ehret 1995:116, no. 109, *\*p’ul-* ‘shell’):
- A. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*bolokke* (?) ‘testicles’ (assimilation from *\*bulokke* ?) > Burji *bolókk-o*, *bulúkk-o* ‘testicle’; Gedeo / Darasa *omborakke* ‘testicles’. Hudson 1989:150; Sasse 1982:38.
- B. Omotic: Welamo *p’up’ule* ‘egg’; Dache *bubule* ‘egg’; Dorze *bu:bulé* ‘egg’; Oyda *bubule* ‘egg’; Male *bu:la* ‘egg’; Kachama *p’up’ule* ‘egg’; Koyra *bubu:le* ‘egg’; Gidicho *bubu:le* ‘egg’; Zergula *bubile* ‘egg’; Zayse *bubile* ‘egg’. Omotic loan in Burji *bulbul-ée* ~ *bubul-ée* ‘egg’. Sasse 1982:43. Ehret (1995:116, no. 109) considers the Omotic forms cited above to be loans from East Cushitic — he reconstructs Proto-East Cushitic *\*b’ulb’ul-* ‘shell’ (> Yaaku *bolboli* ‘egg’; Somali *bulbul* ‘thick hair’).
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p’ul-* (~ *\*p’ol-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:160—161, no. 139):  
 (vb.) *\*p’ul-* ‘to swell’;  
 (n.) *\*p’ul-a* ‘swelling, hump, lump, bulge’; (adj.) ‘swollen, round, bulbous’

## 3.4. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*f

71. Proto-Afrasian \**faḥ-* ‘(vb.) to warm, to heat, to burn; (n.) embers, fire’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:186, no. 819, \**foḥ-* ‘(vb.) to burn; (n.) fire’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**paḥ-am-* ‘glowing coal(s), embers’ > Hebrew *peḥām* [פֶּחָם] ‘coal, charcoal for embers’; Syriac *paḥmā* ‘coal, charcoal’; Ugaritic *pḥm* ‘live coal(s)’; Arabic *faḥm* ‘charcoal, coal’; Sabaean *ḥm* ‘incense altars’; Akkadian *pēntu* (for *pēmtu*) ‘glowing coal’; Geez / Ethiopic *fəḥm* [ፍኸም] ‘coals, carbon, live coals, embers’; Tigre *fäḥam* ‘charcoal’; Tigrinya *fəḥmi* ‘charcoal’; Argobba *fəḥəm* ‘charcoal’; Amharic *fəm* ‘charcoal’; Gurage *fem* ‘coal’; Harari *fēḥama* ‘to be red hot’. Murtonen 1989:338; Klein 1987:502; Leslau 1987:157.
- B. Egyptian *wḥ* ‘to burn’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:306.
- C. Chadic: Central Chadic \**ʔa-ffwa-* ‘fire’ > Logone *fo* ‘fire’; Musgu *afu* ‘fire’; Gidar *afa* ‘fire’; Mbara *fee* ‘fire’.

Note: According to Orël—Stolbova (1995:186, no. 819), “irregular vowels in individual [Chadic] languages may continue \**yaHu-*/\**waHu-*”. They also consider the *w-* in Egyptian *wḥ* to stand for a rounded vowel — in my opinion, the *w-* is a prefix.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**phaḥ-* (~ \**phəḥ-*) (Bomhard 2012.2:149—150, no. 129):  
 (vb.) \**phaḥ-* ‘to warm, to heat, to burn’;  
 (n.) \**phaḥ-a* ‘fire, flame, spark’  
 Extended form:  
 (vb.) \**phaḥ-V-w-* ‘to warm, to heat, to burn’;  
 (n.) \**phaḥ-w-a* ‘fire, flame, spark’

72. Proto-Afrasian \**fal-*, \**ful-* (n.) ‘skin, hide’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:188, no. 831, \**ful-* ‘hide, husk’):

- A. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic \**fal-* or \**faal-* ‘skin, hide; rash’ > Burunge *fala* ‘hide’; Asa *fulo* ‘hide’; Ma’a *-fwáli* ‘to scratch, to itch’, *ufwá* ‘rash’. Ehret 1980:150.
- B. Chadic: East Chadic \**pulVI-* ‘shell’ > Tumak *puləl* ‘shell’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \**phal-a* ‘skin, hide’ (Bomhard 2014.2:150—151, no. 130)

73. Proto-Afrasian \**fed-* ‘(vb.) to tear, to pluck, to pull; to tear off, to pluck off, to pull off; to tear out, to pluck out, to pull out; (n.) the act of pulling, tearing, plucking’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:179, no. 790, \**fed-* ‘to tear’, no. 791, \**fedik-* ‘to split’; different etymology in Ehret 1995:100, no. 69, \**fad-* ‘to draw out, to pull out’):

- A. Egyptian *fdi* ‘to pluck (flowers), to pull up (plants), to uproot, to pull out (hair), to remove’, *fdq* ‘to sever, to divide, to part’. Hannig 1995:308 and 309; Faulkner 1962:99; Gardiner 1957:567; Erman—Grapow 1921:58.
- B. Cushitic: Beja / Beḡawye *fedig* (< \**fedik*-) ‘to split, to separate’. Reinisch 1895:76—77. Highland East Cushitic \**fed*- ‘to tear (cloth)’ > Burji *feedi*- ‘to tear (cloth)’. Hudson 1989:149.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**phid*- (~ \**phed*-) (Bomhard 2014.2:151—152, no. 131):  
 (vb.) \**phid*- ‘to tear, to pluck, to pull; to tear off, to pluck off, to pull off; to tear out, to pluck out, to pull out’;  
 (n.) \**phid-a* ‘the act of pulling, tearing, plucking’
74. Proto-Afrasian \**fil*- ‘(vb.) to split, to cleave; (n.) split, crack’ (Ehret 1980:322. Ehret 1995:105, no. 81, \**fil*- ‘to cut a hole or cavity in’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:191, no. 845, \**fil*- ‘to divide, to pierce’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**pal-ag*- ‘to split, to cleave, to divide’ > Hebrew *pālay* [פָּלַי] ‘to split, to cleave, to divide’, *peley* [פֶּלֶי] ‘canal, channel’; Arabic *falaḡa* ‘to split, to cleave’; Phoenician *plg* ‘to divide’; Ugaritic *plg* ‘canal, stream’; Akkadian *palgu* ‘canal’; Ḥarsūsi *felēg* ‘water-course’; Mehri *fālēg* ‘stream, water-course’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fālōg* ‘to split open, to make a hole in (tin, barrel, rock)’, *fēlēg* ‘oasis’ (Eastern dialect = ‘stream’); Geez / Ethiopic *falaga* [ፈለገ] ‘to flow, to cause to flow in torrents, to dig out, to hollow out, to divide, to split, to hew, to prepare, to arrange’, *falag* [ፈለግ] ‘river, brook, valley’, *fəlug* [ፍለግ] ‘hollow, hollowed, dug out, divided, prepared, ready, arranged’; Tigre *fālāg* ‘ravine’; Tigrinya *fālāg* ‘riverbed’; Amharic *fālāg* ‘stream’ (Geez loan). Klein 1987:508; Leslau 1987:159; Murtonen 1989:340.
- Proto-Semitic \**pal-ay*- ‘to separate, to divide’ > Arabic *faliya* ‘to be cut off’; Aramaic *pālā* ‘to split, to cut open’; Geez / Ethiopic *falaya* [ፈለየ] ‘to separate, to divide, to distinguish’; Tigrinya *fālāyā* ‘to separate’; Tigre *fāla* ‘to separate’. Leslau 1987:161.
- Proto-Semitic \**pal-aḥ*- ‘to split, to cleave’ > Hebrew *pālāḥ* [פָּלַח] ‘to cleave’; Arabic *falāḥa* ‘to split, to cleave, to plow, to till’. Klein 1987:509; Murtonen 1989:340.
- Proto-Semitic \**pal-am*- ‘to split, to divide’ > Arabic (Daḡina) *falam* ‘to notch, to indent’; Geez / Ethiopic *falama* [ፈለመ] ‘to split, to divide, to strike the first blow (in combat), to be the first to do something’; Tigre *fālma* ‘to break to pieces’; Tigrinya *fällāmā* ‘to begin’; Amharic *fällāmā* ‘to strike the first blow, to initiate an action’. Leslau 1987:159.
- Proto-Semitic \**pal-ak*- ‘to split, to cleave, to break forth’ > Akkadian *palāku* ‘to kill’; Arabic *falaka* ‘to split, to cleave; to burst, to break (dawn)’; Sabaeen *flk* ‘system of irrigation by dispersion of water by means of inflow cuts’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fālōk* ‘to split, to crack’; Tigrinya *fālākā* ‘to split up, to crack up’; Tigre *fālāk* ‘division’; Harari *fālāka* ‘to hit the head

with a stone or stick so that blood comes out or the head swells'; Amharic *fäläkkäkä* 'to split, to break loose'; Gurage (Wolane) *fäläkkäkä* 'to card wool by splitting'. Leslau 1963:62 and 1979:232.

Proto-Semitic *\*pal-at-* 'to separate' > Hebrew *pālaṭ* [פָּלַט] 'to escape'; Phoenician *plṭ* 'to escape'; Geez / Ethiopic *falaṭa* [ፈለጠ] 'to separate'; Harari *fälāṭa* 'to split wood with an ax'; Argobba *fällāṭa* 'to split'; Amharic *fällāṭä* 'to split'; Gurage *fälāṭä* 'to split wood with an ax'. Klein 1987:509; Leslau 1963:63, 1979:232, and 1987:161; Murtonen 1989:340—341.

Proto-Semitic *\*pal-as-* 'to break open or through' > Hebrew *pālaš* [פָּלַשׁ] 'to break open or through'; Akkadian *palāšu* 'to dig a hole'. Klein 1987:512.

Proto-Semitic *\*pal-al-* 'to separate, to divide' > Arabic *falla* 'to dent, to notch, to blunt; to break; to flee, to run away'; Hebrew *pālal* [פָּלַל] 'to arbitrate, to judge'; Akkadian *palālu* 'to have rights, to secure someone's rights'; Sabaean *fll* 'to cut channels'; Mehri *fəl* 'to make off, to get away'; Šheri / Jibbāli *fell* 'to make off, to get away, to run away'; Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *falfala* [ፈለፈለ] 'to break out, to burst, to gush'; Tigre *fälāla* 'to sprout forth, to break through'; Tigrinya *fälfälä* 'to break, to make a hole'; Amharic *fäläffälä* 'to shell (peas, beans), to gush out'; Harari *filäffäla* 'to detach a piece from the main bunch (bananas, corn), to shell, to pick up grains one by one from the stock'; Gurage *fäläffälä* 'to shell, to hatch out, to make a hole by scratching'. Klein 1987:511; Leslau 1987:158—159.

Proto-Semitic *\*pal-af-* 'to split, to cleave' > Arabic *fala'a* 'to split, to cleave, to rend, to tear asunder', *fal'*, *fil'* 'crack, split, crevice, fissure, cleft, rift'.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *əfli*, *əfləh* 'to be split; to split, to crack', *səfli*, *zəfləh* 'to cause to split'; Siwa *əfli* 'to be split'; Mzab *fəl* 'to pierce; to be pierced'; Kabyle *flu* 'to pierce'.
- C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic *\*fil-d-* 'to separate, to comb' > Gedeo / Darasa *fil-*, *fi'l-* 'to comb', *fila* 'comb'; Sidamo *fil-* 'to choose the best ensete fibers'. Hudson 1989:43. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ful-* 'to bore a hole' > Iraqw *ful-* 'to bore a hole'.

Note: The Semitic and Berber forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may belong either here or with Proto-Afrasian *\*pal-* 'to split, to cleave'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*phily-* (~ *\*p<sup>h</sup>ely-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:152—155, no. 132):  
 (vb.) *\*phily-* 'to split, to cleave';  
 (n.) *\*phily-a* 'split, crack'

75. Proto-Afrasian *\*fin-* '(vb.) to break; (n.) break' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:182, no. 804, *\*finah-* 'to break'):



- A. Semitic: Arabic *fanaḥa* ‘to bruise a bone without breaking it; to subdue, to overcome, to humiliate’.
- B. Berber: Kabyle *sfunnəḥ* ‘to beat’.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic *\*fin-H-* ‘to break’ > Kulere *fiṇy-* ‘to break’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p<sup>h</sup>in-* (~ *\*p<sup>h</sup>en-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:155, no. 133):  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>in-* ‘to break’;  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>in-a* ‘break’
76. Proto-Afrasian *\*fut-* (vb.) ‘to vomit; (n.) vomit’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:189, no. 837, *\*fut-* ‘to vomit’):
- A. Chadic: West Chadic *\*fut-* ‘to vomit’ > Sura *fuut* ‘to vomit’; Angas *fut* ‘to vomit’; Ankwe *fuut* ‘to vomit’; Mupun *fuut* ‘to vomit’.
- B. Cushitic: Werizoid *\*fat-* (< *\*fut-*) ‘to vomit’ > Gawwada (reduplicated) *fač-fat-* ‘to vomit’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*p<sup>h</sup>uth-* (~ *\*p<sup>h</sup>oth-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:156—157, no. 135):  
 (vb.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>uth-* ‘to vomit’;  
 (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>uth-a* ‘vomit’
77. Proto-Afrasian *\*fut-* (n.) ‘hole, opening, vulva’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:189, no. 836, *\*fut-* ‘hole, vulva’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*put-* ‘vulva’ > Hebrew *pōṯ* ‘vulva’ [פֹּת] (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). Klein 1987:535—536.
- B. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic *\*fut-* ‘vulva, anus’ > Somali *futo* ‘vulva’; Galla / Oromo *futee* ‘anus’.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic *\*fut-* ‘vulva’ > Angas *fut* ‘vulva’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*p<sup>h</sup>uth-a* ‘hole, opening’ (Bomhard 2014.2:157, no. 136)
78. Proto-Afrasian *\*fuw-* (> *\*fiw-* in Chadic) (vb.) ‘to puff, to blow, to exhale; to puff up, to inflate; (n.) a puff, the act of blowing, breath’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:184, no. 813, *\*fiwaḥ-* ‘to smell, to blow’ and 184—185, no. 814, *\*fiwaq-* ‘to blow’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*paw-aḥ-* ‘to exhale, to blow’ > Hebrew *pūaḥ* [פֹּוֹחַ] ‘to breathe, to blow’, (hif.) *hē-fīaḥ* ‘to blow, to break wind’, *pūḥā’* ‘breath, wind’; Aramaic *pūaḥ* ‘to breathe, to blow’; Arabic *fāḥa* ‘to diffuse an aroma, to exhale a pleasant odor’, *fawḥa* ‘fragrant emanation, breath of fragrance’, *fawwāḥ* ‘exhaling, diffusing (fragrance)’. Arabic *fāḥa* ‘to spread an odor, to emit a scent; to blow (wind); to break wind’. Klein 1987:496; Murtonen 1989:336—337.

- B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*fook*- ‘to catch one’s breath’ > Asa *fuʔit*- ‘to catch one’s breath’; Ma’a *-fufu* ‘to catch one’s breath’; Dahalo *fook*- ‘to catch one’s breath’. Ehret 1980:151.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic *\*f[i]w[a]h*- ‘to blow’ > Boklos *fuʔ* ‘to blow’; Sha *fyah* ‘to blow’; Dafo-Butura *fuʔ* ‘to blow’. Central Chadic *\*fiyaH*- ‘to smell’ > Mandara *ʔifiyaʔa* ‘to smell’. East Chadic *\*pVwaH*- > *\*pwaH*- ‘to blow’ > Tumak *po* ‘to blow’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*pʰuw*- (~ *\*pʰow*-) (Bomhard 2014.2:157—159, no. 137):  
 (vb.) *\*pʰuw*- ‘to puff, to blow, to exhale; to puff up, to inflate’;  
 (n.) *\*pʰuw-a* ‘a puff, the act of blowing, breath’

### 3.5. PROTO-AFRASIAN *\*m*

79. Proto-Afrasian indefinite pronoun stem *\*ma*- ‘one, someone, somebody’ (Ehret 1995:300, no. 568, indefinite pronoun stem *\*m*- ‘one, someone, somebody’):

- A. Semitic: Ugaritic *mn* ‘any, a certain’; Arabic *man* ‘he/she/those who, the one who; those who’.
- B. Egyptian *mn* ‘someone, so-and-so’.

Note: According to Lipiński (1997:330), “indefinite pronouns strictly speaking do not exist in Semitic. The forms used as a kind of indefinite pronouns are based on the interrogative pronoun” (see also Moscati 1964:115). Instead of being derived from the interrogative pronoun, as is commonly assumed, the Semitic forms may indeed be relics of an old indefinite (< demonstrative) stem as proposed by Ehret.

- ← Proto-Nostratic indefinite pronoun stem *\*ma*- (~ *\*mǝ*-), *\*mi*- (~ *\*me*-), *\*mu*- (~ *\*mo*-) ‘one, someone, somebody, anyone, anybody; other, another’ (Bomhard 2014.3:922—923, no. 832):

Note: This may originally have been a demonstrative stem (as suggested by Illič-Svityč), with three degrees of distance:

Proximate: *\*ma*- (~ *\*mǝ*-) ‘this’;  
 Intermediate: *\*mi*- (~ *\*me*-) ‘that’;  
 Distant: *\*mu*- (~ *\*mo*-) ‘that yonder’

As in the stems:

Proximate:	<i>*kʰa</i> - (~ <i>*kʰǝ</i> -) ‘this’;	<i>*tʰa</i> - (~ <i>*tʰǝ</i> -) ‘this’;
Intermediate:	<i>*kʰi</i> - (~ <i>*kʰe</i> -) ‘that’;	<i>*tʰi</i> - (~ <i>*tʰe</i> -) ‘that’;
Distant:	<i>*kʰu</i> - (~ <i>*kʰo</i> -) ‘that yonder’	<i>*tʰu</i> - (~ <i>*tʰo</i> -) ‘that yonder’

80. Proto-Afrasian *\*ma(?)*- negative/prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’ (Ehret 1995:301, no. 572, *\*ma-* ‘to not have’; Diakonoff 1988:83, §4.4.3; Militarev 2012:80—81):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ma(?)* negative/prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’ > Arabic *mā* ‘not’; Harari *mē?* ‘not’.
  - B. Egyptian *m* imperative of the negative verb *imī*: ‘do not!’. Hannig 1995:312; Faulkner 1962:100; Erman—Grapow 1921:59 and 1926—1963.2:3; Gardiner 1957:567.
  - C. Berber: Ayer *ma* ‘not’; Shawiya *ma* ‘not’; Nefusa *mō* ‘no’.
  - D. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*ma(?)* negative particle > Afar *ma*; Rendille *ma-* negative prefix; Somali *ma?* (Central Somali *mə* main sentence negative particle); Dasenech *ma*. Sasse 1979:52. Southern Cushitic: Iraqw *ma* ‘do not!’.
  - E. Ongota negative imperative verb prefix *ma-*, negative non-imperative verb prefix *mi-* (cf. Fleming 2002b:40).
- ← Proto-Nostratic negative/prohibitive particle *\*ma(?)*- (~ *\*mə(?)*-) ‘no, not’ (Bomhard 2014.3:925—926, no. 834)
81. Proto-Afrasian *\*maʔ-* ‘(vb.) to increase (in number), to be many, to be abundant; (n.) large quantity, plenty, abundance; (adj.) great, big, large, many, abundant’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:392, no. 1811, *\*mVʔad-* ‘to be large’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*maʔ-* ‘to increase (in number), to be many, to be abundant’ > Hebrew *məʔōd* [מְעֹד] ‘(n.) strength, might, power; (adv.) very, greatly, exceedingly’, *məʔōdī* [מְעֹדִי] ‘very, much, abundant’, *mēʔāh* [מֵאָה] ‘hundred’; Ugaritic *mīd* ‘much’, *mīt* ‘hundred’; Akkadian *maʔādu* (*mādu*, *miādu*) ‘to be or become much; numerous, plentiful, abundant’, *maʔdū* (*mādū*) ‘large quantity, plenty’, *meat* (*māt*, *mē*) ‘hundred’, *mētā* ‘hundred times’; Eblaite *mi-at* ‘hundred’; Arabic *maʔada* ‘to grow, to increase’, *miʔa* ‘hundred’; Sabaean *mʔt* ‘hundred’; Harsūsi *myīt* ‘hundred’; Šheri / Jibbāli *mūt* ‘hundred’; Mehri *əmyīt* ‘hundred’; Soqotri *miʔe* ‘hundred’; Geez / Ethiopic *məʔət* [ሞአት], *məʔət* [ሞዕት] ‘hundred, century’; Tigrinya *məʔti* ‘hundred’; Tigre *məʔət* ‘hundred’; Gurage (Soddo) *māto* ‘hundred’; Amharic *māto* ‘hundred’; Argobba *māto* ‘hundred’. Murtonen 1989:252—253 and 253; Klein 1987:308; Leslau 1979:435 and 1987:324; Militarev 2011:89 Proto-Semitic *\*mVʔad-*; Zammit 2002:377 Arabic *miʔa* ‘hundred’.
  - B. Chadic: Central Chadic: Daba *mədde* ‘large’ (< *\*mVʔad-*).
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*maʔ-* (~ *\*məʔ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:926—927, no. 835):
- (vb.) *\*maʔ-* ‘to increase (in number), to be abundant, to be many’;
  - (n.) *\*maʔ-a* ‘large quantity, plenty, abundance’; (adj.) ‘great, big, large, many, abundant’

82. Proto-Afrasian *\*mad-* ‘(vb.) to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out; (n.) measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*mad-ad-* ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’ > Akkadian *madādu* ‘to measure the length of something’; Hebrew *mādaḏ* [מָדַד] ‘to measure’; Phoenician *mdd* ‘to measure’, *mdt* ‘scale’; Ugaritic *mdd* ‘to measure’, (m. pl.) *mdm* ‘surveyors’ (?); Arabic *madda* ‘to extend, to distend, to expand, to dilate; to stretch, to stretch out (something), to crane (the neck); to draw out, to protract (something); to spread out (something); to lay out (tracks, pipeline); to spread (a net); to lengthen, to elongate, to prolong (something); to grant a respite or delay; to rise (flood, river); to help, to aid, to assist (someone), to support (someone by or with); to supply, to provide (with); to reinforce (an army); to fertilize’, *madd* ‘extension; distension, dilation, expansion; spreading; stretching; lengthening, elongation, prolongation, protraction; drawing out of the voice over long vowels (in Koran recitation); rising, rise (of water, of a flood)’, *mudda* ‘period (of time), space of time, interval; while; duration; limited or appointed time; term’, *mādd* ‘stretching, expanding, extending, spreading; trailing, creeping (plant)’; Sabaeen (adj.) *mmd* ‘prolonged, extended’, *md-t* ‘period of time’; Ḥarsūsi *med* ‘to stretch out, to aim (a gun)’; Mehri *məd* ‘to stretch out, to stretch (one’s limbs); to give; to push forward, to point (a gun)’, *maddēt* ‘period; generosity’; Šheri / Jibbāli *midd* ‘to stretch out, to stretch (one’s arms after resting); to give; to extend (a gun); to point’, *maddēt* ‘period; generosity’; Geez / Ethiopic *madada* [መደደ] ‘to spread, to level; to hit, to execute’; Tigre *mādda* ‘to spread, to stretch, to attack’; Tigrinya (reduplicated) *mādmāddā* ‘to level, to flatten’; Amharic (reduplicated) *mādmāmāddā* ‘to level, to flatten, to cut down one after another (trees), to destroy’. Murtonen 1989:253—254; Klein 1987:318; Leslau 1987:329; Militarev 2011:92 Proto-Semitic *\*mdd*; Tomback 1978:166; Zammit 2002:379—380.
- B. Late Egyptian *mdd* ‘a vessel for measuring wine’; Coptic *mtōte* [ⲙⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉ] meaning unknown, perhaps ‘a kind of vessel’. Hannig 1995:379; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:183; Černý 1976:94.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*mad-* (~ *\*mād-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:927—928, no. 836):  
 (vb.) *\*mad-* ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’;  
 (n.) *\*mad-a* ‘measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit’  
 Note also:  
 (vb.) *\*mat’-* ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’;  
 (n.) *\*mat’-a* ‘measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit’

83. Proto-Afrasian *\*mag-* ‘(vb.) to be of great influence, importance, or power; to be eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious; (n.) strength, power, might; glory, splendor, magnificence, grandeur, nobility, honor, distinction, excellence; (adj.) strong, powerful, eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious,

illustrious' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:370, no. 1704, *\*mag-* 'to be numerous, to be big'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*mag-ad-* 'to be eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious' > Arabic *mağada* 'to be glorious, illustrious, exalted; to praise, to extol; to laud, to glorify; to celebrate; to be extolled, glorified, lauded, praised; to boast', *mağd* 'glory, splendor, magnificence, grandeur, nobility, honor, distinction'; Hebrew *meyəd* [מַיְדָּ] 'excellence, excellent or choice things (always of gifts of nature)'; Aramaic *miydā* 'fruit, something precious'; Syriac *maydā* 'fruit'. Murtonen 1989:253; Klein 1987:314; Zammit 2002:378.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*magano* 'god, sky' > Gedeo / Darasa *magano*, *mageno* 'sky, god'; Kambata *maganu* 'god'; Sidamo *magano* 'god, sky'. Hudson 1989:71 and 136.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*mag-* (~ *\*mæg-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:929—931, no. 838):  
 (vb.) *\*mag-* 'to be of great influence, importance, or power; to be eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious';  
 (n.) *\*mag-a* 'strength, power, might; glory, splendor, magnificence, grandeur, nobility, honor, distinction, excellence'; (adj.) 'strong, powerful, eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious'

- 84. Proto-Afrasian *\*maḥ-* (vb.) to increase, to swell, to exceed, to surpass, to be great; (n.) bigness, greatness, fullness, excellence; (adj.) big, great, full':

- A. Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *maḥasa* [ሙሐሰ] 'to cause to grow, to rear'. Leslau 1987:337.
- B. Egyptian *mḥ* 'to fill, to be full (of); to make whole; to complete, to finish; to be full; to be complete', *mḥw* 'filling, packing, stuffing; a mouthful'. Faulkner 1962:113; Hannig 1995:352; Gardiner 1957:569; Erman—Grapow 1921:68 and 1926—1963.2:116—117.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*maḥ-* (~ *\*māḥ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:933—934, no. 841):  
 (vb.) *\*maḥ-* 'to increase, to swell, to exceed, to surpass, to be great';  
 (n.) *\*maḥ-a* 'bigness, greatness, fullness, excellence'; (adj.) 'big, great, full'

- 85. Proto-Afrasian *\*makḥ-* (n.) 'neck':

- A. Egyptian *mkḥ3* 'back of the head, occiput' (according to Sethe, composed of *\*mki* + *ḥ3* 'occiput; back [of ear]; behind, around'); Coptic *makh* [ⲙⲁⲕⲭ] 'neck'. Hannig 1995:372; Faulkner 1962:119; Erman—Grapow 1921:72 and 1926—1963.2:163; Vycichl 1983:111; Černý 1976:80.
- B. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *mōk* (< *\*mākeX*) 'neck'. Reinisch 1895:167.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*makḥ-a* 'neck' (Bomhard 2014.3:934, no. 842)

86. Proto-Afrasian *\*mak-* ‘(vb.) to deceive, to trick, to cheat; to be deceived, troubled, confused, perplexed; (n.) deception, trickery, confusion’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*mak-ar-* ‘to deceive’ > Arabic *makara* ‘to deceive, to delude, to cheat, to dupe, to gull, to double-cross’, *makra* ‘ruse, artifice, stratagem, wile, trick, dodge’, *makr* ‘cunning, craftiness, slyness, wiliness, double-dealing, deception, trickery’; Mehri *məkūr* ‘to fill someone with talk against someone’, *šəm kūr* ‘to be turned by talk against someone’; Šheri / Jibbāli *mókór* ‘to fill someone with talk against someone; to turn against someone’, *məkrún* ‘treacherous, cunning’. Zammit 2002:386.
  - B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *makkal-* ‘to be crazy’. Hudson 1989:384.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*mak<sup>h</sup>-* (~ *\*mæk<sup>h</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:934—935, no. 843):  
 (vb.) *\*mak<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to deceive, to trick, to cheat; to be deceived, troubled, confused, perplexed’;  
 (n.) *\*mak<sup>h</sup>-a* ‘deception, trickery, confusion’
87. Proto-Afrasian *\*mal-* ‘(vb.) to do good; (adj.) good’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:392, no. 1816, *\*mVlVh-/\*mVlVh-* ‘to be good’):
- A. Semitic: Semitic: Arabic *malīh* ‘good’; Ugaritic *mlh* ‘good, pleasant’; (?) Geez / Ethiopic *malha*, *malləha* [መለሐ] ‘to do, to work’, possibly ‘to do good work’. Leslau 1987:343; Militarëv 2008:196 and 2010:74. Note: Both Leslau and Militarëv suggest derivation from Proto-Semitic *\*milh-* ‘salt’; this is rejected here.
  - B. Egyptian *mnḥ* ‘(vb.) to be efficient, beneficent, excellent; (adj.) potent (of king); trusty (of officials); well-disposed, devoted; splendid (of buildings); excellent (of deeds, of occasions); costly (of materials); lavish (of worship); famous; well-established (of endowment)’, *mnḥw* ‘excellence, virtues (of someone)’. Hannig 1995:340—341; Erman—Grapow 1921:65 and 1926—1963.2:84—86; Gardiner 1957:569; Faulkner 1962:109.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*mal-* (~ *\*məl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:939—941, no. 848):  
 (vb.) *\*mal-* ‘to be favorably disposed towards, to care about, to be devoted to, to like’;  
 (n.) *\*mal-a* ‘goodness, pleasantness’; (adj.) ‘good, pleasant, pleasing’
88. Proto-Afrasian *\*mal-* (n.) ‘honey’:
- A. Semitic: Ugaritic *mll* ‘honey (?)’.
  - B. Proto-East Cushitic *\*malab-* ‘honey’ > Saho-Afar *mala(a)b-* ‘honey’; Boni *malub-* ‘honey’; Somali *malab* ‘honey’; Rendille *malab* ‘honey’; Gedeo / Darasa *malebo* ‘honey’; Hadiyya *marabo* ‘honey’; Kambata *malabu* ‘honey’; Sidamo *malab-o* ‘honey’. Sasse 1979:14; Hudson 1989:81. Proto-

Southern Cushitic *\*mala* ‘mead’ > Ma’a *mála* ‘beer’ (generic); Dahalo *móla* ‘mead’. Ehret 1980:154; Takács 2008:218—219.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*mal-a* ‘honey’ (Bomhard 2014.3:941—942, no. 849)

89. Proto-Afrasian *\*mal-* ‘(vb.) to draw (out), to squeeze (out), to suck (out); to give suck, to suckle, to nurse; (n.) milk; breast’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:392, no. 1815, *\*mVlog-* ‘bosom; to suck’):

- A. Semitic: Arabic *malaġa* (inf. *malġ*) ‘to suck (the mother’s breast)’, *malaġa* (inf. *ʔimlāġ*) ‘to give suck’. Arabic *malaḥa* ‘to give suck’.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Sam *\*maal-* ‘to milk’ > Somali *maal-* ‘to milk’; Rendille *maal-* ‘to milk’. Heine 1978:90.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*mal-* (~ *\*məl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:942—944, no. 850):  
 (vb.) *\*mal-* ‘to draw (out), to squeeze (out), to suck (out); to give suck, to suckle, to nurse’;  
 (n.) *\*mal-a* ‘milk; breast’

90. Proto-Afrasian *\*man-* ‘(vb.) to suckle, to nurse (a child), to breastfeed; to bring up, to raise; (n.) baby, child; breast’:

- A. Egyptian *mn*<sup>c</sup> ‘to suckle, to nurse (a child); to bring up, to raise (of a father who brings up his child)’, *mn*<sup>c</sup>*t* ‘female nurse, foster-mother’, *mn*<sup>c</sup>*y* ‘male nurse; tutor’, *mnḏ* ‘breast’; Coptic (Sahidic) *moone* [MOONE], (Bohairic) *moni* [MONI] ‘nurse’, *mnot* [MNOT] ‘breast’. Erman—Grapow 1921:65, 66 and 1926—1963.2:77—78, 2:92—93; Hannig 1995:338 and 343—344; Faulkner 1962:108 and 110; Gardiner 1957:568 and 569; Vycichl 1983:115 and 117; Černý 1976:85 and 86.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*manaṣ-* ‘baby’ > Iraqw *na<sup>c</sup>ay* ‘baby’; Burunge *naw* ‘baby boy’; Dahalo *mána<sup>c</sup>e* ‘baby’. Ehret 1980:153.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*man-* (~ *\*mən-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:949—950, no. 855):  
 (vb.) *\*man-* ‘to suckle, to nurse (a child), to breastfeed’;  
 (n.) *\*man-a* ‘suckling, young (of humans and animals); breast’

91. Proto-Afrasian *\*man-* ‘(vb.) to count, to reckon; to consider, to think; (n.) counting, reckoning’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:373, no. 1721, *\*man-* ‘to know, to test’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*man-ay-* ‘to count, to reckon’ > Hebrew *mānāh* [מָנָה] ‘to count, to number, to reckon, to assign’, *mānāh* [מָנָה] ‘part, portion, ration, share’; Aramaic *mənā* ‘to number, to count, to reckon’; Ugaritic *mnt* ‘counting’; Akkadian *manū* ‘to count, to reckon’; Epigraphic

South Arabian *mnw* ‘to allot’, *mnyt* ‘fortune’. Murtonen 1989:261; Klein 1987:355.

- B. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic: Somali *maan-* ‘mind’.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic *\*man-* ‘to know’ > Sura *man-* ‘to know’; Bole *mon-* ‘to know’; Buli *man-* ‘to know’; Ngizim (Kanuri) *mánà* ‘word, speech; intention’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:216—217. Central Chadic *\*man-/mun-* (secondary *\*-u-*) ‘to understand, to analyze’ > Lame *man-*, *mun-* ‘to understand, to analyze’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*man-* (~ *\*mən-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:950—952, no. 856):  
 (vb.) *\*man-* ‘to count, to reckon’ (> ‘to consider, to think’ > ‘to recount’ > ‘to say, to speak’);  
 (n.) *\*man-a* ‘counting, reckoning’

Note: There may be more than one Proto-Nostratic root involved here: (1) *\*man-* ‘to count, to reckon’ and (2) *\*man-* ‘to say, to speak’.

92. Proto-Afrasian *\*man-* (vb.) ‘to stay, to remain, to abide, to dwell; to be firm, steadfast, established, enduring’, *\*man-/min-* (n.) ‘dwelling, house, home’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:374, no 1723, *\*man-/min-* ‘house’ and 389, no. 1795, *\*mun-* ‘to be, to remain’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔa-man-* ‘to make firm, or secure, to safeguard, to assure’ > Amorite *ʔmn* ‘to be true’; Hebrew *ʔāman* [ʔāman] ‘to confirm, to support, to verify, to approve; to be strong, enduring, reliable, steady; to stay faithful to, to have stability, to remain, to continue’, *ʔōmēn* [ʔōmēn] ‘faith, trust, confidence, fidelity’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible), *ʔāmēn* [ʔāmēn] ‘(n.) faithfulness, truth; (adv.) Amen!, true!, so be it!’; Aramaic *ʔəman* ‘to believe, to trust’; Syriac *ʔamīn* ‘true, lasting’, *ʔeθʔemen* ‘to be steadfast, to persevere’; Phoenician *ʔmn* ‘support’; Arabic *ʔamina* ‘to be safe, to feel safe; to reassure, to set someone’s mind to rest; to assure, to ensure, to safeguard, to guarantee, to warrant, to bear out, to confirm’, *ʔamuna* ‘to be faithful, reliable, trustworthy’, *ʔamān* ‘security, safety, protection, safeguard, escort’, *ʔamn* ‘safety, peace, security, protection’, *maʔman* ‘place of safety, safe place’, *ʔamīn* ‘reliable, trustworthy, loyal, faithful, upright, honest, safe, secure; superintendent, curator, custodian, guardian, keeper’, *ʔīmān* ‘faith, belief’; Sabaean *ʔmn* ‘(vb.) to give assurance, to assure; (n.) security, protection’; Harsūsi *ʔāmōn* ‘to believe, to believe in, to trust’, *ʔamān* ‘safe conduct’; Šheri / Jibbālī *ʔūn* (base *ʔmn*) ‘to trust in, to believe in’; Mehri *hāmōn* ‘to trust in someone or something’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔamna* [ʔāna] ‘to believe, to trust, to have faith in, to have confidence, to be true, to profess the faith, to confess (sins), to admit’, *ʔamān* [ʔāna] ‘truth; true, right, faithful, valid; verily’; Tigrinya *ʔamānā* ‘to believe’; Tigre *ʔamna* ‘to believe, to trust’; Amharic *ammānā* ‘to believe, to testify’; Gurage *amānā* ‘to believe, to trust, to confess, to



- admit', *əmnāt* 'confidence, reliance, belief'; Harari *amāna* 'to believe'. Murtonen 1989:93; Klein 1987:35; Leslau 1963:26, 1979:49, and 1987:24; Zammit 2002:79—80.
- B. Egyptian *mn* 'to remain, to abide, to dwell; to be firm, established, enduring'; Coptic *mun* [𐩨𐩣𐩬] 'to remain, to continue'. Hannig 1995:333; Faulkner 1962:106; Erman—Grapow 1921:63 and 1926—1963.2:60—62; Gardiner 1957:568; Vycichl 1983:114; Černý 1976:83.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*man-/min-* 'house' > Somali *min* 'bridal house'; Rendille *min* 'house'; Boni *miṅ* 'house'; Bayso *min* 'house'; Elmolo *min* 'house'; Galla / Oromo *man-a* 'house'; Konso *man-a* 'house'; Burji *mín-a* 'house'; Hadiyya *min-e* 'house'; Kambata *min-e* 'house', *min-* 'to build (a house)'; Gedeo / Darasa *min-e* 'house'; Sidamo *min-e* 'house', *min-* 'to build (a house)'; Alaba *min-o* 'house'; Gawwada *man-o* 'house'; Gidole *man-a* 'house'; Gollango *man-o* 'house'. Hudson 1989:81; Sasse 1979:24 and 1982:145. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*min-* 'house' > Dahalo *mini* 'house'; Ma'a *mi*, *minda* 'house'. Ehret 1980:158.
- D. Chadic: West Chadic *\*man-/min-* 'house, place' > Tangale *man* 'house'; Dera *məna* 'house'; Pero *mina* 'house'; Sha *mun* 'place' (secondary *-u-*). West Chadic: Ngizim *mànú* 'to spend a year', (verbal noun) *mánù* 'spending a year', *mànànú* 'to spend several years'. East Chadic *\*man-* 'place' > Somray *mana* 'place'; Ndam *maan* 'place'; Tumak *man* 'place'.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*man-* (~ *\*mən-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:952—955, no. 857):  
 (vb.) *\*man-* 'to stay, to remain, to abide, to dwell; to be firm, steadfast, established, enduring';  
 (n.) *\*man-a* 'dwelling, house, home'
93. Proto-Afrasian *\*man-* '(vb.) to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget; (n.) ardent desire, passion, lust' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:384, no. 1772, *\*min-* 'to want' and 389, no. 1796, *\*mun-* 'to love'):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*man-ay-* '(vb.) to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget; (n.) ardent desire, passion, lust' > Akkadian *menū*, *manū* 'to love, to become fond of someone', *mēnu* 'love' (?); Arabic *manā* (base *mny*) 'to desire, to wish for, to ejaculate; to practice onanism, to masturbate', *minan* 'semen, sperm', *munya*, *minya* 'wish, desire; object of desire'; Šheri / Jibbāli *mútni* (base *mny*) 'to want, to wish'; Ḥarsūsi *emtōni* (base *mny*) 'to wish'; Mehri *metōni* (base *mny*) 'to wish'; Geez / Ethiopic *tamannaya* [ተመነየ] 'to wish, to desire, to be eager for', *tamnet* [ተመነት] 'wish, desire, lust'; Tigrinya (*tä*)*männäyä* 'to wish, to desire'; Tigre (*tə*)*manna* 'to wish, to desire'; Amharic (*tä*)*männä* 'to desire, to wish, to be desirous of, to covet, to aspire to', *männäot* 'wish, desire, ambition, aspiration'; Gurage (Ennemor, Gyeto) (*tä*)*mēñä*, (Gogot) *tämeññä*, (Endegeñ) *tämēññä*, (Selti) *tämēñe*, (Wolane)

*tāmeññe*, (Zway) *tāmāññi*, (Eža, Muher) *tāmāñña*, (Chaha) *tāmena*, (Masqan) *tāmenna*, (Soddo) *tāminna* ‘to wish, \*to have sexual intercourse, to be covered (cattle), to be coupled, to conceive (cattle)’; (Chaha) *mənuta*, *tāmāññat*, (Eža) *mənnutta*, *tām<sup>w</sup>ennat*, (Gogot, Soddo, Wolane) *məññot*, (Muher) *məññutta*, (Gyeto) *tāmāññāt*, (Ennemor) *tāmeññāt*, (Selṭi) *tāmēññāt*, (Endegeñ) *tāmāññād* ‘wish, \*sexual desire’, (Eža, Muher) *amāññat bādda*, (Chaha) *amāññat bāta* ‘to be covered (cattle), to be coupled, to conceive (cattle)’ (literally, ‘the desire took’); Argobba (*əm*)*meñña* ‘to wish, to desire’; Harari (*tā*)*māñni* ‘wish’; Gafat (*tā*)*mēñä* ‘to wish, to have sexual intercourse’. Zammit 2002:389; Leslau 1963:108, 1979:414, and 1987:352—353.

- B. Egyptian *Mnw* ‘the god Min’ (an ithyphallic god of generation), *mnmn* ‘to copulate’ (the god Min, with his mother). Hannig 1995:339 and 1208; Faulkner 1962:108; Gardiner 1957:568; Erman—Grapow 1921:64 and 1926—1963.2:72, 2:81.
- C. Chadic: Central Chadic: *Lame mun* ‘preferred’; Masa *min-* ‘to want’. West Chadic: Fyer *muni* ‘to love, to like’; Sha *mun* ‘to love, to like’; Pero *meno* ‘to love, to like’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*man<sup>v</sup>-* (~ *\*mən<sup>v</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:958—960, no. 861):  
 (vb.) *\*man<sup>v</sup>-* ‘to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget’;  
 (n.) *\*man<sup>v</sup>-a* ‘ardent desire, passion, lust’  
 Derivative:  
 (n.) *\*man<sup>v</sup>-a* ‘progenitor, begetter, man, male; penis’

- 94. Proto-Afrasian *\*man-* (n.) ‘progenitor, begetter, man, male’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:373—374, no. 1722, *\*man-/ \*mayan-* ‘man’):

- A. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*man(n)-* ‘man, person’, (pl.) ‘people’ > Burji *lámmi* ‘man, person’, (n. coll.) *méena* ‘people’; Gedeo / Darasa *manjo*, *manj-icco* ‘man, person’, *manna* ‘man, person, people’; Kambata *man-cu* ‘man, person’, (pl.) *manna* ‘men, people’; Sidamo *man-co* ‘man, woman, person’, (pl.) *manna* ‘men, people’; Hadiyya *man-co* ‘man, person’, (pl.) *manna* ‘people’. Sasse 1982:133 and 143; Hudson 1989:96 and 112. Proto-East Cushitic *\*man-t-/ \*min-t-* ‘woman’ (with fossilized feminine suffix) > Burji *mand-ée* ‘virgin, young unmarried girl, young woman’; Kambata *ment-iccu(-ta)* ‘woman’, (pl.) *meento* ‘women’; Dasenech *minni* (< *\*min-ti*) ‘woman’; Gedeo / Darasa *manj-icco* ‘woman’; Hadiyya *mento* ‘woman’; Sidamo *man-co* ‘man, woman, person’, (pl.) *meento* ‘women’. Sasse 1982:140; Hudson 1989:170. Bayso *man-to* ‘penis’, *man-tiiti* ‘vagina’; Burji *múnn-aa* ‘vagina’. According to Sasse (1982:133), Highland East Cushitic has metathesized Proto-East Cushitic *\*nam-/ \*nim-/ \*num-* ‘man’ (cf. Saho-Afar *num* ‘man’; Somali *nin* ‘man’, [pl.] *nim-an*; Galla / Oromo *nam-a* ‘man’; Konso *nam-a* ‘man’; Gidole

*nam-a* ‘man’ [cf. Sasse 1979:24]). However, in view of the forms for ‘woman’, ‘penis’, and ‘vagina’, which are clearly derivatives from a primary *\*man-/min-/mun-*, as well as related forms in other Afrasian languages, Highland East Cushitic *\*man(n)-* ‘man, person’ may well be original.

- B. West Chadic: Geji *má-nì/ma:nì* ‘man’; Buli *manne/mánə/manì* ‘man’; Tule *ma:ŋə* ‘man’; Wangday *mánè/manì* ‘man’. Central Chadic: Kotoko-Logone *méni/mééni* ‘man’ (pl. *mááwée* ‘men’). Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:230—231.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*man<sup>v</sup>-a* ‘progenitor, begetter, man, male; penis’ (Bomhard 2014.3:960—962, no. 862):

Derivative of:

(vb.) *\*man<sup>v</sup>-* ‘to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget’;

(n.) *\*man<sup>v</sup>-a* ‘ardent desire, passion, lust’

95. Proto-Afrasian *\*man-* ‘(vb.) to hold, to take; (n.) hold, prevention, hindrance, obstruction’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:374, no. 1725, *\*manVʕ-* ‘to hold, to take’. [Ehret 1995:307, no. 589, *\*man-* ‘to lose, to lack, to be without’ (> Arabic *manaʿa* ‘to refuse, to hinder, to prevent, to repel’) and 307, no. 590, *\*man-/mun-* or *\*maŋ-/muŋ-* or *\*maŋ-/muŋ-* ‘to tie up’ (> Modern South Arabian *\*mnʕ* ‘to take, to catch, to hold’)])

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*man-aʕ-* ‘to hold, to take, to take hold of, to hold back’ > Hebrew *mānaʕ* [מָנַע] ‘to prevent, to withhold, to keep back’; Aramaic *mānaʕ* ‘to keep back, to withhold’; Arabic *manaʕa* ‘to stop, to detain, to keep from entering or passing; to hinder, to prevent; to keep, to restrain, to hold back; to bar, to block, to obstruct; to withdraw, to take away, to deprive; to forbid, to interdict, to prohibit; to decline to accept, to declare impossible or out of the question; to refuse, to deny, to withhold; to stop, to cease; to abstain, to refrain; to ward off, to avert, to keep away; to protect, to guard; to defend’, *manʕ* ‘hindering, impeding, obstruction; prevention, obviation, preclusion; prohibition, interdiction, ban, injunction; stop, closure, discontinuation, embargo; withdrawal, deprivation, dispossession; detention, withholding’; Sabaean *mnʕ* ‘to repel, to prevent, to defend oneself against’; Šheri / Jibbāli *mīnaʕ* ‘to hold, to take hold of’, *mútnaʕ* ‘to refrain from, to hold back’; Ḥarsūsi *mōna* ‘to take, to catch, to hold’, *mátneʕ* ‘to stop’; Mehri *mūna* ‘to catch, to get, to take’, *mátna* ‘to refrain from, to hold back’; Tigre *mānʕa* ‘to withhold, to refuse’; Harari *mannāʕ* ‘one who prevents someone from doing something because of jealousy or animosity’ (Arabic loan). Murtonen 1989:261; Klein 1987:358; Leslau 1963:108; Zammit 2002:388.

- B. Chadic: West Chadic *\*man-H-* ‘to take’ > Sura *maŋ-* ‘to take’; Mupun *maŋ-* ‘to take’; Gerka *maŋ-* ‘to take’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*man<sup>y</sup>-* (~ *\*mən<sup>y</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:962—963, no. 863):  
 (vb.) *\*man<sup>y</sup>-* ‘to hold, to take’;  
 (n.) *\*man<sup>y</sup>-a* ‘hand, paw’
96. Proto-Afrasian *\*mar-* ‘(vb.) to twist, to turn; (n.) the act of turning, turning over, turning round, etc.; rope, coil, string, cord’ (Ehret 1995:308, no. 591, *\*mar-* ‘to bind’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:375, no. 1730, *\*mar-* ‘to bind, to roll up’):
- A. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*mar-* ‘(vb.) to twist, to go around; (adj.) round’ > Galla / Oromo *mar-* ‘coil, rope’, (Eastern) *mar-ti* ‘useless person who goes from house to house’; Rendille *mar-* ‘to be round’; Afar *mar-o* ‘round’; Konso *mar-* ‘to roll up’. Sasse 1979:24 and 1982:140—141. Galla / Oromo *mars-* ‘to encircle’; Burji *mars-* ‘to surround, to encircle (tr.)’ (loan from Galla / Oromo); Konso *marš-* ‘to go in a group to attack someone’. Sasse 1982:141. Proto-Rift *\*mar-* ‘to wring’ > Iraqw (reduplicated) *marmar-* ‘to wring’; Iraqw *mal-* ‘to wring’; Asa *mad-* ‘to wash clothes’. Ehret 1980:342.
- B. Chadic: West Chadic: Tangale *mari-* ‘to twist, to wring’. Omotic: Bench / Gimira *mar-* ‘to plait hair’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*mar-* (~ *\*mər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:967—970, no. 867):  
 (vb.) *\*mar-* ‘to turn: to overturn, to turn round, to turn over, etc.; to twist, to whirl, to roll; to bend’;  
 (n.) *\*mar-a* ‘the act of turning, turning over, turning round, etc.; rope, coil, string, cord’  
 Derivative:  
 (vb.) *\*mar-* ‘to go (round), to walk, to run; to go after, to run or chase after’ (> ‘to seek, to pursue’);  
 (n.) *\*mar-a* ‘walk, walking, passage; road, track, way’  
 Note also:  
 (vb.) *\*mur-* ‘to turn, to twist, to bend’;  
 (n.) *\*mur-a* ‘bend, curve’
97. Proto-Afrasian *\*mar-* ‘(vb.) to go, to walk, to run; (n.) walk, walking, passage’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:375—376, no. 1731, *\*mar-* ‘to walk’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*mar-ar-* ‘to pass; to go, walk, saunter, or stroll by or past; to come, go, walk, or pass along something; to cross, to traverse; to depart, to go away, to leave; to continue’ > Arabic *marra* ‘to pass; to go, walk, saunter, or stroll by or past; to come, go, walk, or pass along something; to cross, to traverse; to depart, to go away, to leave; to continue’, *marr* ‘passing or going by; passage, transit; transition; crossing; progression, process, lapse, course (of time)’, *mamarr* ‘passing, going by; elapsing; lapse, expiration (of time); transition, crossing; access,

approach'; Harsūsi *mer* 'to continue, to go', *márreh* 'time; once, at once'; Mehri *mər* 'to pass'; Šheri / Jibbāli *mirr* 'to pass'; Akkadian *marāru* 'to leave, to go away'. Zammit 2002:381.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *əmmər* 'to pass by, to pass by a place, to drop by', *sumər* 'to make pass by'; Tamazight *amər* 'to hurry, to go faster, to hasten', *imər* 'action of hurrying, hastening, going faster'.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*mar-* 'to go' > Sidamo *mar-* 'to go (intr.)'; Kambata *mar-* 'to go (intr.)', *mar-aancata* 'journey', *mar-am-* 'to walk (intr.)'; Burji *mar-* 'to go (intr.)', *mara* 'going, journey'; Hadiyya *mar-* 'to go (intr.)'; Gedeo / Darasa *mar-* 'to go (intr.)', *mar-am-* 'to turn (around) (intr.)'. Sasse 1982:140—141; Hudson 1989:71. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*mar-* 'to go round' > K'wadza *malengayo* 'neck ring'; Dahalo *mar-* 'to go round', *maraðið-* 'to take around, to put around'. Ehret 1980:154.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*mar-* (~ *\*mər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:970—971, no. 868):  
 (vb.) *\*mar-* 'to go (round), to walk, to run; to go after, to run or chase after' (> 'to seek, to pursue');  
 (n.) *\*mar-a* 'walk, walking, passage; road, track, way'  
 Derivative of:  
 (vb.) *\*mar-* 'to turn: to overturn, to turn round, to turn over, etc.; to twist, to whirl, to roll; to bend';  
 (n.) *\*mar-a* 'the act of turning, turning over, turning round, etc.; rope, coil, string, cord'

98. Proto-Afrasian *\*mar-* '(vb.) to smear, to anoint, to rub (with grease, fat, ointment); (n.) grease, oil, fat, ointment, unguent' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:386, no. 1784, *\*moriʔ-/moriḥ-* 'fat, oil'.):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*mar-ax-* 'to oil, to anoint, to rub' > Hebrew *mārah* [מָרַח] 'to rub, to smear', *merah* [מֶרַח] 'ointment, plaster, paste, daub'; Aramaic *mərah* 'to rub'; Akkadian *marāḫu* 'to rub in'; Arabic *marāḥa* 'to oil, to anoint, to rub'; Šheri / Jibbāli *mīrəx* 'to smear'. Murtonen 1989:265; Klein 1987:384.

Proto-Semitic *\*mar-ak'-* 'to rub clean, to scour, to polish' > Hebrew *māraḳ* [מָרַק] 'to scour, to polish, to cleanse', *mārāḳ* [מֶרַק] 'a scraping, rubbing'; Aramaic *məraḳ* 'to scour, to polish'; Šheri / Jibbāli *ērḳah* (base *mrḳh*) 'to clean up, to tidy, to wipe up'; Harsūsi *amārḳeh* 'to tidy up'; Mehri *amārḳəḥ* 'to clear, to wipe, to tidy up'. Klein 1987:386—387; Murtonen 1989:266.

Proto-Semitic *\*mar-at'-* 'to rub, to scour' > Hebrew *māraṭ* [מָרַט] 'to make smooth, to scour, to polish'; Akkadian *marātu* 'to rub, to scratch'. Murtonen 1989:265; Klein 1987:384. Arabic *mara'a* 'to rub over, to anoint'.

- B. Egyptian *mrḥ* ‘to anoint, to rub with fat or oil’, *mrḥt* ‘oil, grease’. Hannig 1995:349; Faulkner 1962:112; Erman—Grapow 1921:68 and 1926—1963.2:111; Gardiner 1957:569.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *əmri* ‘to be rubbed with something hard; to rub with something hard’, *səmri* ‘to make rub’; Ghadames *əmṛay* ‘to be painful, to suffer’; Tamazight *mrəy* ‘to rub, to be rubbed, to grate’, *amray* ‘rubbing, friction, grating’; Kabyle *əmri* ‘to rub, to scrape (vegetables)’.
- D. Chadic: Proto-Chadic *\*mar* ‘oil’ > Hausa *māi* ‘oil, fat, grease’; Zaa *mīr* ‘oil’; Tera *mor* ‘oil’; Mofu *mal* ‘oil’. Newman 1977:30.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*mar-* (~ *\*mər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:971—972, no. 869):  
 (vb.) *\*mar-* ‘to smear, to anoint, to rub (with grease, oil, fat, ointment)’;  
 (n.) *\*mar-a* ‘grease, oil, fat, ointment, unguent’
99. Proto-Afrasian *\*mar-* ‘(vb.) to be weakened, to wither away, to decay; to be or become sick, to fall ill; to die (from a fatal disease), to perish; (n.) sickness, illness, disease, malady, ailment; death’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:376—377, no. 1736, *\*mar-* ‘to be ill, to be weak’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*mar-atṭ-* ‘(vb.) to be or become sick, to fall ill; (n.) disease, malady, ailment, illness, sickness; (adj.) sick, ill’ > Akkadian *marāṣu* ‘to fall ill, to have a disease; (stative) to be diseased’, *marṣu* ‘sick, diseased’, *murṣu* ‘illness’, (adv.) *marṣiš* ‘bitterly, with difficulty, with pain’; Hebrew *māraṣ* [מָרַץ] ‘to be sick’; Aramaic *məraʿ* ‘to fall ill, to become sick’; Ugaritic *mrṣ* ‘to be sick’; Arabic *marīḍa* ‘to be or become sick, to fall ill, to be taken ill’, *marāḍ* ‘disease, malady, ailment, illness, sickness’, *marīḍ* ‘sick, ill, ailing, diseased, unwell, indisposed; sick person, patient’; Sabaean *mrḍ* ‘to be sick’; Ḥarsūsi *mērež* ‘to be unwell, ill’, *merēž* ‘illness’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *mīrēž* ‘to be ill’, *mérēž* ‘illness’, *méríž* ‘ill’; Mehri *mērəž* ‘to be ill’, *mərēž* ‘illness’. Murtonen 1989:265—266; Klein 1987:386; Zammit 2002:381—382.
- B. Egyptian *mr* ‘(vb.) to be sick, to suffer pain; (adj.) sick, ill; (n.) sickness, illness’, *mrt* ‘sickness, illness, fatal disease’, *mrw* (adverb) ‘painfully’. Hannig 1995:344 and 345; Faulkner 1963:110—111; Gardiner 1957:569; Erman—Grapow 1921:66 and 1926—1963.2:95, 2:96.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*marʷ-* (~ *\*mərʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:975—977, no. 873):  
 (vb.) *\*marʷ-* ‘to be weakened, to wither away, to decay; to be or become sick, to fall ill; to die (from a fatal disease), to perish’;  
 (n.) *\*marʷ-a* ‘sickness, illness, fatal disease, malady, ailment; death’
100. Proto-Afrasian *\*mat-* or *\*met-* (n.) ‘middle’, (particle) *\*mat-* or *\*met-* ‘in the middle of, with, among’:
- A. Semitic: Arabic *matn* ‘middle of the road’.

- B. Egyptian *mtrt* (*mtt*) ‘middle’ in: *m mtt (nt) ib* ‘gladly’, literally, ‘in the middle of the heart’; Coptic *mēte* [MHTE] ‘middle’, *ntmēte* [NTMHTE] ‘in the midst of’ (= Late Egyptian [m]tʃ mt n ‘in the middle of’). Hannig 1995:376; Vycichl 1983:124; Černý 1976:93.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*math-a* or *\*meth-a* ‘middle’; (particle) *\*math-* or *\*meth-* ‘in the middle of, with, among’ (Bomhard 2014.3:977—978, no. 874)
101. Proto-Afrasian *\*mat’-* ‘(vb.) to be or become wet, moist; (n.) moisture, wetness; dew, rain; (adj.) wet, moist’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:379, no. 1747, *\*maṭar-* ‘water’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*mat’-ar-* ‘(vb.) to rain; (n.) rain’ > Akkadian *meṭru* ‘rain’; Hebrew *māṭār* [מָטָר] ‘rain’; Ugaritic *mṭr* ‘rain’; Arabic *maṭara* ‘to rain’, *maṭar* ‘rain’; Sabaean *mṭr* ‘field watered by rain’. Murtonen 1989:257—258; Klein 1987:339—340; Militarev 2008:217 and 2012:84 Proto-Semitic *\*miṭar-*; Zammit 2002:384.  
 Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *mat’-mat’-* (vb.) ‘to be drenched, soaked’ > Gurage (Chaha, Gyeto, Ennemor, Endegeñ, Wolane) *məṭāmāṭa*, (Eža, Muher, Masqan, Gogot, Soddo, Wolane) *miṭāmmāṭā*, (Selṭi) *miṭāmāṭā* ‘to be soaked through by rain, to be drenched; to be rotten, to be putrid’. Leslau 1979:438.
- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *mat’oo* ‘rainy season’. Hudson 1987:332. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*maḍ-* or *\*maad-* ‘rain’ > Burunge *maḍiṇ* ‘rainy season’; Ma’a *māre* ‘rain’. Ehret 1980:153.
- C. Chadic: North Bauchi Chadic *\*maḍ-* ‘dew’ > Pa’anci *maḍa* ‘dew’; Diryanci *maḍa* ‘dew’; Siryanci *mudī* ‘dew’; Warjanci *maḍ-ai* ‘dew’; Jimbinanci *amaḍa* ‘dew’. Skinner 1977:18.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*mat’-* (~ *\*mæt’-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:979—980, no. 876):  
 (vb.) *\*mat’-* ‘to be or become wet, moist’;  
 (n.) *\*mat’-a* ‘moisture, wetness; dew, rain’; (adj.) ‘wet, moist’
102. Proto-Afrasian *\*maw-* ‘(vb.) to be wet; (n.) water, liquid, fluid’ (Diakonoff 1992:23 *\*mḥw/y* ‘water’; M. Cohen 1947:191—192, no. 485; Orël—Stolbova 1995:368—369, no. 1699, *\*maʔ-* ‘water’ (“[n]ote parallel forms with sonants *\*may-* and *\*maw-* in Sem[itic], Eg[yp]tian and C[entral] Ch[adic]”); Ehret 1995:300, no. 569, *\*-m-* (*\*-ma-* ?) ‘to be wet’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*maw/y-* ‘water, liquid, fluid’ > Hebrew (pl.) *mayim* [מַיִם] ‘waters’; Syriac *mayyā* ‘water’; Mandaic *mai* ‘water’; Ugaritic *my* ‘water’; Akkadian *mū* ‘water, liquid, fluid’; Arabic *māʔ* ‘water’; Sabaean *mwy* ‘water’; Ḥarsūsi *ḥe-myōh* ‘water’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *mih* (base *mwh*) ‘water’; Mehri *ḥə-mōh* ‘water’; Geez / Ethiopic *māy* [ማይ] ‘water, liquid’; Tigrinya *may* ‘water’; Tigre *may* ‘water’; Gurage (Zway)



*may*, (Selti, Wolane) *mäy* ‘water, sea’; Harari *mī*, *mīy* ‘water’; Amharic *may* ‘miraculous water’ (Geez loan). Murtonen 1989:252; Klein 1987:342; Leslau 1963:102, 1979:441, and 1987:376; Zammit 2002:391.

- B. Egyptian *mw* ‘water’, *mwy* ‘to be watery, to flow’, *mwyt* ‘urine’; Coptic (Bohairic) *mōw* [ⲙⲟⲱ] ‘water’, *mē* [ⲙⲉ] ‘urine’, (Sahidic) *mow* [ⲙⲟⲱ] ‘water’. Hannig 1995:329—330; Faulkner 1962:105; Gardiner 1957:568; Erman—Grapow 1921:63 and 1926—1963.2:50—53; Černý 1976:78 and 95; Vycichl 1983:107 and 126—127.

Note: It is perhaps best to agree with Vycichl (1984:126—127) that “[Egyptian *mw*] has correspondents in the Semitic languages but not in the other Hamitic languages”. This means that the Proto-Afrasian root *\*maʔ-* ‘water’ reconstructed, for example, by Orël—Stolbova (1995:368—369, no. 1699) on the basis of data from the other Afrasian languages is to be seen as a parallel, though unrelated, form.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*maw-* (~ *\*məw-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:980—981, no. 877):  
 (vb.) *\*maw-* ‘to be wet’;  
 (n.) *\*maw-a* ‘water, liquid, fluid’

103. Proto-Afrasian *\*mel-* ‘(vb.) to rub, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary; (n.) smoothness, softness; weakness; (adj.) smooth, soft, tender, weak, worn out, tired, weary’ ():

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*mal-al-* ‘to be or become worn out, weak, tired, weary’ > Hebrew *mālāl* [מָלַל] ‘to languish, to wither, to fade’, *ʔāmēlāl* [אָמַלַל], *ʔumlāl* [אֻמַּלַל] ‘feeble’, *ʔāmal* [אָמַל] (< *\*ʔa-mal-*) ‘to be weak, to languish’; Phoenician *ʔml* (< *\*ʔa-mal-*) ‘to languish, to be feeble; to enfeeble’; Arabic *malla* ‘to be or become weary, tired, bored, impatient; to tire, to become tired (of something), to become fed up (with)’, *mall* ‘weary, tired, fed up, bored’, *malūl* ‘tired, wearied, bored; weary, fed-up, disgusted’; Šheri / Jibbālī *mell* ‘to be fed up, to despair of finishing something with someone’, *emlél* ‘to tire, to make someone fed up’, *mellūn* ‘easily, bored’; Mehri *məl* ‘to be fed up with someone, something’, *həmlūl* ‘to make someone fed up, tired’. Klein 1987:35 and 351; Murtonen 1989:93; Tomback 1978:24.

Proto-Semitic *\*mal-al-* ‘to rub, to scrape’ > Hebrew *mālāl* [מָלַל] ‘to rub, to scrape, to rub ears for husking the grain’; (?) Geez / Ethiopic *malala* [መለለ] ‘to plane (a board), to smooth with a plane’; (?) Amharic *mallälä* ‘to plane, to scrape’. Klein 1987:351; Leslau 1987:344. Proto-Semitic *\*mal-aʕ-* ‘to rub, to smear’ > Arabic (Daḡina) *malaʕ* ‘to smooth away’; Geez / Ethiopic *malʕa* [መለላ] ‘to anoint, to grease, to smear’. Leslau 1987:342.



Proto-Semitic *\*mal-ac-* ‘to make smooth’ > Arabic *malisa*, *malusa* ‘to be smooth, level, even; to make smooth, to smooth, to level, to even (something); to make slippery’, *malis* ‘smooth, sleek’, *malasa* ‘smooth, bald’; Geez / Ethiopic *malasa* [መለሰ] ‘to gleam, to shine, to glitter, to flash, to sparkle, to be polished; to polish, to smooth, to wipe clean’; Amharic *mälläsä* ‘to purify metal by repeated meltings’; Harari (*a*)*mōlāsä* ‘to have a delicate and smooth appearance (person), to be smooth (skin) because of care given to it’. Leslau 1963:107 and 1987:345.

Proto-Semitic *\*mal-ac-* ‘to be smooth, slippery’ > Hebrew *mālaš* [מָלַשׁ] ‘to be smooth, slippery’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Arabic *malīša* ‘to glide, to slide, to slip, to escape’, *malīš* ‘smooth, sleek, slippery’. Klein 1987:351.

Proto-Semitic *\*mal-at-* ‘to rub, to smear’ > Hebrew *meleṭ* [מִלַּט] ‘mortar, cement’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Syriac *malaṭ* ‘to smear, to rub over’, *mālāṭā* ‘mortar’; Arabic *malaṭa* ‘to plaster with mud or mortar (a wall)’, *milāṭ* ‘mortar’ (Aramaic loans). Klein 1987:350.

Proto-Semitic *\*mal-ad-* ‘to be tender’ > Arabic *malida* ‘to be tender’, *ʔamlad* ‘tender, flexible’, *mald* ‘soft and delicate’, *malad* ‘softness, delicacy; youthfulness; freshness of face’.

- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa (pl.) *melaalle* ‘female, women’; Sidamo (pl.) *meella* ‘women, wives’. Hudson 1989:170. For the semantics, cf. Latin *mulier* ‘woman, wife’ (< *\*m̥l̥-yes-ī*, comparative of *mollis* ‘soft, tender, pliant, supple, flexible, yielding’).

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*mel-* (Bomhard 2014.3:981—986, no. 878):

(vb.) *\*mel-* ‘to rub’ (> ‘to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’);

(n.) *\*mel-a* ‘smoothness, softness; weakness’; (adj.) ‘smooth, soft, tender, weak, worn out, tired, weary’

Note also:

(vb.) *\*mol-* ‘to rub’ (> ‘to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’);

(n.) *\*mol-a* ‘crumb, piece, morsel; mortar’; (adj.) ‘crushed, ground, worn out or down’

104. Proto-Afrasian *\*ma-* ~ *\*mi-* interrogative and relative pronoun stem (Ehret 1995:301, no. 571, *\*ma*, *\*mi* ‘what?’; Diakonoff 1988:83, §4.4.2):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*mā-* ~ *\*mī-* interrogative and relative pronoun stem > Akkadian (interj.) *mā* ‘what?, why?; indeed, verily’, (interrogative pronoun) *mannu*, *manna*, *manni*, *maʔu*, *man* ‘who?’, (interrogative and adverb) *mati* ‘when?’, (interrogative) *minsu* ‘what is it?, why?’, (interrogative pronoun) *minu* ‘who?’ (West Semitic loan), (interrogative)

*mīnu*, *mīnum*, *minū*, *mīna*, *mīnam*, *mīni*, *mīnim*, *mīnumma*, *mīnamma*, *mīnammi*, *mīnimma*, *mīnimmi*, *min* ‘what?, why?, what for?, what reason?; what, whatever’; Hebrew (interrogative pronoun) *mah* [מַה], *māh* [מַה] ‘what?, how?’, *mān* [מַן] (= *māh*) ‘what?’, (interrogative pronoun) *mī* [מִי] ‘who?’; Syriac *mā(n)*, *mānā* ‘what?’, *man* ‘who?’; Phoenician *mh* ‘what’, *my* ‘who; whoever’; Ugaritic *mh* ‘what?’, *my* ‘who?’, *mnm* ‘whatever’; Arabic *mā* (interrogative) ‘what?’, *mā* (relative) ‘that, which, what’, (interrogative particle) *matā* ‘when?, at what time?’, (interrogative pronoun) *man* ‘who?, which one?, which ones?’, (relative pronoun) *man* ‘who, the one who, those who, one who, whoever, whosoever, everyone who, he who’, (conjunction) *mahmā* ‘whatever, who ever, no matter how much, however much’; Sabaeen (indefinite and interrogative pronoun) *mhn* ‘what, what thing?’, Soqotri *mon* ‘who?’, Ḥarsūsi *mōn* ‘who?’, Šheri / Jibbāli *mun* ‘who?’, Mehri *mōn* ‘who?’, Geez / Ethiopic *mi* [ሚ] ‘what?’, *mannu* [ሙኑ] ‘who?’, *mānt* [ሞንት] ‘what?’, Tigre *mə*, *mi* ‘what?’, *mān* ‘who?’, Tigrinya *mān*, *mən* ‘who?’, *mənəw*, *mənu* ‘which?’, Harari *mān* ‘who?’, *min* ‘what?’, Argobba *man* ‘who?’, Gafat *man* ‘who?’, Amharic *mən* ‘what?, which?’, *man* ‘who?’, Gurage *mə* ‘what?’, *ma* ‘who?’, *man* ‘who?’, *mən* ‘what?’. Lipiński 1997:328—331; Klein 1987:321, 340, and 354; Leslau 1963:108, 1979:385, 407, and 1987:321, 348, 352; Zammit 2002:377.

- B. Egyptian *m* ‘who?, what?’, Coptic *nim* [ⲛⲓⲙ] (< *in m*) ‘who?, what?’. Hannig 1995:313; Faulkner 1962:100; Gardiner 1957:567; Erman—Grapow 1921:59 and 1926—1963.2:4; Vycichl 1983:142; Černý 1976:108.
- C. Berber: Tamazight *ma* ‘who?’, *may* ‘who?, what?’, Tuareg *mi* ‘when?’, Kabyle *mi* ‘when?’, *məlmī* ‘when?’ (*si məlmī* ‘since when?’).
- D. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*maʔ* ‘what?’ > Kambata *maʔa* ‘what?’, Alaba *ma* ‘what?’, Gedeo / Darasa *maa* (< *\*maʔa*) ‘what?’, Sidamo *mai* ‘what?’, Hadiyya *maha* (< *\*maḥa* < *\*maʔ waḥa* ‘what thing?’) ‘what?’, Somali *maḥaa* ‘what?’, Rendille *maḥ(a)* ‘what?’, Bayso *me* (< *\*maḥ*) ‘what?’, Boni *mahaa* ‘what?’, Afar *maḥa* ‘what?’, Burji *miya* (? < *\*maʔ+yaa*) ‘what?’, Gedeo / Darasa *maacco* ‘what?’. Sasse 1982:146; Hudson 1989:166. Proto-East Cushitic *\*meʔ-* (or *\*meeʔ-*) ‘how many?’ > Burji *miʔa* ‘how many?’, Sidamo *meʔe* ‘how many?’, Kambata *meʔo* ‘how many?, how much?’, Dullay *meeʔe* ‘how many?’, Gawwada *meeʔe* ‘how many?’, Dobase *meeʔe* ‘how many?’, Harso *meeʔe* ‘how many?’, Tsamay *meek* ‘how many?’, Dasenech *miya* ‘how many?’, Galla / Oromo *meekʼa* ‘how many?’, Gidole *meekʼ* ‘how many?’, Konso *meeqaa* ‘how many?’, Gedeo / Darasa *meʔe* ‘how many?, how much?’, Hadiyya *meeʔo* ‘how many?, how much?’. Sasse 1982:143; Hudson 1989:83. Burji *máama* ‘how?’. Sasse 1982:138. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*mi-ha* ‘why?’ > Burji *miyaa-ga* ‘why?’, Gedeo / Darasa *maya* ‘why?’, Hadiyya *mahi-na* ‘why?’, Kambata *mii(-ha)*, *mahiiha* ‘why?’, Sidamo *mae-ra* ‘why?’. Hudson 1989:167. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ma* ‘which?’ > Iraqw *-ma-* in: *amaga* ‘how many?’, *ahema* ‘who?’, *asma* ‘why?’, *ama* ‘when?’, *Maʼa* -

*ma* in: *-hamá* ‘which?’, *-mo* in: *kimomo* ‘how?’, (verb enclitic) *-mo* ‘how many?’, K’wadza *-ma-* in: *ga’amayo* ‘when?’. Ehret 1980:153. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*me* ‘how many?’ > Ma’a *mé* ‘how many?’, Dahalo *méék’a* ‘how many?’. Ehret 1980:157. Proto-Southern Cushitic *mi* ‘what kind of?’ > Alagwa *mi* ‘what?’, *miya* ‘who?’, Iraqw *-mi-* in: *amila* ‘what?’, K’wadza *-mi* in: *homi* ‘what?’, *mi* ‘so that’, Ma’a *mina* ‘what kind of?’. Ehret 1980:158.

E. Chadic: Proto-Chadic *\*mi*, *\*mə* ‘what?’ > Ngizim *t-âm* ‘what?’, Dangla *maa* ‘what?’, Ron *mi* ‘what?’, Margi *mi* ‘what?’, Bachama *munə* ‘what?’, Nancere *me*, *mene* ‘what?’, Zime *mi* ‘what?’. Newman 1977:34.

F. Ongota *miyá* ‘how much?’. Fleming 2002b:50.

← Proto-Nostratic interrogative pronoun stem *\*mi-* (~ *\*me-*) ‘who?, which?, what?’, relative pronoun stem *\*ma-* (~ *\*mə-*) ‘who, which, what’ (Bomhard 2014.3:986—989, no. 879)

105. Proto-Afrasian *\*miʔ-* ‘(vb.) to cut; (n.) cutting instrument: knife’ (later also ‘sickle, scythe’)

A. Egyptian *mʕ* phonetic interpretation of the hieroglyph that represents a sickle, *mʕ* ‘sickle-shaped end of a sacred boat’ (nautical term), (obsolete) *mʕz* ‘knife’. Hannig 1995:313 and 321; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:6 and 2:31; Gardiner 1957:567.

B. Chadic: Central Chadic: Bachama *má* ‘to cut’, Logone *miyo* ‘knife’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:97.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*miʔ-* (~ *\*meʔ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:993—994, no. 881):  
(vb.) *\*miʔ-* ‘to cut’;  
(n.) *\*miʔ-a* ‘cutting instrument: knife’ (later also ‘sickle, scythe’)

106. Proto-Afrasian *\*m[un]-* ‘(vb.) to torment, to torture, to afflict; to cause pain, trouble, distress, suffering, difficulty; to suffer; to be in pain, trouble, distress, suffering, difficulty; (n.) suffering, pain, malady, difficulty, distress, affliction, calamity, misery’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*man-aw-* ‘to be afflicted with, to suffer (from)’ > Arabic *manā* ‘to put to the test, to try, to tempt, to afflict; (passive) to be afflicted (with), to be sorely tried (by), to suffer, to sustain, to undergo, to experience; to be afflicted, hit, smitten, stricken’.

B. Egyptian *mn* ‘to be ill, to suffer; to be ill of, to suffer from; to be troubled about’, *mn* ‘sick man’, *mnt* ‘malady, suffering, distress, calamity’, *mnw* ‘pain’. Hannig 1995:335; Faulkner 1962:107; Gardiner 1957:568; Erman—Grapow 1921:64 and 1926—1963.2:66—67.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*muŋ-* (~ *\*moŋ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1006—1008, no. 892):

- (vb.) *\*muḡ-* ‘to torment, to torture, to afflict; to cause pain, trouble, distress, suffering, difficulty; to suffer; to be in pain, trouble, distress, suffering, difficulty’;  
 (n.) *\*muḡ-a* ‘suffering, pain, malady, difficulty, distress, affliction, calamity, misery’
107. Proto-Afrasian *\*mur-* ‘(vb.) to make a noise, to murmur; (n.) noise, sound, murmur’, reduplicated: *\*mur-mur-* ‘(vb.) to make noise, to make sound, to murmur; (n.) noise, sound, murmur’:
- A. Semitic: Arabic *marmara* ‘to be or become embittered, to become angry’, *tamarmara* ‘to murmur, to mumble, to grumble’; New Hebrew *mirmēr* [מִרְמֵר] ‘to complain, to grouse, to grumble, to become embittered (aggrieved), to be enraged (infuriated) with, to be embittered against’. Klein 1987:385.
- B. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Burji *murmúr-i* ‘wizard, sorcerer (who tells fortunes by inspecting coffee beans)’, *morom-* ‘to argue’; Gedeo / Darasa *morom-* ‘to argue’; Sidamo *moroom-*, *morom-* ‘to argue’; Galla / Oromo *morom-* ‘to murmur, to disagree, to curse’; Somali *murm-* ‘to contradict, to disagree’; Gollango *maram-* ‘to deny’. Sasse 1982:149; Hudson 1989:21.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*mur-* (~ *\*mor-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1013—1015, no. 896):  
 (vb.) *\*mur-* ‘to make noise, to make sound, to murmur’;  
 (n.) *\*mur-a* ‘noise, sound, murmur’  
 Reduplicated:  
 (vb.) *\*mur-mur-* ‘to make noise, to make sound, to murmur’;  
 (n.) *\*mur-mur-a* ‘noise, sound, murmur’

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DENTALS

Proto-Afrasian	*t	*d	*tʼ	*n
Proto-Semitic	*t	*d	*tʼ	*n
Ancient Egyptian	t 𓂀	d 𓂁	d 𓂁	n 𓂂
Proto-Berber	*t	*d	*t, *d	*n
Proto-East Cushitic	*t	*d	*dʼ	*n
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*t *t̥	*d	*dʼ *tʼ	*n
Proto-Chadic	*t	*d	*tʼ	*n

#### 4.1. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*t

108. Proto-Afrasian *\*ta-*, *\*tu-/ \*ti-* demonstrative stem:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tā-/ \*tī-* demonstrative stem > Arabic (m.) *tī*, (f.) *tā* ‘this’; Tigre (m.) *tū*, (f.) *tā* ‘this’.
- B. Egyptian (fem. sg. demonstrative and definite article) *tʼ* ‘this, the’, (fem. sg. demonstrative adj.) *tn* ‘this’; Coptic *t-* [ṯ-], *te-* [ṯe-] fem. sg. definite article, *taī* [ṯaī] (fem. sg. of demonstrative pronoun) ‘this’. Hannig 1995:912 and 934; Faulkner 1962:292 and 299; Gardiner 1957:598 and 600; Erman—Grapow 1921:200, 206, and 1926—1963.5:211—212, 5:309; Vycichl 1983:208; Černý 1976:176 and 177.
- C. Berber: Tuareg demonstrative stem (f. sg.) *ta* ‘this’, (pl. *ti*); Ghadames (f. sg.) *tu* ‘this’ (pl. *ti*); Mzab (f. sg.) *ta* ‘this’, (pl. *ti*); Tamazight (f. sg.) *ta*, *ti* ‘this’, (pl. *ti*); Kabyle (f. sg.) *ta* ‘this’, (pl. *ti*). Also used as 3rd person verbal suffix: Tuareg (m. sg.) *-t*, (f. sg.) *-tət*, (m. pl.) *-tən*, (f. pl.) *-tənət*; Ghadames (m. sg.) *-ət*, *-ətt*, *-itt*, (f. sg.) *-tət*, *-əttət*, *-ittət*, (m. pl.) *-tən*, *-əttən*, *-ittən*, (f. pl.) *-tənət*, *-əttənət*, *-ittənət*.
- D. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*ta*, (subj.) *\*tu/ \*ti* fem. demonstrative pronoun stem > Burji (dem. f.) *ta*, (subj.) *ci* ‘this’; Somali (dem. f.) *ta*, (subj.) *tu*; Rendille *ti* fem. gender marker and connector; Galla / Oromo *ta-*, (subj.) *tu-*; Sidamo *-ta*, (subj.) *-ti* fem. article; Kambata (f. acc. sg. demon. det.) *ta* ‘this’; Hadiyya (f. acc. sg. demon. det.) *ta* ‘this’. Hudson 1989:151; Sasse 1982:175. Proto-Southern Cushitic (fem. bound demonstrative stem) *\*ta* ‘this, that’ > Iraqw *ti* ‘this’; Burunge *ti* ‘this’, *taʼa* (f.) ‘that’; Kʼwadza *-(i)to*, *-(e)to* fem. gender marker; Asa *-(i)t(o)*, *-(e)t(o)* fem. gender marker; Maʼa *-eta* suffix on fem. nouns; Dahalo *tá-* in *táʼini* (f.) ‘they’. Ehret 1980:289. Beja / Beḍawye (f. article) (sg.) *tū* (acc. sg. *tō*), (pl.) *tā* (acc. pl. *tē*). Reinisch 1895:220.

E. Chadic: Hausa *taa* ‘she, her’.

← Proto-Nostratic demonstrative stems (Bomhard 2014.2:207—209, no. 183):

Proximate: *\*th<sub>a</sub>-* (∼ *\*th<sub>ə</sub>-*) ‘this’;

Intermediate: *\*th<sub>i</sub>-* (∼ *\*th<sub>e</sub>-*) ‘that’;

Distant: *\*th<sub>u</sub>-* (∼ *\*th<sub>o</sub>-*) ‘that yonder’

109. Proto-Afrasian *\*tan-* ‘(vb.) to extend, spread, or stretch out; to endure, to be long-lasting; (n.) duration; extension’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*wa-tan-* ‘to endure; to be continuous, perpetual, steadfast, long-lasting’ > Hebrew *ʿēṯān* [ʔṯʰʰ], [ṯʰʰ] ‘steadfast, stable, strong, firm; ever-flowing’, *wāṯin* [ṯʰʰ] ‘(water) flowing in a stream; steadfast, permanent’; Arabic *watana* ‘to endure, (water) to flow continuously; to stay long in a place’, *watun* ‘duration, continuous flow’; Sabaeen *mhtn* ‘perpetually flowing water’. Klein 1987:26 and 267; Murtonen 1989:225; D. Cohen 1970—:652.

Geez / Ethiopic *tēn* [ṯʰʰ], *tīn* [ṯʰʰ], *tən* [ṯʰʰ], *tēnā* [ṯʰʰ] ‘extension, length, width, thickness’. Leslau 1987:576.

B. Egyptian *tni* ‘\*stretching beyond, \*surpassing; great and strong (king), large and solidly-built (wall)’. Hannig 1995:934; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:310—311.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*than<sup>y</sup>-* (∼ *\*thən<sup>y</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:217—219, no. 190):

(vb.) *\*than<sup>y</sup>-* ‘to extend, to spread, to stretch; to endure, to be long-lasting’;

(n.) *\*than<sup>y</sup>-a* ‘extension, width, length, breadth’; (adj.) ‘stretched, extended, wide, broad, long-lasting’

Derivative:

(vb.) *\*than<sup>y</sup>-* ‘to be or become worn out, tired, old’;

(n.) *\*than<sup>y</sup>-a* ‘exhaustion, weariness, fatigue’; (adj.) ‘worn out, tired, old’

110. Proto-Afrasian *\*tar-* ‘(vb.) to draw, to drag, to pull; (n.) drag, pull; something dragged or pulled along’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:499, no. 2373, *\*tar-* ‘to pull, to draw’):

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tar-ar-*, (reduplicated) *\*tar-tar-* ‘to draw, to drag, to pull’ > Šheri / Jibbāli *terr* ‘to drag, to lead away’, (reduplicated) *ettertér* ‘to lead roughly, to drag (a child) by the hand’; Soqotri *ter* ‘to push gently’, (reduplicated) *tártər* ‘to throw’; Ḥarsūsi *ter* ‘to lead, to drag away’; Mehri *ter* ‘to drag, to lead away’.

B. Central Chadic *\*tyar-* (< *\*tari-*) ‘to draw’ > Buduma *teri* ‘to draw’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*thar-* (∼ *\*thər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:221—222, no. 193):

(vb.) *\*thar-* ‘to draw, to drag, to pull’;

(n.) *\*thar-a* ‘drag, pull; something dragged or pulled along’

Possible derivative:

(vb.) *\*thar-* ‘to spread, to spread out or about, to expand, to extend; to stretch, to stretch out; to scatter, to strew’;

(n.) *\*thar-a* ‘stretch, spread, expanse’; (adj.) ‘stretched, tight, taut; spread, scattered, dispersed’

111. Proto-Afrasian *\*tar-* ‘(vb.) to spread, to spread out, to expand, to extend; to stretch, to stretch out; (n.) stretch, spread, expanse’; (adj.) ‘stretched, tight, taut; spread, scattered, dispersed; stretched out, long, great’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:499, no. 2373, *\*tar-* ‘to pull, to draw’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*wa-tar-* ‘to stretch, to extend’ > Arabic *watara* ‘to string, to provide with a string (a bow); to stretch, to strain, to draw tight, to tighten, to pull taut’, *watar* ‘string (of a bow, of a musical instrument); sinew, tendon’, *watīra* ‘manner, way, mode, fashion; procedure, method; style; tone’, *tawātur* ‘succession; repetition, recurrence; frequency, constancy, incessancy, continuance, persistence’, *mutawattir* ‘stretched, strained, taut, tense, rigid, firm, tight’; Hebrew *yeθer* [יֶתֶר] ‘cord’; Syriac *yaθrā* ‘string of a bow’; Geez / Ethiopic *watara*, *wattara* [ወተረ] ‘to bend, to stretch tight, to tighten (strings), to straighten up’, *ʾawtara* [አወተረ] ‘to spread out, to stretch out’, *watr* [ወተር] ‘cord, string (of a musical instrument), web (of a spider)’; Tigre *wättāra* ‘to stretch a bow, to stretch by pulling, to pull tight’; Tigrinya *wättärä* ‘to stretch (a string, hide), to make taut, to distend, to strain at (chains)’, *wätär* ‘bow string’; Gurage *wätärä* ‘to stretch by pulling, to stretch hide, to distend hide’, *wätär* ‘nerve, sinew, tendon, gut’; Harari *wätär* ‘nerve, gut, sinew’. Murtonen 1989:225; D. Cohen 1970—:653—655; Klein 1987:267; Leslau 1987:622.
- B. Egyptian *itrw* ‘river; Nile’; Coptic *yoop* [ⲉⲓⲟⲡ] ‘canal’, *yero* [ⲉⲓⲣⲟ, ⲓⲣⲟ] ‘river; Nile’, literally, ‘great canal; great river’. Hannig 1995:112—113; Faulkner 1962:33; Gardiner 1957:556; Erman—Grapow 1921:20 and 1926—1963.1:146—147; Černý 1976:48; Vycichl 1983:66. Semantic development from ‘stretched out, long, great’, applied to the Nile.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*tar-* ‘to be added to, to be increased’ > K’wadza *tal-* ‘to grow’, *talas-* ‘to add to, to increase’; Dahalo *tar-* ‘to collect together, to mix’. Ehret 1980:168.
- D. Chadic: East Chadic *\*tar-* ‘to be stretched’ > Tobanga *taaree* ‘to be stretched’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*thar-* (~ *\*thər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:222—224, no. 194):

(vb.) *\*thar-* ‘to spread, to spread out or about, to expand, to extend; to stretch, to stretch out; to scatter, to strew’;

(n.) *\*thar-a* ‘stretch, spread, expanse’; (adj.) ‘stretched, tight, taut; spread, scattered, dispersed’

Perhaps derived from:

(vb.) *\*thar-* ‘to draw, to drag, to pull’, in the sense ‘to stretch by pulling’;

(n.) *\*thar-a* ‘drag, pull; something dragged or pulled along’

112. Proto-Afrasian *\*tar-* ‘(vb.) to tear, to break, to split; (n.) cut, tear, split, incision; wound, injury; spear’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:499, no. 2372, *\*tar-* ‘to tear, to cut’ and 499, no. 2376, *\*tarVc-* ‘to break, to tear’ [derived from *\*tar-* ‘to tear, to cut’]; Ehret 1995:143, no. 177, *\*taar-* ‘to cut into’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tar-ar-* ‘to tear, to break, to split’ > Arabic *tarra* ‘to be cut off, to be cut out’; Tigrinya *tārār bālā* ‘to be split’; Gurage *tārrārā* ‘to tear a piece of cloth or paper, to cut in small pieces, to separate’. Leslau 1979:602.

Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*tar-tar-* ‘to tear, to break, to split’ > Tigrinya *tārtārā* ‘to break to small pieces’; *tārtāra* ‘to split, to tear up’; Amharic *tārtātārā* ‘to tear to pieces’; Harari (*a*)*trātāra* ‘to shake the grain on the *afufū*- plate to separate it from sand or to separate the finely-ground flour from the unground’; Gurage *tərātārā* ‘to unroll thread used for weaving, to untwist, to tear a piece of cloth’; Post-Biblical Hebrew *tirtēr* [תִּרְתֵּר] ‘to scatter, to cast loose (earth)’ (Aramaic loan); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *tartar* ‘to crumble, to cast loose’. Klein 1987:719; Leslau 1979:603. Note: According to Leslau (1979:603), “the root passed into Cushitic”.

Proto-Semitic *\*tar-ak-* ‘to tear, to break, to split’ > Amharic *tārākkākā* ‘to split’; Gurage *tārrāxā* ‘to break off a piece, to make incisions, to tear off a leaf of the *āsāt*’. Leslau 1979:602.

- B. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic *\*tarar-* ‘to cut, to scratch’ > Galla / Oromo *tarara* ‘to cut, to scratch’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*taar-* ‘to spear, to pierce with a weapon’ > K’wadza *talangayo* ‘bleeding arrow’; Ma’a *ito*, *itoró* ‘spear’; Dahalo *taar-* ‘to spear, to pierce with a weapon’. Ehret 1980:169.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic *\*tar-/tur-* ‘to tear, to break’ > Galambu *tar-* ‘to tear’; Kulere *tur-* ‘to break’; Dafo-Butura *tar-* ‘to break’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*thar-* (~ *\*thər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:224—225, no. 195):

(vb.) *\*thar-* ‘to tear, to break, to split, to pierce’;

(n.) *\*thar-a* ‘cut, tear, split, incision; wound, injury; spear’

113. Proto-Afrasian *\*tar-* ‘(vb.) to tremble, to shake; (n.) trembling, shaking (from fear, fright)’ (Ehret 1995:143, no. 176, *\*tar-* ‘to shake’):

- A. Semitic: Akkadian *\*tarāru* (pres. *itarrur*) ‘to shake’; Arabic (reduplicated) *tartara* ‘to shake, to be shaken, to tremble’.



- B. Egyptian (Demotic) *tryʒ* ‘to fear, to tremble’; Coptic *trre* [ṛṛṗṗṗ] ‘to become afraid, to tremble’, *strtr* (< \**satirtir*) ‘trembling’. Vycichl 1983:199 and 221; Černý 1976:195.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic \**tarar-* ‘to tremble, to shake’ > Ma’a -*taráʔa* ‘to shake (something)’; Dahalo *tarar-* ‘to tremble, to shake’. Ehret 1980:169. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya (reduplicated) *tartar-* ‘to stagger, to stumble’; Kambata (reduplicated) *tartar-* ‘to stagger, to stumble’. Hudson 1989:142.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**thar-* (~ \**thər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:229—230, no. 200):  
(vb.) \**thar-* ‘to tremble, to shake’;  
(n.) \**thar-a* ‘trembling, shaking (from fear, fright)’
114. Proto-Afrasian \**tek-* ‘(vb.) to take; (n.) the act of taking, grasping, seizing, removing’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:501, no. 2388, \**tek-* ‘to take’):
- A. Egyptian *tk*, *tkk*, *tktk* ‘to seize, to grasp; to violate (frontier), to attack’, *tkkw* ‘attackers’. Hannig 1995:940 and 941; Faulkner 1962:302; Erman—Grapow 1921:207 and 1926—1963.5:331, 5:336; Gardiner 1957:601.
- B. Chadic: West Chadic \**tyak-* ‘to take’ > Sha *tək* ‘to take’; Dafo-Butura *tyek* ‘to take’. Central Chadic \**tyak-* ‘to take’ > Musgu *taka*, *tega* ‘to take’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic \**thekh-* (Bomhard 2014.2:231—232, no. 202):  
(vb.) \**thekh-* ‘to take (away), to grasp, to seize, to remove’;  
(n.) \**thekh-a* ‘the act of taking, grasping, seizing, removing’
115. Proto-Afrasian \**ti*/\**ta* ‘you’ (Ehret [1995:363, no. 727] reconstructs a Proto-Afrasian independent 2nd sg. pronoun \**ʔant*/\**ʔint-* ‘you’). (See the Appendix to Chapter 2 for more information on the development of this pronoun.):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic (prefix forms) \**ti*/\**ta-*, (suffix forms) \**-tī*/\**-tā* ‘you’ > Arabic (m.) *ʔan-ta*, (f.) *ʔan-ti* ‘you’, perfect 2nd sg. endings (m.) -*ta*, (f.) -*tī*, imperfect 2nd sg./du./pl. prefix *ta-*; Akkadian (m.) *an-tā*, (f.) *an-tī* ‘you’, permansive 2nd sg. endings (m.) -*āt(a)*, (f.) -*ātī*, prefix conjugation 2nd sg./pl. prefix *ta-*; Hebrew (m.) *ʔat-tāh* [ʔtħ] (f.) *ʔat-t(ī)* [ʔtī] ‘you’, perfect 2nd sg. endings (m.) -*tā*, (f.) -*t(i)*, imperfect 2nd sg./pl. prefix *ti-*; Ugaritic *āt* ‘you’ (m. \**ʔatta*, f. \**ʔatti*), perfect 2nd sg. ending -*t* (m. \**-ta*, f. \**-tī*), imperfect 2nd sg./du./pl. prefix *t-*; Šheri / Jibbāli *ten* ‘you’; Geez / Ethiopic (m.) *ʔan-ta* [ħʔt], (f.) *ʔan-tī* [ħʔt] ‘you’, prefix conjugation 2nd sg./pl. prefix *tə-* [ʔ-].
- B. Cushitic: Central Cushitic: Bilin (sg.) *ʔen-tī*, *ʔin-tī* ‘you’, (pl.) *ʔen-tín*, *ʔin-tín*. Reinisch 1887:43; Appleyard 2006:150—151. Proto-East Cushitic (2nd sg. subj.) \**ʔat-i/u* ‘you’ > Gedeo / Darasa *at-i* ‘you’; Hadiyya *at-i* ‘you’; Kambata *at-i* ‘you’; Sidamo *at-e/i* ‘you’; Burji *ási* ‘you’; Saho-Afar

*at-u* ‘you’; Somali *ad-i-* ‘you’; Rendille *at-i* ‘you’; Galla / Oromo *at-i* ‘you’; Bayso *at-i* ‘you’; Konso *at-ti* ‘you’; Gidole *at-te* ‘you’. Sasse 1982:29; Hudson 1989:172. Proto-East Cushitic (2nd pl. subj.) *\*ʔatin-* ‘you’ > Saho-Afar *atin* ‘you’; Burji *ašinu* ‘you’; Somali *idin-* ‘you’; Rendille *atin-* ‘you’; Dasenech *itti(ni)* ‘you’; Kambata *aʔn-aʔooti* ‘you’; Tsamay *atun-i* ‘you’. Sasse 1982:29. Proto-Highland East Cushitic (2nd sg. voc. fem.) *\*tee* ‘you’ > Gedeo / Darasa (f.) *tee* ‘you’; Hadiyya (f.) *ta* ‘you’; Kambata (f.) *te* ‘you’; Sidamo (f.) *tee* ‘you’. Hudson 1989:172. Proto-Southern Cushitic (pl.) *\*ʔata-* ‘you’, (sg.) *\*ʔaata-* ‘you’ > Iraqw *aten* ‘you’; Dahalo (pl.) *ʔāṭa* ‘you’, (sg.) *ʔāṭa* ‘you’. Ehret 1980:282—283.

← Proto-Nostratic second person pronoun stem: *\*thi-* (~ *\*the-*) ‘you’; (oblique form) *\*tha-* (~ *\*thə-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:233—235, no. 204)

116. Proto-Afrasian *\*ter-/tor-* ‘(vb.) to be or become dusty; (n.) dust, soil, earth’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:509, no. 2426, *\*turVb-* ‘earth, sand’; Ehret 1995:144, no. 178, *\*ter-/tor-* ‘earth’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tar-ab-* ‘to be or become dusty, to be covered with dust; to cover with dust or earth’, *\*turb-* ‘dust; earth, dirt; ground; soil’ > Akkadian *turbuʔtu* ‘earth, sand’; Arabic *tariba* ‘to be or become dusty, to be covered with dust; to cover with dust or earth’, *turba* ‘dust; earth, dirt; ground; soil’, *turāb* ‘dust, powdery earth, remains, ashes’, *turib* ‘dusty, dust-covered’; Ḥarsūsi *terōb* ‘to do the ritual ablutions with sand; to wash the hands with sand before milking a camel, to wash with sand’; Mehri *tərūb* ‘to make ritual ablutions with sand’. Zammit 2002:106—107. Arabic loans in Geez / Ethiopic *turāb* [ጥፋጥ] ‘remains of burnt incense’; Amharic *turab* ‘dust, ashes of burnt incense’. Leslau 1987:579.
- B. Egyptian *t3* ‘earth, land, ground’; Coptic *to* [ṛo] ‘land, earth’. Hannig 1995:912—913; Erman—Grapow 1921:201—202 and 1926—1963.5:212—216; Faulkner 1962:292; Gardiner 1957:599; Vycichl 1983:209—210; Černý 1976:179.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*teri-* ‘dust’ (vocalic assimilation ?) > Iraqw *teri-* ‘dust’; Ma’a *itéri* ‘dust’. Ehret 1980:170. (?)
- D. Omotic: North Omotic *\*tor-* ‘earth’ > Bench / Gimira *tor<sup>l</sup>* ‘down’.
- E. Chadic: West Chadic *\*turVb-* ‘sandy soil’ > Hausa *tùrḃaayaa* ‘fine, sandy soil’ (secondary implosive).

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*thorʷ-a* ‘dust, soil, earth’ (Bomhard 2014.2:240, 209)

117. Proto-Afrasian *\*tuk-* ‘(vb.) to burn, to blaze; (n.) ash(es)’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:507, no. 2417, *\*tukaʔ-* ‘to burn; ash’. Note: Ehret [1995:140, no. 170] reconstructs Proto-Afrasian *\*tikʷ-/takʷ-* ‘to light’ primarily on the basis of

Cushitic evidence. However, according to Leslau [1987:573], the Cushitic forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic):

- A. Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *takk<sup>w</sup>asa* [ጥክሱ] ‘to ignite, to set on fire, to burn’ (probably from Amharic), *tark<sup>w</sup>asa* [ጥርክሱ] ‘to burn, to set on fire’ (according to Leslau [1987:580], this is from *takk<sup>w</sup>asa* with augmented *r*); Tigre *täksa* ‘to cauterize’; Tigrinya *täkk<sup>w</sup>äsä* ‘to burn, to brand cattle’; Amharic *täkk<sup>w</sup>äsä* ‘to burn, to cauterize, to brand (animals)’, *täkkus* ‘warm (roast), fresh (eggs, meat, news)’, *atäkk<sup>w</sup>äsä(w)* ‘to have fever, to run a fever’, *täkkusat* ‘fever, temperature (fever)’; Gurage *täkäsä* ‘to light a fire, to set fire, to light, to kindle, to burn (tr.)’, *täkkus* ‘warm, fresh’, *täkkusat* ‘fever’, (reduplicated) *täkkäksä* ‘to burn the surface (of wood or grass)’. Leslau 1979:594, 595 and 1987:573.
- B. Egyptian *tk* ‘to burn, to kindle’, *tkʒ* ‘torch, candle, flame; to illumine’, *tkʒw* ‘rite of torch burning’; Coptic *tōk* [Ἦῶ῀], *tōč* [Ἦῶῆ] ‘to kindle (fire), to bake’, *tik* [Ἦῶ῀] ‘spark’, *intōk* [Ἦῶ῀Ἦῶ῀] ‘oven, furnace’. Faulkner 1962:301—302; Erman—Grapow 1921:207 and 1926—1963.5:331—332, 332—333; Hannig 1995:940; Gardiner 1957:600; Černý 1976:184; Vycichl 1983:212.
- C. Chadic: Hausa *tòòkáá* ‘ashes’; Kulere *madük* ‘ashes’; Tangale *dyka* ‘ashes’; Nzangi *təḍáqę* ‘ashes’; Mokulu *ʔoddàgé* ‘ashes’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:2 *t(w)k* and II:4—5.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*thuk<sup>h</sup>-* (~ *\*thok<sup>h</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:241—242, no. 211):  
 (vb.) *\*thuk<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to burn, to blaze’;  
 (n.) *\*thuk<sup>h</sup>-a* ‘ash(es), soot’

118. Proto-Afrasian *\*tul-* ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise; to pile up, to stack (in a heap); (n.) hill, mound; stack, heap’ (Diakonoff 1992:13 *\*tVl* (> *\*t<sub>yl</sub>*, *\*t<sub>lw</sub>*) ‘hill, heap’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:508, no. 2420, *\*tul-* ‘to hang’ and, no. 2429, *\*tül-* ‘hill, heap’; Ehret 1995:142, no. 172, *\*tuul-* ‘to rise; to form a heap, mound’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tal-* (*\*tal-al-*, *\*tal-aw/y-*, *\*tal-aš-*) ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise; (n.) hill, mound’ > Hebrew *tālāʔ* [תָּלָא], *tālāh* [תָּלָה] ‘to hang’, *tēl* [תֵּל] ‘mound’, *tālūl* [תָּלָל] ‘exalted, lofty’; Aramaic *tillā* ‘mound’; Arabic *tall* ‘hill, elevation’, *talaʿa* ‘to rise, to spread’, *talīʿ* ‘long, outstretched, extended; high, tall’; Akkadian *tillu* ‘ruin’, *talālu* ‘to suspend’; Šheri / Jibbāli *etlél* ‘to go up on to a hill’, *tellét* ‘hill’. Geez / Ethiopic *tallāʔ* [ተለል], *tallāʔ* [ተለለ] ‘breast’; Akkadian *tulū* ‘breast’. Klein 1987:703; Leslau 1987:574.
- B. Egyptian *tn* ‘to raise, to elevate’; Coptic *tal* [Ἦῶ῀] ‘hill’ (this may be a Semitic loan). Vycichl 1983:213; Černý 1976:185.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*tuul-* ‘to pile up, to stack’ > Somali *tuul-* ‘to pile up’, *tuulo* ‘hunch’; Burji *tuul-* ‘to pile up, to stack (grain)’, *tuulá* ‘pile, stack (grain)’; Gedeo / Darasa *tuul-* ‘to pile up, to stack (grain)’, *tuula*,

*tuulo* ‘pile, stack (grain)’; Sidamo *tuul-* ‘to pile up, to stack’, *tullo* ‘hill’; Bayso *tuul-e-* ‘to pile up’; Galla / Oromo *tuul-* ‘to pile up’, *tulluu* ‘hill, hunch’; Konso *tuul-* ‘to pile up’. Sasse 1982:179—180; Hudson 1989:79, 113, and 396.

- D. Omotic: Mocha *tuullo* ‘heap’; Yemsa / Janjero *tuul-* ‘to heap up’.
- E. Chadic: East Chadic *\*tul-* ‘to hang’ > Ndam *tula* ‘to hang’; Lele *tuul* ‘to hang’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*thul-* (~ *\*thol-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:242—243, no. 212):  
 (vb.) *\*thul-* ‘to lift, to raise; to pile up, to stack (in a heap)’;  
 (n.) *\*thul-a* ‘hill, mound; stack, heap’

119. Proto-Afrasian *\*tums-* ‘(vb.) to cover over, to hide; to become dark; (n.) darkness; (adj.) dark’:

- A. Egyptian *tms* ‘to hide, to cover over, to bury’; Coptic *tōms* [ⲧⲱⲙⲥ] ‘to bury’. Hannig 1995:933; Vycichl 1983:215; Černý 1976:188.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic (*\*tums-* >) *\*tuns-* ‘to become dark’, (*\*tumso* >) *\*tunso* ‘darkness’ > Hadiyya *tuns-* ‘to become dark’, *tunso* ‘darkness’; Kambata *tuns-* ‘to become dark’, *tunsu-ta* ‘darkness’; Sidamo *tuns-* ‘to become dark’, *tunso* ‘darkness’. Hudson 1989:47. Central Cushitic: Xamir *təma* ‘darkness’; Kemant *təm-* ‘to become dark’, *təma* ‘darkness’. Appleyard 2006:52.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*thum-* (~ *\*thom-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:243—244, no. 213):  
 (vb.) *\*thum-* ‘to cover over, to hide; to become dark’;  
 (n.) *\*thum-a* ‘darkness’; (adj.) ‘dark’

120. Proto-Afrasian *\*tuf-* ‘(vb.) to spit; (n.) spittle, saliva’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:506, no. 2413, *\*tuf-* ‘to spit’; Ehret 1995:139, no. 162, *\*tuf-* ‘to spit’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tap-* (*\*tap-ap-*, *\*tap-al-*, *\*tap-aʔ-*, *\*tap-aʕ-*) ‘to spit’ > Hebrew *tōqēθ* [תֹּקֶף] ‘spitting’; Aramaic *təqəθ*, *təqē* ‘to spit’, *tūq* ‘spittle’; Arabic *taffa* ‘to spit’; Harsūsi *tefōl* ‘to spit’, *tefēl* ‘spittle, saliva’; Šheri / Jibbāli *tfōl* ‘to spit’; Geez / Ethiopic *taʔa* [ተፍአ], *taʔa* [ተፍዐ] ‘to spit, to spit out’, *təffāʔ* [ተፋአ] ‘spittle’, *təʔat* [ተፍአት] ‘spittle, saliva’; Tigre *täʔa* ‘to spit’; Tigrinya *täʔe*, *tuff bälä* ‘to spit’; Amharic *täffa*, *əttəf bälä* ‘to spit’; Gafat *täffa* ‘to spit’; Harari *tuf bāya* ‘to spit’; Argobba *əntəf ala* ‘to spit’; Gurage *täfa* ‘to spit’. Leslau 1963:148, 1979:592, and 1987:570—571.
- B. Egyptian *tf* ‘to spit, to spit out’, *tf* ‘spittle, saliva’. Erman—Grapow 1921:205 and 1926—1963.5:297; Hannig 1995:931. Egyptian also has *tp* ‘to spit, to vomit’. Hannig 1995:923.

- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*tuf-* ‘to spit’ > Saho-Afar *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Somali *tuf* ‘to spit’; Boni *tuf* ‘to spit’; Arbore *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Galla / Oromo *tufe* ‘to spit’; Konso *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Sidamo *tufi* ‘to spit, to vomit’; Burji *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Gedeo / Darasa *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Hadiyya *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Kambata *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Gawwada *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Gollango *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Dullay *tuf-, cuf-* ‘to spit’. Sasse 1979:10 and 1982:179; Hudson 1989:140; Heine 1978:74. North Cushitic: Beja / Beɣawye *tūf-* ‘to spit’. Reinisch 1895:223. Central Cushitic: Bilin *tif-, tiff y-/tif y-* ‘to spit’; Xamir *təf y-* ‘to spit’; Awngi / Awiya *ətəf y-* ‘to spit’. Reinisch 1887:347; Appleyard 2006:128.
- D. Chadic: Proto-Chadic *\*tuf-* ‘to spit’ > Hausa *tóófàà* ‘to spit’; Fyer *tùf* ‘to spit’; Karekare *təf-* ‘to spit’; Dafo-Butura *tūf* ‘to spit’; Bole *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Bachama *túfə* ‘to spit’; Glavda *taf-* ‘to spit’; Daba *tif* ‘to spit’; Masa *túfnā* ‘to spit’; Kotoko-Logone *tufu* ‘to spit’; Mubi *tuffa, tàffá* ‘to spit’. Newman 1977:32, no. 121, *\*təfə/\*tufə* ‘to spit’; Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:302—303.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*thup<sup>h</sup>-* (Bomhard 2014.2:244—245, no. 214):  
 (vb.) *\*thup<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to spit’;  
 (n.) *\*thup<sup>h</sup>-a* ‘spittle, saliva’

#### 4.2. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*d

121. Proto-Afrasian *\*da, \*di* ‘along with, together with, in addition to’:

- A. Berber: Kabyle *d, yid, id-* ‘with, together with, and’; Tamazight (Ayt Ndhir) *d* ‘with, and’; Tuareg *d, əd* ‘and, with together with’; Nefusa *əd, did* ‘and, with’; Ghadames *əd, did* ‘and, with’; Zenaga *əd, id, d* ‘and with’; Mzab *əd, did* ‘and, with’.
- B. Cushitic: Central Cushitic: Bilin comitative case suffix *-dī* ‘together with’; Quara *-dī* ‘together with’. Reinisch 1887:93; Appleyard 2006:23—24. Highland East Cushitic: Burji *-ddi* locative suffix (with absolute case) in, for example, *miná-ddi* ‘in the house’. Sasse 1982:54.
- C. Chadic: Proto-Chadic *\*də-* ‘with, and’ > Hausa *dà* ‘with; and; by, by means of; regarding, with respect to, in relation to; at, in during; than’; Kulere *tu*; Bade *də*; Tera *ndə*; Gidar *dī*; Mokulu *tī*; Kanakuru *də*. Newman 1977:34.

Note: Diakonoff (1988:61) reconstructs comitative-dative case endings *\*-dV, \*-Vd* for Proto-Afrasian on the basis of evidence from Cushitic (Agaw) and Berber-Libyan.

- ← Proto-Nostratic relational marker *\*da-* (~ *\*də-*) ‘along with, together with, in addition to’ (Bomhard 2014.2:164—165, no. 142).

122. Proto-Afrasian *\*dab-* ‘(vb.) to stick together, to join together; (n.) joining, fitting, fastening’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*dab-ak-* ‘to stick together, to join together, to adhere’ > Hebrew *dāḇaḵ* [דָּבַח] ‘to adhere, to cling to’, *deḇeḵ* [דִּבֵּחַ] ‘joining, soldering’; Aramaic *dəḇaḵ* ‘to stick together, to join’; Arabic *dabiḵa* ‘to stick, to adhere’. Klein 1987:113; Murtonen 1989:143; D. Cohen 1970—:211—212.

Proto-Semitic *\*dab-al-* ‘to stick together, to unite’ > Arabic *dabala* ‘to bring together, to gather, to unite’; Geez / Ethiopic *dabala* [ደበለ] ‘to bring together, to gather, to make braids, to plait’; Harari *dābāla* ‘to add, to put together, to include’; Tigre *dābbāla* ‘to stick together’; Amharic *dābbālā* ‘to double, to unite, to add’; Gurage *dābālā* ‘to add, to join, to unite’. D. Cohen 1970—:209—210; Leslau 1963:52—53, 1979:195—196, and 1987:120.

B. Cushitic: Proto-Sam *\*dab-* ‘to plait’ > Rendille *dab-i* ‘to plait’; Boni *tob/toba* ‘to plait’. Heine 1978:55. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*daba* ‘hand’ > Iraqw *dawa* ‘hand, arm’; Burunge *daba* ‘hand, arm’; Alagwa *daba* ‘hand, arm’; Dahalo *dāḇa* ‘hand’, *dāwatte* (< *\*dāḇa-watte*) ‘five’. Ehret 1980:162.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*dab-* (~ *\*dab-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:166—167, no. 144):  
(vb.) *\*dab-* ‘to make fast, to join together, to fit together, to fasten (together)’;  
(n.) *\*dab-a* ‘joining, fitting, fastening’

123. Proto-Afrasian *\*dag-* ‘(vb.) to put, to place, to put in place; to be put in place, to be stable, to be firmly established; (n.) place’:

A. Semitic: Arabic *dağana* ‘to remain, to stay, to abide; to get used to, to become accustomed to, to become habituated; to become domesticated, tame’, *dāğin* ‘tame, tamed, domesticated’. Tigre *dagge* ‘village, somewhat large settlement’.

B. Egyptian *dgʒ* ‘to plant, to stick; to build, to construct, to install’; Coptic *tōōčē* [ⲧⲱⲟⲥⲉ] ‘to join, to attach, to plant; to be fixed, joined’. Hannig 1995:989; Erman—Grapow 1921:217 and 1926—1963.5:499; Černý 1976:207; Vycichl 1983:227.

C. Berber: Ahaggar *ədəh* (pl. *idəggən*) ‘place’; Zenaga *əžgən* ‘to put’.

D. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Proto-Boni *\*deg-* ‘to settle down’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*dag-* (~ *\*dag-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:167—169, no. 145):  
(vb.) *\*dag-* ‘to put, to place, to put in place; to be put in place, to be stable, to be firmly established’;  
(n.) *\*dag-a* ‘place’

124. Proto-Afrasian *\*dal-* ‘(vb.) to oppress, to harass, to weaken, to tire; (n.) tiredness, weakness, exhaustion, weariness; (adj.) oppressed, tired, weary, weak, exhausted’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:147, no. 637, *\*dal-* ‘to be weak, to be tired’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*dal-al-* ‘to oppress, to weaken’, *\*dall-* ‘weak, small, inferior’ > Akkadian *dallu* ‘small, inferior’, *dullulu* ‘to oppress’, *dullulu* ‘wronged, oppressed’; Hebrew *dal* [דַּל] ‘low, weak, poor, thin’, *\*dālal* [דָּלַל] ‘to be or become small’; Phoenician *dl* ‘poor’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *dālal* ‘to be poor’; Ugaritic *dl* ‘poor’; Soqotri *delel* ‘to humiliate’. D. Cohen 1970—:265—266; Klein 1987:125—126; Murtonen 1989:149; Tombaek 1978:72.

Proto-Semitic *\*dal-ap-* ‘to be exhausted, weary, sleepless’ > Akkadian *dalāpu* ‘to be or stay awake, to be sleepless, to work ceaselessly, to continue (work) into the night, to drag on, to linger on; to keep someone awake, to harass’, *dalpu* ‘awake, alert; weary-eyed from watching; harassed’, *dilip̄tu* ‘sleeplessness, trouble’, *dullupu* ‘to keep (someone) awake, to harass’, *dulpu* ‘sleeplessness (as a disease)’; Ugaritic *dlp* ‘to be exhausted’. D. Cohen 1970—:267—268.

- B. Lowland East Cushitic *\*dal-* ‘to be tired’ > Somali *daal-* ‘to be tired’.  
C. Omotic: Proto-Omotic *\*dall-* ‘to become meager’ > Kefa *dalli-* ‘to become meager’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*dalʷ-* (~ *\*dəʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:173, no. 149):  
(vb.) *\*dalʷ-* ‘to oppress, to harass, to weaken, to tire’;  
(n.) *\*dalʷ-a* ‘tiredness, weakness, exhaustion, weariness’; (adj.) ‘oppressed, tired, weary, weak, exhausted’

125. Proto-Afrasian *\*dar-* ‘(vb.) to wrap, to wind, to twist; to walk; (n.) ‘bend, turn, curve; that which bends, turns, winds, or twists: winding course or way; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, crooked; wrapped, twisted, turned, or joined together’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:151, no. 656, *\*dar-* ‘to run’, 151, no. 657, *\*dar-* ‘road’, 174, no. 764, *\*dVr-dVr-* ‘to turn, to rotate’; Ehret 1995:134, no. 151, *\*dir-* ‘to step’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*dar-ag-* ‘to go, to walk, to move, to proceed; to wrap, to wind, to twist’ > Arabic *daraġa* (*durūġ*) ‘to go, to walk, to move, to proceed, to advance (slowly), to approach gradually, to follow a course; to go away, to leave, to depart; to be past, bygone, over; to have passed away, to be extinct; to circulate, to be in circulation, to have currency; to grow up (child)’, *daraġa* (*darġ*) ‘to roll up, to roll together; to wrap, to wind, to twist’; Hebrew *maḏrēyāh* [מַדְרֵיחַ] ‘step (cut in rocks), mountain path’; Akkadian *daraggu* ‘path’; Šheri / Jibbāli *dōrōg* ‘to become used to walking for the first time’, *edūrg* ‘to wrap in white cloth, to enshroud’,

*edrég* ‘to lead’, *dérgēt* ‘step, coil of rope, layer’; Harsūsi *dārōg* ‘(small animal) to begin to walk’, *dārgēt* ‘step; layer; coil of rope’; Tigre *dārgägä* ‘to make roll down, to roll away’. Ethiopian Semitic *\*dar-ag-* ‘to twist, wrap, or join together’ > Geez / Ethiopic *darga* [ደርገ] ‘to be joined together, to be united’, *darraga* [ደረገ] ‘to join, to unite’; Tigre *dārga* ‘to mix’; Tigrinya *dārägä* ‘to join, to unite’; Amharic *därrägä* ‘to become one, to be united, to be combined’. D. Cohen 1970— :308—309; Leslau 1987:141—142; Murtonen 1989:153.

Proto-Semitic *\*dar-ab-* ‘to bend, to fold’ > Tigre *därräba* ‘to fold’; Tigrinya *därräbä* ‘to fold’; Amharic *därräbä* ‘to fold’; Gurage *därräbä* ‘to double’. D. Cohen 1970— :307; Leslau 1979:218.

Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*dar-dar-* ‘to turn, to rotate’ > Mehri *adārdār* ‘to go around someone or something’.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *adārih* ‘footprint on the ground’; Tawlemmet *adāriz* ‘footprint’; Ghadames *adrāz* ‘to stomp the feet, to dance’, *dārrāz* ‘men’s dance’, *lāmdraz* ‘footprints on the ground’; Tamazight *ddirāz* ‘to retreat, to go back, to go away’, *sddirāz* ‘to make retreat’, *addirāz* ‘withdrawal, retreat’; Kabyle *adriz* ‘track, trail’.
- C. Cushitic: Central Cushitic: Awngi / Awiya (reduplicated) *dārdār-* ‘to turn, to rotate’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*dar-* (~ *\*dār-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:174—175, no. 151):

- (vb.) *\*dar-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn; to twist, wrap, or join together’;
- (n.) *\*dar-a* ‘bend, turn, curve; that which bends, turns, winds, or twists: winding course or way’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, crooked; wrapped, twisted, turned, or joined together’

126. Proto-Afrasian *\*dar-* ‘(vb.) to pound, to break; to harm, to injure, to torment; (n.) harm, injury; (adj.) harmful, malevolent’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*dar-as-*, *\*dar-aš-* ‘to pound, to break; to harm, to injure, to torment’ > Arabic *darasa* ‘to wipe out, to blot out, to obliterate, to efface, to extinguish; to thresh (grain)’, *dāris* ‘effaced, obliterated; old, dilapidated, crumbling’, *dars* ‘effacement, obliteration, extinction’; Akkadian *darāsu*, *darāšu* ‘to trample upon, to throw over or back, to press hard, to treat harshly’, *durrusu* ‘to treat oppressively’; Gurage *därräsä* ‘to break off the edge, to destroy’; Tigre *dārasäsa* ‘to crush’. D. Cohen 1970— :316 *drs/š*; Leslau 1979:221.
- B. Egyptian *dr* ‘to subdue (enemies); to expel, to drive out (people); to remove; to repress (a wrongdoer); to destroy (a place)’. Hannig 1995:983; Faulkner 1962:314—315; Gardiner 1957:602; Erman—Grapow 1921:215 and 1926—1963.5:473—474.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *adār* ‘to squeeze something strongly to force it from the bottom to the top, to be pressed’; Ghadames *adār* ‘to squeeze, to clench, to



compress'; Mzab *adər* 'to press, to squeeze, to weigh on'; Tamazight *adər* 'to press on, to lower, to cover, to be pressed, to bury, to drive or thrust into the earth', *adar* 'burial, driving or thrusting in'; Kabyle *adər* 'to descend', *ssidər* 'to lower, to make descend'; Zenaga *adər*, *dər* 'to fall down, to descend, to attack', *cidər* 'to make fall down, to make descend'.

- D. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic *\*dar-* 'to break, to tear off' > Burji *dar-* 'to break (tr.)', *dar-d-* 'to break (intr.)'; Gedeo / Darasa *dar-* 'to tear off'; Hadiyya *dareer-* 'to tear off'; Sidamo *dar-* 'to tear off'. Hudson 1989:31 and 149; Sasse 1982:53.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*dar-* (~ *\*dər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:155—157, no. 152):  
 (vb.) *\*dar-* 'to pound, to break; to harm, to injure, to torment';  
 (n.) *\*dar-a* 'harm, injury'; (adj.) 'harmful, malevolent' (> 'bad' in Kartvelian and, within Indo-European, in Celtic)

127. Proto-Afrasian *\*dar-* (adj.) 'dark, black':

- A. Semitic: Arabic *darina* 'to be dirty, filthy', *darān* 'dirt, filth'. D. Cohen 1970—:315.  
 B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*darʕ-* 'soot, ashes' > Burji *daar-aa* 'ashes' (this may be a loan from Galla / Oromo); Galla / Oromo *daar-aa* 'ashes'; Konso *tar-a* 'ashes'; Mashile *tarʔ-a* 'ashes'; Gidole *tard-at* 'ashes'; Dullay *tarʕ-o* 'ashes'. Sasse 1979:16 and 1982:51. For the semantics, cf. Gadba (Salur) *sirriŋ* 'soot, ashes' from the same stem found in Gadba (Ollari) *siriŋg* 'black', *siriŋat* 'black, rusty', (Salur) *siriŋgaŋi* 'black', *siriŋ* 'charcoal, cinders', all of which are related to, for example, Kolami *cirum* 'very dark', *sindi* 'soot'; Parji *cirun* 'charcoal'; etc. (for details, cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:222, no. 2552).  
 C. Chadic: Pa'a (reduplicated) *dirrodirro* 'black'; Guruntum *derri* 'black'; Diri *dzir* 'black'. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.2:28—29.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*dar-* (~ *\*dər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:177—178, no. 153):  
 (vb.) *\*dar-* 'to be or become dark';  
 (n.) *\*dar-a* 'dark spot, darkness'; (adj.) 'dark, black'

128. Proto-Afrasian *\*dar-* (vb.) to swell, to enlarge; (n.) tumor, outgrowth, blotch':

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*dar-an-* (vb.) to swell, to enlarge; (n.) tumor, outgrowth' > Arabic *darān* 'tubercle; tuberculosis', *darana* 'tubercle; small tumor, tumor, outgrowth, excrescence, tubercle, nodule', *darānī* 'tubercular, tuberculosis', *darina* 'to suffer from tuberculosis'; Tigre *dārān* 'cutaneous eruptions like blisters'. D. Cohen 1970—:315.  
 B. Berber: Tuareg *tadrəmt* 'psoriasis'; Tawlemmet *daram* 'to have small cracks or scars appear on the skin (a pregnant woman or an obese person)';

Kabyle *addrām* ‘to deteriorate, to be old or wrinkled, to be chapped or cracked (skin)’, *sadrām* ‘to make deteriorate, to grow old, to wrinkle’; Zenaga *adrām* ‘to spurt out, to gush forth’, *tədrāmi* ‘resurgence’.

- C. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*darš-* ‘to swell’ > Gedeo / Darasa *darš-* ‘to swell’; Hadiyya *dasš-* (< *\*darš-*) ‘to swell’; Kambata *darš-* ‘to swell’; Sidamo *darš-* ‘to swell (from a sting)’. Hudson 1989:147.

Note: Ehret (1995:135, no. 150), reconstructs Proto-Afrasian *\*dar-* ‘to enlarge, to increase’ on the basis of different forms than those cited above.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*darʷ-* (~ *\*dərʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:178—179, no. 154):  
 (vb.) *\*darʷ-* ‘to swell, to enlarge’;  
 (n.) *\*darʷ-a* ‘swelling, inflammation, blister, blotch, blemish; outgrowth, tumor’

129. Proto-Afrasian *\*dVw-* ‘(vb.) to sound, to resound, to make a noise; (n.) sound, noise’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*daw-al-* ‘to ring a bell’ > Geez / Ethiopic *dawwala* [፲፱፳] ‘to ring a bell’, *dawal* [፲፱፳] ‘bell’; Tigre *däwwälä* ‘to ring a bell’, *däwāl* ‘bell’; Tigrinya *däwwälä* ‘to ring a bell’; Harari *däwāl* ‘bell’; Gurage *däwwälä* ‘to ring a bell’, *däwāl* ‘church bell’; Amharic *däwāl* ‘bell’. Leslau 1979:224 and 1987:145; D. Cohen 1970— :235—236.

Proto-Semitic *\*daw-an-* ‘to ring a bell’ > Tigre *däwwāna* ‘to ring a bell’; Gurage *donä* ‘bell attached to the neck of a small child or cow’. Leslau 1979:211.

Proto-Semitic *\*daw-ay-* ‘to sound, to resound’ > Arabic *dawā* ‘to sound, to drone, to echo, to resound’, *dawīy* ‘sound, noise, drone, roar, echo, thunder’; Arabic (Daḡīna) *dawā* ‘to make a dull noise’. D. Cohen 1970— :234.

- B. Egyptian *dīwt* (?), *dw-t* (?) ‘shriek, cry’, *dwʒ-wt* ‘outcry, roar’, *dwi*, *dwy* ‘to call, to cry out’, *dwy*, *dwi* ‘to call (someone)’. Erman—Grapow 1921:212, 219 and 1926—1963.5:428, 5:550—551; Faulkner 1962:309 and 321; Gardiner 1957:602 and 603; Hannig 1995:970, 972, and 1001.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *səddwənnət* ‘to converse with someone, to have a quiet conversation’, *ədəwənnə* ‘conversation’; Tamazight *dəwnən* ‘to talk to oneself, to speak in a monologue’; Kabyle *dəwnnən*, *sdəwnnən* ‘to talk to oneself, to be delirious’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*daw-* (~ *\*dəw-*) (?) (Bomhard 2014.2:179—180, no. 155):  
 (vb.) *\*daw-* ‘to sound, to resound, to make a noise’;  
 (n.) *\*daw-a* ‘sound, noise’

130. Proto-Afrasian *\*daw-* ‘(vb.) to become sick, ill; to die; (n.) disease, sickness, death’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:153, no. 666, *\*dawaʔ-/\*dayaʔ-* ‘to be ill’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*daw-ay-* ‘to be ill, sick’ > Arabic *dawiya* ‘to be ill’, *dawā* ‘to treat (a patient, a disease), to be cured’, *dawan* ‘sickness, illness, disease, malady’; Hebrew *dāweh* [דָּוֵה] ‘sick’, *dəway* [דְּוַי] ‘illness’; Ugaritic *dw* ‘sick’, *mdw* ‘illness’; Harsūsi *adēw* ‘to give medicine to someone’; Šheri / Jibbāli *edōi* ‘to give someone medicine’; Mehri *adōwi* ‘to give medicine to’; Geez / Ethiopic *dawaya* [ደወየ], *dawya* [ደወየ] ‘to be sick, ill, diseased; to fall sick; to suffer, to be sorrowful’, *dawāyi* ‘sick, ill’; Tigrinya *dāwäyā* ‘to become sick’; Amharic *dāwe* ‘disease, sickness’; Gurage *dāwi* ‘medicine, remedy’ (Arabic loan). D. Cohen 1970— :231 *\*dwʔ/y*; Klein 1987:117; Leslau 1987:145; Murtonen 1989:145—146.
- B. Egyptian *dwʒy-t* ‘death, destruction’, *dwʒ-t* ‘netherworld’, *dwʒ-tyw* ‘dwellers in the netherworld’. Faulkner 1962:310; Erman—Grapow 1921:212; Hannig 1995:971—972.
- C. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*daʔVw-* ‘illness’ > Higi Nkafa *dəwa* ‘illness’; Kapiski *dawa* ‘illness’; Higi Futu *dawa* ‘illness’. East Chadic *\*dVw-* ‘weak’ > Kera *dewe* ‘weak’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*daw-* (~ *\*dəw-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:180—181, no. 157):  
 (vb.) *\*daw-* ‘to become deathly sick, to be ill; to die’;  
 (n.) *\*daw-a* ‘(deadly) disease, sickness; death’

131. Proto-Afrasian *\*day-* ‘(vb.) to throw, to cast, to put, to place; (n.) act, deed’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:155, no. 673, *\*day-* ‘to put’; Takács 2011:77 and 78):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*day-* (*\*wa-day-*, *\*na-day-*) ‘to cast, to throw, to put, to place’ > Hebrew *yāḏāh* [יָדָה] ‘to throw, to cast’; Akkadian *nadū* (Old Akkadian *nadāʔum*) ‘to cast (down), to lay (down), to throw; (stative) to lie, to be situated’; Geez / Ethiopic *wadaya* [ወደየ] ‘to put, to put in, to add, to put on (adornments), to put under, to place, to set, to throw, to cast’; Tigre *wāda* ‘to put, to make’; Tigrinya *wādäyā* ‘to put’. D. Cohen 1970— :499—501; Klein 1987:254; Leslau 1987:605; Militarev 2010:72.
- B. Egyptian *wḏi*, *wḏy* ‘to lay, to put, to place, to set, to thrust, to throw, to push, to shoot’, *ndi* ‘to overthrow, to put down’. Hannig 1995:226—227 and 446; Faulkner 1962:72; Erman—Grapow 1921:42—43 and 1926—1963.1:384—387; Gardiner 1957:563.
- C. Chadic: Central Chadic: Logone *de-he* ‘to put’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*day-* (~ *\*dəy-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:180—183, no. 158):  
 (vb.) *\*day-* ‘to throw, to cast, to put, to place’;  
 (n.) *\*day-a* ‘act, deed’

132. Proto-Afrasian *\*day-*, *\*dey-* ‘(vb.) to look at, to consider, to examine; (n.) judgment, examination, consideration’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*day-an-* ‘to judge’ > Hebrew *dīn* [דִּין] ‘to judge’; Akkadian *dānu* ‘to judge, to render judgment’, *dīnu* ‘decision, verdict, judgment, punishment’, *dayyānu* ‘a judge’; Arabic *dāna* ‘to condemn, to pass judgment’, *dīn* ‘judgment, sentence’ (Aramaic loan); Qataban *dyn* ‘judgment, punishment’; Syriac *dīnā* ‘judgment’; Ugaritic *dyn* ‘to judge’; Geez / Ethiopic *dayyana* [ደሃነ] ‘to judge, to sentence, to punish, to condemn, to convict, to damn’, *dayn* [ደሃነ] ‘judgment, damnation, condemnation, doom’, *dayyāni* [ደሃኒ] ‘judge’; Tigrinya *däyyänä* ‘to condemn’, (with metathesis) *danäyā* ‘to pass judgment’, *dayna*, *dañña* ‘judge’; Tigre *dayna*, *danya* ‘mediator’, (*tə*)*dana* ‘to accept a verdict’; Amharic *dañña* ‘to arbitrate, to judge’, *dañña* ‘a judge’; Harari *dañña* ‘a judge’; Gurage *dañña* ‘to judge’. D. Cohen 1970—:253—255; Klein 1987:122; Leslau 1979:216 and 1987:146; Murtonen 1989:147—148.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*dey-/ \*doy-* ‘to look at’ > Somali *day-* ‘to examine’; Boni *day-* ‘to try, to test’; Arbore *doy-* ‘to see’; Elmolo *doy-* ‘to regard’; Galla / Oromo *doy-aa* ‘observation’, *dooy-aa* ‘spy’; Konso *tooy-* ‘to see’; Hadiyya *do-* ‘to lurk, to spy’; Harso *tay-* ‘to find’; Yaaku *tey-* ‘to find, to get’. Sasse 1979:16; Hudson 1989:141. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*daa-* ‘to look at’ > K’wadza *da’am-* ‘to watch, to gaze’; Ma’a *-dā’a* ‘to look for’; Dahalo *daawat-* ‘to look after’. Ehret 1980:162.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*day-* (~ *\*däy-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:183—184, no. 159):  
 (vb.) *\*day-* ‘to look at, to consider, to examine’;  
 (n.) *\*day-a* ‘judgment, examination, consideration’

133. Proto-Afrasian *\*dim-* ‘(n.) raised or elevated place; (adj.) raised, elevated’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:162—163, no. 709, *\*dim-* ‘dwelling, place’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*dim-t-* ‘raised or elevated place’ > Akkadian *dimtu* (also *dintu*, *dindu*) ‘tower, siege tower, fortified area, district’ (though *dimtu* was used primarily to refer to towers of all kinds, it could also be used to denote any fortified area); Ugaritic *dmt* ‘district, borough’. D. Cohen 1970—:269—270.
- B. Egyptian *dmy* ‘town, quarter, abode, vicinity, quay’; Coptic (Sahidic) *time* [ⲧⲙⲉ, ⲧⲙⲉ] ‘village’. Hannig 1995:979; Faulkner 1962:318; Erman—Grapow 1921:214 and 1926—1963.5:455—456; Gardiner 1957:602; Vycichl 1983:215; Černý 1976:187.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*dim-a* ‘raised or elevated place’; (adj.) ‘raised, elevated’ (Bomhard 2014.2:187—188, no. 165)

134. Proto-Afrasian *\*dik-* ‘(vb.) to beat, to crush, to pound or tamp (earth), to mold or knead (clay); (n.) earth, clay, mud’ (Ehret 1995:128, no. 132, *\*dik-* ‘to pound’; different etymology in Orël—Stolbova 1995:146, no. 633, *\*dak-/ \*duk-* ‘to beat, to pound’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*dak-ak-* ‘to mix, to crush, to flatten’ > Arabic *dakka* ‘to make flat, level, or even; to smooth, to level, to ram, to stamp, to tamp (earth, the ground, a road); to press down, to beat down, to weigh down; to demolish, to devastate, to destroy, to ruin; to mix, to mingle; to be crushed, to be leveled’, *dakk* ‘level ground; devastation, destruction, ruin’; Hebrew *\*dāḫaḫ* [דָּחַח] ‘to crush, to bruise, to oppress, to depress’; Ugaritic *dk* ‘to pound, to mix’; Akkadian *dakāku* ‘to crush’; Šheri / Jibbāli *dekk* ‘to bump (against); to bang a hole in; to pounce’; Mehri *dək* ‘to pounce, to jump upon, to knock’; Harsūsi *dek* ‘to spring upon someone or something’. D. Cohen 1970— :257; Klein 1987:124; Zammit 2002:176.

Proto-Semitic *\*dak-al-* ‘to knead clay; to tread, to tread down’ > Arabic *dakala* ‘to knead clay; to tread, to tread down’, *dakala-t* ‘thin clay or loam’. D. Cohen 1970— :258.

Proto-Semitic *\*dak-aʔ-* ‘to crush’ > Hebrew *dāḫāʔ* [דָּחָא] ‘to crush, to be crushed’, *dakkāʔ* [דַּכָּא] ‘dust (as pulverized)’. D. Cohen 1970— :256; Murtonen 1989:148; Klein 1987:124.

Proto-Semitic *\*dak-aw/y-* ‘to crush’ > Hebrew *\*dāḫāh* [דָּחָח] ‘to crush, to be crushed’. D. Cohen 1970— :257; Klein 1987:124.

Proto-Semitic *\*da/wa/k-* ‘to pound, to crush’ > Arabic *dāka* ‘to grind, to pound’; Hebrew *dūḫ* [דִּיחַ] ‘to pound, to beat (in a mortar)’; Akkadian *dāku* ‘to beat (off or down), to break, to kill’. D. Cohen 1970— :234; Klein 1987:117; Murtonen 1989:146.

- B. Chadic: Proto-Chadic *\*dək-* ‘to beat, to pound’ > Karekare *duku* ‘to beat’; Ngizim *təku* ‘to kill; to put out a fire; to kick (cow, donkey); to rain, to beat down, to splash down (liquids)’; Guduf *dəgə* ‘to beat, to pound (in a mortar)’.
- C. Omotic: North Omotic: Bench / Gimira *dekn* ‘to hit’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*diqʰ-* (~ *\*deqʰ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:188—190, no. 166):  
 (vb.) *\*diqʰ-* ‘to beat, to crush, to pound or tamp (earth), to mold or knead (clay)’;  
 (n.) *\*diqʰ-a* ‘earth, clay, mud’

135. Proto-Afrasian *\*dub-* (n.) ‘back, hind part’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:167, no. 731, *\*dub-* ‘back, tail’; Ehret 1995:125, no. 119, *\*dab-/ \*dib-* ‘back; to come or be behind’ and 134, no. 146, *\*dup-* ‘lower back’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*dub-ur-* ‘back, hind part’ > Arabic *dubr*, *dubur* ‘rump, backside, buttocks, posterior; rear part, rear, hind part; back; last

part, end, tail', (denominative) *dabara* 'to turn one's back'; Harsūsi *adēber* 'to turn away (from)'; Mehri *adōbər* 'to turn the back'; Neo-Aramaic (Mandaic) *dibra* 'back, tail'; Hebrew (inf.) *dabber* [דָּבַר] 'to turn the back, to turn away', *dəḇīr* [דְּבִיר] 'hinder or western part of the Temple, sanctuary, the Holy of Holies'; Geez / Ethiopic *tadabara* [ተደበረ] 'to lie on one's back'; Tigrinya (*tä*)*dābārä* 'to be inclined'; Tigre (*tə*)*dābāra* 'to be placed on the side (in order to be killed)'. D. Cohen 1970— :212; Murtonen 1989:143—144; Klein 1987:113—114; Leslau 1987:121.

- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*dab-/ \*dib-/ \*dub-* (also *\*dibb-/ \*dubb-*) 'back, tail' > Somali *dib* 'short tail of goat, etc.', *dab-o* 'tail'; Bayso *deb-e* 'tail'; Rendille *dub* 'tail'; Boni *tib* 'tail'; Elmolo *dup* 'bushy end of animal's tail'; Dasenech *dum* 'bushy end of animal's tail'; Galla / Oromo *dub-a* and *duub-a* (depending on the dialect) 'behind'; Gawwada *tup-* 'behind, after'; Alaba *dubb-o* 'tail'; Konso *tup-a* 'behind', *tup-p-aa* 'upper back'; Harso *tup-* 'behind, after'; Gollango *tup-* 'behind, after'. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*dubb-* 'tail; after, behind' > Burji *dubbá-kka* 'younger brother', literally, 'he who is behind'; Gedeo / Darasa *duba* 'tail of sheep'; Hadiyya *dubb-o* 'behind'. Hudson 1989:237; Sasse 1979:16 and 1982:57.
- C. Chadic: Central Chadic: Matakan *dəba* 'back'; Mofu *dùbá* 'back'; Gisiga *duba* 'back'; Gidar *debokó* 'back'; Musgoy *dúwəŋ* 'back'; Musgu *dəba* 'back'. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:6—7.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*dub-a* 'back, hind part' (Bomhard 2014.2:192—193, no. 169)

136. Proto-Afrasian *\*dum-* '(vb.) to split, to pierce; to destroy; (n.) destruction, ruin, annihilation; knife' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:169, no. 740, *\*dum-* 'to destroy', 170, no. 743, *\*dum-* 'to split, to pierce'):

Note: Not connected with the Proto-Afrasian word for 'blood', as sometimes assumed (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:147, no. 639, *\*dam-* 'blood'; Ehret 1995:132, no. 140 *\*dim-/ \*dam-* 'blood'; Militarev 2010:54—55, no. 9, *\*dam-*).

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*dam-ay-* 'to destroy' > Hebrew *dāmāh* [דָּמָה] 'to cut off, to destroy'; Akkadian *damtu* 'destruction'. D. Cohen 1970— :272.

Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*dam-dam-* 'to destroy' > Arabic *damdama* 'to give over to destruction, to be seized with anger'. D. Cohen 1970— :271.

Proto-Semitic *\*dam-dar-* 'to destroy' > Palmyrene *damdar* 'to ravage, to destroy'. D. Cohen 1970— :271.

Proto-Semitic *\*dam-am-* ‘to destroy’ > Arabic *damma* ‘to knock in the head, to beat, to destroy; to punish severely’, *dimm* ‘rupture’. D. Cohen 1970— :274.

Proto-Semitic *\*dam-ar-* ‘to destroy’ > Arabic *damara* ‘to perish, to ruin, to be destroyed; to destroy, to annihilate, to ruin, to demolish, to wreck’, *damār* ‘ruin, destruction, annihilation’; Mehri *dāmōr* ‘to destroy (a reputation); to be broken, destroyed’; Ḥarsūsi *demōr* ‘to destroy’, *medmōr* ‘broken, spoiled’; Šheri / Jibbāli (pass.) *dīr* ‘to be destroyed’, *edōr* ‘to destroy (a reputation), to spoil something for others’, *edmīr* ‘to spoil’, *dōtmār* ‘to be destroyed, to be spoiled’; Geez / Ethiopic *dammara* [ደመረ] ‘to kick, to tap’. D. Cohen 1970— :276—277; Leslau 1987:135.

Proto-Semitic *\*dam-ay-* ‘to destroy’ > Arabic *damaġa* ‘to injure the brain or skull; to annihilate, to abolish; to brand an animal’. D. Cohen 1970— :276.

Proto-Semitic *\*dam-ak-* ‘to strike, to hit’ > Arabic *damaġa* ‘to punch in the mouth and break someone’s teeth’; Geez / Ethiopic *damaġa* [ደመቀ] ‘to crush, to pound, to grind, to grind to powder, to bruise’; Amharic *dämmäkä* ‘to crush, to squash’.

Proto-Semitic *\*dam-as-* ‘to destroy’ > Geez / Ethiopic *damasa* [ደመሰ] ‘to abolish, to destroy, to delete’, *damsasa* [ደምሰሰ] ‘to abolish, to destroy, to obliterate, to erase, to quench, to blot out, to extinguish, to wipe out, to efface’; Tigrinya *dämsäsä* ‘to destroy’; Tigre *dämsäsa* ‘to destroy’; Amharic (*\*damasa* >) *dabbäsä* ‘to be destroyed’, *dämässäsä* ‘to destroy’. D. Cohen 1970— :275; Leslau 1987:135 and 136.

- B. Egyptian *dm* ‘to be sharp, to sharpen, to pierce’, *dmt* ‘knife’, *dm3* ‘to cut off (heads)’. Hannig 1995:978; Faulkner 1962:312 and 313; Erman—Grapow 1921:214 and 1926—1963.5:448, 5:449; Gardiner 1957:602.
- C. Berber: Riff *əddəm* ‘to split’. Perhaps also: Tamazight *dəmməc* ‘to give someone a slap in the face’; Nefusa *dummict* ‘fist, strike, blow’; Mzab *tdummict*, *əddumict* ‘strike, blow’.
- D. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic *\*dum-* ‘to be destroyed’ > Somali *dum-* ‘to be destroyed’.
- E. Chadic: West Chadic *\*dum-* ‘to plunge a weapon (into a person)’ > Hausa *duma* ‘to strike someone with something’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*dum-* (~ *\*dom-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:197, no. 174):  
 (vb.) *\*dum-* ‘to cut (off), to sever’;  
 (n.) *\*dum-a* ‘cut, severance; piece cut off, bit, fragment’

- 137. Proto-Afrasian *\*dum-* ‘(vb.) to become dark, to make dark, to darken; to cloud over; (adj.) dark, cloudy; (n.) darkness, cloud, fog’ (Ehret 1995:133, no. 143, *\*dumn-* ‘cloud’; Militarëv 2010:58):

Note: Ehret also reconstructs a Proto-Cushitic variant *\*damn-*. However, the Cushitic forms with *a*, such as Awngi / Awiya *dammänä* ‘cloud’ and Kemant *dämäna* ‘cloud’, for example, may be loans from Ethiopian Semitic (but see Appleyard 2006:46 and 52). Orël—Stolbova 1995:149, no. 645, reconstruct Proto-Afrasian *\*dam-* ‘cloud’.

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*dam-an-* ‘to cloud over, to become dark’ > Geez / Ethiopic *dammāna* [ደመኑ] ‘to cloud over, to obscure, to become cloudy’, *dāmmun* ‘cloudy’; Tigre *dämāna* ‘cloud’; Tigrinya *dāmmāna* ‘cloud’; Gurage *dāmmāna* ‘cloud’; Argobba *dammāna* ‘cloud’; Gafāt *dāmmänä* ‘cloud’; Amharic *dammāna*, *dāmmāna* ‘cloud’; Harari *dāna* ‘cloud’; Arabic *damm-* ‘cloud which does not give rain’, *dimām-* ‘cloud without rain’; Syriac *dīmātā dā-tallā* ‘a thin cloud’ (literally, ‘fog of dew’). Note: The Arabic and Syriac forms are cited from Militarev 2010:58. Leslau 1963:57, 1979:209, and 1987:134—135; D. Cohen 1970— :274—275.

Proto-Semitic *\*dam-am-* ‘to close, to cover’ > Arabic *damma* ‘to stop up (a hole), to level’; Geez / Ethiopic *dammama* [ደመመ] ‘to close, to cover, to fill up, to heap up, to level’; Tigre *damäma* ‘to close the udder’; Gurage *dämäddämä* ‘to block the mouth of someone, to finish thatching a house’. D. Cohen 1970— :274; Leslau 1987:134.

- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*dum-* ‘to become dark’ > Koyra *duuma* ‘cloud’; Galla / Oromo *dum-eesa* ‘cloud, fog’; Somali *dum-* ‘cloud, fog’. Sasse 1982:58. According to Appleyard (2006:52), the following Central Cushitic forms may belong here as well, though, as Appleyard notes, there are problems with initial *t* = *d*: Xamir *täma* ‘darkness’; Kemant *täm-* ‘to become dark’, *täma* ‘darkness’; Quara *täm* ‘darkness’.
- C. Chadic: Ngizim *dämán* ‘rainy season’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*dum-* (~ *\*dom-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:198—188, no. 176; also 2:199—200, no. 177):

(vb.) *\*dum-* ‘to cover over, to obscure; to cloud over; to become dark, to make dark, to darken’;

(n.) *\*dum-a* ‘darkness, cloud, fog’; (adj.) ‘dark, cloudy’

Derivative:

(n.) (*\*dum-k<sup>w</sup>-a* >) *\*dun-k<sup>w</sup>-a* ‘darkness, cloud’; (adj.) ‘dark, cloudy’

138. Proto-Afrasian *\*d[u]n-* (vb.) to cut, to cut off, to cleave; (n.) part, share; piece cut off, bit, fragment’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:173, no. 762, *\*dVn-* ‘to cut off’):

- A. Semitic: Tigre *dänna* ‘to cut off’. D. Cohen 1970— :283—284.

B. Egyptian *dn* ‘to cut, to cut off, to cleave, to split, to wound’, *dndn* ‘to attack, to do violence’, *dni* ‘to cut, to divide, to distribute’, *dnd* ‘to slaughter, to kill’, *dnn* ‘to cut, to split’, *dnnw* ‘share, part, division’.



Faulkner 1962:313 and 314; Hannig 1995:981 and 983; Erman—Grapow 1921:214, 215 and 1926—1963.5:463, 5:466, 5:472; Gardiner 1957:602.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*dun<sup>v</sup>-* (~ *\*don<sup>v</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:201—202. No. 179):  
 (vb.) *\*dun<sup>v</sup>-* ‘to cut off, to cleave, to split’;  
 (n.) *\*dun<sup>v</sup>-a* ‘part, share; piece cut off, bit, fragment’

139. Proto-Afrasian *\*dur-* (n.) ‘goat, sheep, ram’:

- A. Omotic: Wolaita (Beke) *dūrsa, dorsa* ‘sheep’; Oyda *duro, dorsa* ‘sheep’; Basketo *doori* ‘sheep’; Doko *dori* ‘sheep’; Zayse *doroo* ‘sheep’; Koyra *doroo* ‘sheep’; She *dor, doy* ‘ram’.  
 B. Chadic: Hina *duru(p)* ‘a calf’; Mafa *drək* ‘ram’; Pa’a *tóri* ‘goat’; Guruntum *dòoro* ‘goat’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:166—167.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*dur-a* ‘goat, sheep, ram’ (perhaps originally ‘horned animal’) (Bomhard 2014.2:203, no. 181; Dolgopolsky to appear, no. 572, *\*dù[t̪]V[g̊qV]* ‘lamb, kid [of wild ram, etc.]’)

#### 4.3. PROTO-AFRASIAN *\*t̪*

140. Proto-Afrasian *\*t̪’ah-* ‘(vb.) to break, to split; to crush, to grind, to pound; (n.) break, split, division; anything ground or pulverized’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995: 515, no. 2455, *\*t̪’ahan-* ‘to grind, to forge’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*t̪’ah-an-* ‘to grind, to mill, to crush’ > Hebrew *tāhan* [תָּחַן] ‘to grind, to mill, to crush’; Aramaic *təhan* ‘to mill, to grind’; Ugaritic *t̪hn* ‘to grind’; Akkadian *tēnu* ‘to grind, to mill’; Arabic *ṭahana* ‘to grind, to mill, to pulverize (something, especially grain); to crush, to ruin, to destroy’, *ṭihn* ‘flour, meal’; Sabaean *t̪hn* ‘flour, meal’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ṭahán* ‘to grind, to mill’; Ḥarsūsi *tehān* ‘to grind, to mill’; Soqotri *tāhan* ‘to grind, to mill’; Mehri *təhān* ‘to grind, to mill’, *məṭhənēt* ‘grindstone, quern’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṭahana* [ጠሐነ] *təhna* [ጥሐነ] ‘to grind flour, to grind fine’, *tāhn* [ጣሕን] ‘grindstone, fine flour’; Tigrinya *tāhanä* ‘to grind’; Tigre *tāhana* ‘to grind’, *māṭhān* ‘mill, lower millstone’; Harari *tāhana* ‘to to be finely ground (flour), to be clever’. Klein 1987:242; Leslau 1987:590; Murtonen 1989:205.

Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*t̪’ah-t̪’ah-* ‘to break, to shatter, to smash’ > Arabic *ṭaḥṭaḥa* ‘to break, to shatter, to smash (something)’.

Proto-Semitic *\*t̪’ah-am-* ‘to split’ > Geez / Ethiopic *ṭahama* [ጠሐመ] ‘to split in half, to thin out plants’. Leslau 1987:590.

- B. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*dah-* ‘to knock’ > Iraqw *dah-* ‘to knock over, to knock down’; Alagwa *dahit-* ‘to faint’; Dahalo *dah-* ‘to pound’, *dahanite* ‘pestle’. Ehret 1980:189.
- C. West Chadic *\*t’aHan-* ‘to press down, to forge’ > Angas *ten* ‘to press down’; Tangale *toni* ‘to forge’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*t’ah-* (~ *\*t’əh-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:250—251, no. 218):  
 (vb.) *\*t’ah-* ‘to break, to split; to crush, to grind, to pound’;  
 (n.) *\*t’ah-a* ‘break, split, division; anything ground or pulverized’
141. Proto-Afrasian *\*t’al-* ‘(vb.) to drip, to fall in drops, to sprinkle, to wet, to moisten; (n.) dew, drop’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:515, no. 2459, *\*tal-* ‘dew, drop’ and 516, no. 2460, *\*tal-/ \*tul-* ‘to flow, to pour’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*t’al-al-* (vb.) ‘to bedew, to wet, to moisten’, (n.) *\*t’all-* ‘dew, drop’ > Hebrew *tal* [טַל] ‘dew’; Ugaritic *tl* ‘dew’; Arabic *ṭalla* ‘to bedew’, *ṭall* ‘dew’; Ḥarsūsi *ṭel* ‘dew’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ṭel* ‘dew’; Mehri *tal* ‘dew’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṭall* [ጠለ] ‘dew, moisture, humidity’, *ṭalla* [ጠለ], *ṭalala* [ጠለለ] ‘to be moist, wet, humid; to be covered with dew; to be soft, fertile, verdant, fat’; Tigrinya *ṭälälä* ‘to be fresh, verdant’, *ṭälli* ‘dew’; Tigre *ṭälla* ‘to be wet’, *ṭälṭäl* ‘moisture’, *ṭäll* ‘dew’; Amharic *ṭäll* ‘dew’. Klein 1987:244 and 245; Leslau 1987:591; Murtonen 1989:206; Zammit 2002:271—272.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*t’al-ay-* ‘to be soft, tender, humind, fresh’ > Geez / Ethiopic *ṭalaya* [ጠለየ] ‘to be soft, tender, humid, fresh’. Leslau 1987:592.
- B. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*t’Vl-* ‘drop’ > Buduma *tolo* ‘drop’. West Chadic *\*t’al-* ‘to flow’ > Bokkos *tal-* ‘to flow’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*t’alv-* (~ *\*t’əlv-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:254—255, no. 223):  
 (vb.) *\*t’alv-* ‘to drip, to fall in drops, to sprinkle, to wet, to moisten’;  
 (n.) *\*t’alv-a* ‘dew, (rain) drop, drizzle’
142. Proto-Afrasian *\*t’an-* ‘(vb.) to tie, to bind, to plait, to weave; (n.) anything woven or plaited’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:516, no. 2461, *\*ṭanaʔ-* ‘to weave, to sew’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*t’an-aʔ-* ‘to plait, to weave’ > Akkadian *ṭenū* ‘to weave’; Hebrew *ṭeneʔ* [טֵנֶה] ‘wicker basket’. Murtonen 1989:207 (Murtonen considers Hebrew *ṭeneʔ* to be original and not a loan); Klein 1987:246 (Klein considers Hebrew *ṭeneʔ* to be an Egyptian loan).
- B. Egyptian *dm̥t* ‘basket’. Hannig 1995:982; Faulkner 1962:314; Erman—Grapow 1921:215 (borrowed from Hebrew) and 1926—1963.5:467.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic *\*t’aʔan-* (metathesis from *\*t’anaʔ-*) ‘to sew’, *\*t’yan-H-* ‘rope’ > Sura *taan-* ‘to sew’, *teŋ* ‘rope’; Mupun *taan-* ‘to sew’.

*teŋ* ‘rope’; Angas *ten-* ‘to sew’, *tang* ‘rope’; Montol *tan-* ‘to sew’, *teng* ‘rope’; Ankwe *tan-* ‘to sew’, *tieng* ‘rope’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*t’an-* (~ *\*t’an-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:256—257, no. 225):  
 (vb.) *\*t’an-* ‘to tie, to bind, to plait, to weave’;  
 (n.) *\*t’an-a* ‘anything woven or plaited’

143. Proto-Afrasian *\*t’Vr-* (vb.) ‘to take away’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:520, no. 2486, *\*t’Vr-* ‘to take away’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔa-t’ar-* ‘to take away’ (*\*ʔa-* is a prefix) > Akkadian *eṭēru* ‘to take something away (from somebody), to take out; (passive) to be taken away’. D. Cohen 1970—:16.  
 B. Egyptian *dr* ‘to subdue (enemies), to expel, to drive out (people, illness), to remove (need, evil), to repress (wrongdoer, wrongdoing), to destroy (places)’. Faulkner 1962:314—315; Hannig 1995:983; Erman—Grapow 1921:215 and 1926—1963.5:473—474; Gardiner 1957:602.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*t’ar-* (~ *\*t’ar-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:259—261, no. 228):  
 (vb.) *\*t’ar-* ‘to tear, to rend, to cut, to sever’;  
 (n.) *\*t’ar-a* ‘rip, tear, cut, slice’  
 Extended form:  
 (vb.) *\*t’ar-V-ph-* ‘to tear, to rend, to pluck’;  
 (n.) *\*t’ar-ph-a* ‘tearing, rending, plucking’

The extended form is found in Semitic (and Indo-European):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*t’ar-ap-* ‘to tear, to rend, to pluck’ > Hebrew *tāraḡ* [תָּרַג] ‘to tear, to rend, to pluck’, (hif.) *hāṭrīḡ* [הִתְרַיַּג] ‘to let someone enjoy (food)’, *ṭereḡ* [טֶרֶג] ‘prey, food, nourishment’; Aramaic *ṭaraḡ* ‘to tear, to seize’; Arabic *ṭaraḡa* ‘to graze on the borders of a pasture-ground (separate from the others)’, *ṭaraḡ* ‘utmost part, outermost point, extremity, end, tip, point, edge, fringe, limit, border; side; region, area, section; a part of, a bit of, some’; Moroccan Arabic *ṭerf* ‘piece, fragment, part’. Klein 1987:251; Murtonen 1989:209; Zammit 2002:268.

Note: Semitic loan in Coptic *tōrp* [ⲧⲟⲣⲡ] ‘to seize, to rob, to carry off’. Vycichl 1983:220; Černý 1976:194

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*t’ar-* (~ *\*t’ar-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:261—269, no. 229):  
 Extended form:  
 (vb.) *\*t’ar-V-ph-* ‘to tear, to rend, to pluck’;  
 (n.) *\*t’ar-ph-a* ‘tearing, rending, plucking’  
 Derivative of:

- (vb.) *\*t'ar-* 'to tear, to rend, to cut, to sever';  
 (n.) *\*t'ar-a* 'rip, tear, cut, slice'
144. Proto-Afrasian *\*t'aw-* '(vb.) to go, to go away; (n.) distance, remoteness; (adj.) far away, remote, at a distance' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:511—512, no. 2440, *\*taʔ-/taw-* 'to go, to come'):
- A. Semitic: Arabic *tāʔa* (< *\*t'aw-aʔ-*) 'to come and go; to go far away'.  
 B. Chadic: West Chadic *\*t'aʔ-* 'to go' > Warji *ta-n* 'to go'; Siri *ta* 'to go'; Jimbin *da* 'to go'. Central Chadic *\*t'uʷ-* 'to go' > Banana *tuwwa* 'to go'. East Chadic *\*tawi-* 'to go, to walk' > Tumak *tiw* 'to go, to walk'; Sokoro *teui* 'to go, to walk'.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*t'aw-* (~ *\*t'əw-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:262—263, no. 230):  
 (vb.) *\*t'aw-* 'to go, to leave, to go away; to let go';  
 (n.) *\*t'aw-a* 'distance, remoteness'; (adj.) 'far away, remote, at a distance'
145. Proto-Afrasian *\*t'uk'-, \*t'ok'-* '(vb.) to knock, to beat, to strike, to pound; (n.) knock, thump, blow, stroke':
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*t'ak'-* (*\*t'ak'-ak'-*, [reduplicated] *\*tak'-tak'-*, *\*t'ak'-aw-*, etc.) 'to knock, to beat, to strike, to pound' > Arabic *taḵḵa* ('to make a striking, hitting, or flapping sound' >) 'to crack, to pop; to clack, to smack, to flap; to burst, to explode', *taḵṭaḵa* 'to crack, to snap, to rattle, to clatter, to clang, to pop, to crash, to crackle, to rustle, to make the ground resound with the hoof, to crack the fingers or joints', *taḵṭūka* 'crash, bang; clap, thud, crack, pop'; Ḥarsūsi *teḵ* 'to knock, to grind', *meṭék* 'pestle'; Šheri / Jibbāli *teḵḵ* 'to knock, to bang, to pound, to smash (rocks), to rip (clothes)', *mūtṭeḵ* 'pestle', *teḵa'* 'to push'; Mehri *teḵ* 'to knock, to pound, to smash, to rip (clothes)', *maṭák* 'pestle'; Soqotri *teḵ* 'to tire'; Geez / Ethiopic *taḵʔa* [**ጠቅሐ**] 'to be intrepid, harsh, ruthless', *taḵawa* [**ጠቀወ**] 'to beat, to pound'; Tigrinya *täḵ'e* 'to oppress', *täḵtākä* 'to crush, to pound, to cram, to press'; Amharic *täḵḵa* 'to strike, to attack'; Gurage *teḵätäḵä* 'to squeeze things together, to stuff in, to level the floor of the house by pressing down the ground'. According to Leslau (1987:595), the following belong here as well: Geez / Ethiopic *taḵ'a* [**ጠቅዐ**], *taḵʔa* [**ጠቅሐ**] 'to sound, to blow a trumpet, to ring a bell', *maṭḵə'* [**ጠጥቅዕ**] 'trumpet, horn, church bell, gong'; Tigre *taḵ'a* 'to play an instrument', *mäṭḵə'* 'bell, stone used in striking a bell'; Tigrinya *täḵ'e* 'to strike a bell'; Amharic *täḵḵa* 'to strike a bell', *mäṭḵ* 'small stone used in striking a bell'. Leslau 1979:629 and 1987:595, 596.
- B. Egyptian *dqʷ* 'flour, powder', *dq* 'to pound, to crush', *dqr* 'to press (?)', to exclude (?)'. Hannig 1995:988; Erman—Grapow 1921:216 and 1926—1963.5:494—495; Gardiner 1957:603; Faulkner 1962:316.

- C. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*dook* ‘to burst (intr.)’ > Hadiyya *t’ook* ‘to burst (intr.)’; Kambata *t’ook* ‘to burst (intr.)’; Sidamo *dook* ‘to burst, to break (intr.)’, *t’ook* ‘to burst (intr.)’. Hudson 1989:31 and 34. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*duk* ‘to be broken to pieces’ > Iraqw *dukteno* ‘kindling’ (semantics: kindling is wood broken into small pieces); Dahalo *duk* ‘to be destroyed’, *duk’uð* ‘to destroy’. Ehret 1980:192.
- D. Chadic: (?) Central Chadic: Guduf *dǝgǝ* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’; Dghwede *dǝgǝ* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’; Ngweshe *dǝgǝdǝ* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’; Gisiga *dugo* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:268—269.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*t’uk* (∼ *\*t’ok*) (Bomhard 2014.2:273—275, no. 241):  
 (vb.) *\*t’uk* ‘to knock, to beat, to strike, to pound, to trample’;  
 (n.) *\*t’uk-a* ‘knock, thump, blow, stroke’
146. Proto-Afrasian *\*t’o(o)k<sup>w</sup>* (vb.) ‘to be dark, cloudy, dusty, sooty, smoky’; (n.) fog, cloud, darkness, soot, smoke’:
- A. Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *tākā* [ጥቃ] ‘darkness, obscurity, gloominess, fog’; Tigre *takyat* ‘fog, cloud, darkness’; Tigrinya *taka* ‘fog, cloud, darkness’; Amharic *taka* ‘fog, cloud, darkness’. Geez / Ethiopic *takara* [ጥቀረ] ‘to be black, dusty, sooty’, *takar* [ጥቀር] ‘soot’; Tigrinya *täkkärä* ‘to be black’; Amharic *täkkärä* ‘to be black, to turn black, to tan (in the sun), to grow dark’, *täkur* ‘black, dark (skin)’; Gurage *täkwärä* ‘to be black’, *täkä* ‘soot on the roof’; Harari *tikär* ‘soot’. Leslau 1979:628 and 1987:595, 596.
- B. Egyptian *dqr* ‘incense’. Hannig 1995:988; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:496.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*deek<sup>w</sup>* ‘to be dark’ > Ma’a *kiduyú*, *kidugú* ‘darkness’; Dahalo *deek<sup>w</sup>áani* ‘shadow’. Ehret 1980:190. According to Ehret, “[t]he back vowel of the Oromo reflex suggests that we have here another instance of pre-Southern Cushitic *\*o(o)* becoming proto-Southern Cushitic *\*e(e)* after a retroflex consonant — a rule note[d] in Chapter 2, section I, and if the environment proposed for the rule is correct, then an original verb must be reconstructed to account for the vowel shift.”
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*t’uq<sup>w</sup>* (∼ *\*t’oq<sup>w</sup>*) (Bomhard 2014.2:277—278, no. 244):  
 (vb.) *\*t’uq<sup>w</sup>* ‘to be dark, cloudy, dusty, dirty, sooty, smoky’;  
 (n.) *\*t’uq<sup>w</sup>-a* ‘darkness, (dark) cloud, dust, dirt, soot, smoke’

## 4.4. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*n

147. Proto-Afrasian \**nV* first person singular personal pronoun: ‘I, me’ (Ehret [1995:362 and 363] reconstructs the following first person pronouns for Proto-Afrasian: \**ʔan-/ʔin-* or \**an-/in-* ‘I’; \**ʔann-/ʔinn-* or \**ann-/inn-* ‘we’ [= \**ʔan-/ʔin-* or \**an-/in-* + old Afrasian pl. in \*-*n*]):
- A. Semitic: First person verb suffix: Akkadian *-ni*; Arabic *-nī*; Ugaritic *-n*; Hebrew *-nī* [נִי]; Syriac *-n*; Geez *-ni* [-ኒ]; etc. (cf. Moscati 1964:106, §13.14). First person singular independent personal pronouns: Arabic *ʔanā* ‘I’; Sabaean *ʔn* ‘I’; Hebrew *ʔānī* [אֲנִי], *ʔānōḥī* [אֲנֹחִי] ‘I’; Syriac *ʔenā* ‘I’; Eblaite *ʔana* ‘I’; Old Babylonian *anāku* ‘I’; Ugaritic *ān*, *ānk* ‘I’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔana* [አኔ] ‘I’; Tigrinya *ʔanā* ‘I’; Tigre *ʔana* ‘I’; Amharic *əne* ‘I’. Moscati 1964:102, §13.1; Lipiński 1997:298—299; Stempel 1999:82; Zammit 2002:80.
  - B. Egyptian *ink* ‘I’; Coptic *anok* [ΑΝΟΚ] ‘I’. Erman—Grapow 1921:15 and 1926—1963.1:101; Hannig 1995:79—80; Faulkner 1962:24; Gardiner 1957:53, §64, and 554; Černý 1976:9; Vycichl 1983:12.
  - C. Berber: Tuareg *nək* ‘I, me’; Ghadames *nəc*, *nəccan* ‘me’; Mzab *nəc*, *nəcci*, *nəccin* ‘me’; Kabyle *nəkk*, *nəkki*, *nəkkini* ‘me’; Tamazight *nəkk*, *nəç* ‘me’.
  - D. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Burji *āni* ‘I’; Gedeo / Darasa *ani* ‘I’; Saho-Afar *an-u* ‘I’; Hadiyya *ani* ‘I’; Kambata *ani* ‘I’; Sidamo *ane*, *ani* ‘I’; Bayso *an-i*, *an-a*, *an-ni* ‘I’; Rendille *an(i)* ‘I’; Galla / Oromo *an(i)* ‘I’; Dullay *an-o* ‘I’. Hudson 1989:83; Sasse 1982:26. Central Cushitic: Bilin *ʔan* ‘I’; Xamir *an* ‘I’; Kemant *an* ‘I’; Awngi / Awiya *án/áni* ‘I’. Appleyard 2006:87. Beja / Beḏawye *ʔane* ‘I’. Reinisch 1895:20. Southern Cushitic: Iraqw *an*, *ani* ‘I’; Burunge *an*, *ana* ‘I’; Alagwa *an*, *ana* ‘I’; Ma’a *áni* ‘I’; Dahalo *ʔányi* ‘I’. Ehret 1980:283.
  - E. Chadic independent pronoun: Hausa *ni* ‘I, me’; Ngizim *na(a)* ‘I’; Mubi *ni* ‘I’.
  - F. Ongota *naa-kul/na* ‘for me, to me’, *s-ine* ‘my’ (cf. Fleming 2002b:50).
- ← Proto-Nostratic first person singular personal pronoun \**na* (~ \**nə*) ‘I, me’ (Bomhard 2014.3:1019—1020, no. 899) (see also the Appendix to Chapter 2 for more information on the personal pronouns)
148. Proto-Afrasian \**na-* ~ \**ni-* ~ \**nu-* first person plural personal pronoun stem: ‘we’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic independent 1st plural personal pronoun \**naḥnū* ‘we’ > Hebrew (*ʔā*)*naḥnū* [אֲנַחְנֻ] ‘we’; Aramaic *ʔānaḥnā(n)* ‘we’; Old Babylonian *nīnu* ‘we’; Arabic *naḥnu* ‘we’; Mehri *nehā n-* ‘we’; Šheri / Jibbāli *nḥán* ‘we’; Harsūsi *nehā* ‘we’; Geez / Ethiopic *nəḥna* [ኤክኔ] ‘we’; Tigrinya *nəḥna* ‘we’. Moscati 1964:105, §13.10; Lipiński 1997:298—306.

Proto-Semitic *\*-nā* 1st plural personal pronoun suffix; *\*na-/ni-* 1st plural personal pronoun prefix > Hebrew *-nū* [נִּנְ], *ni-* [נִּ]; Aramaic *-n(ā)*, *ne-*; Ugaritic *-n*, *n-*; Akkadian *-āni*, *-ānu*; *ni-*; Arabic *-nā*, *na-*; Geez / Ethiopic *-na* [ኑ], *nə-* [ኑ-]; Tigre *-na*. Moscati 1964:106, §13.14; Stempel 1999:80.

- B. Egyptian: Old Egyptian *n* ‘we’ (also *inn*); Coptic *anon* [ἄνῶν], *an-* [ἄν-], *ann-* [ἄνν-] ‘we’. Hannig 1995:77 and 387; Erman—Grapow 1921:14, 76 and 1926—1963.1:97, 2:194—195; Gardiner 1957:53, 554, and 572; Faulkner 1962:23 and 124; Vycichl 1983:13; Černý 1976:9. Egyptian *-n* suffix pronoun (and dependent pronoun): ‘we, us, our’; Coptic *-n* [-n] suffix of 1st person plural. Hannig 1995:387; Faulkner 1962:124; Erman—Grapow 1921:76 and 1926—1963.2:194; Gardiner 1957:39, §34; 45, §43; and 572; Černý 1976:103.
- C. Berber: Tamazight (independent) *nukni* ‘we’, (indirect, after prepositions) *nax*; Tuareg (independent) *n-əkkā-ni*. Tuareg 1st person plural suffix *-na*, *-nə*.
- D. Cushitic: Common East Cushitic *\*na/\*ni/\*nu* ‘we’ > Burji *náanu* ‘we’, *nín-ka* ‘our’, *nín-si* ‘us’; Gedeo / Darasa (nom. pl.) *noʔo* ‘we’, (acc. pl.) *noʔo(o)* ‘us’, (dat. pl.) *noʔoʔá*, *noʔá* ‘to us’, (poss.) (m.) *noʔo-ka*, (f.) *noʔo-tt’a* ‘our’; Sidamo (nom.-acc. pl.) *ninke* ‘we’, (dat. pl.) *ninke-ra* ‘to us’, (poss.) *-nke* ‘our’; Kambata (nom. pl.) *naʔooti* ‘we’, (acc. pl.) *ne(e)s*, *-nne* ‘us’, (dat. pl.) *nesá* ‘to us’, (poss.) *-nne* ‘our’; Hadiyya (nom. pl.) *neese* ‘we’, (acc. pl.) *ne(e)s* ‘us’, (dat. pl.) *niin* ‘to us’, (poss.) *ni-* ‘our’; Saho *namu* ‘we’; Galla / Oromo (Wellegga) first plural present suffixes (affirmative) *-na*, (negative) *-nu*, independent (subject) *nuy*, (base) *nu*. Sasse (1982:151) reconstructs Common East Cushitic *\*na/\*ni/\*nu* ‘we’, which “is sometimes provided with a suffix *-ni/-nu* in the subject case”; Hudson 1989:161 and 165. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*nana*, *\*nani* ‘we’ > Ma’a *níne* ‘we’; Dahalo *nányi/nyányi* ‘we’. Ehret 1980:184. Southern Cushitic 1st plural conjugational affixes: Burunge *-an*; Iraqw *-an*; Dahalo *-Vnu*. Ehret 1980:65. Central Cushitic: Bilin *yín* ‘we’ (oblique *yíná*). Reinisch 1887:365—366. Beja / Beḍawye 1st person plural suffix *-n*.
- E. Omotic: Dizi first plural suffixes (with auxiliary) *-n*, (without auxiliary) *-ńno*, (subject) *inu*, (object) *in*, (possessive affix) *ń-*. Bender (2000:196) reconstructs a Proto-Omotic first person plural independent personal pronoun *\*nu* ‘we’ > Zayse (inclusive/exclusive) *nu/ni* ‘we’; Harro *na* ‘we’; Chara *noone* ‘we’; Bench / Gimira (inclusive/exclusive) *nu/ni* ‘we’; Bworo *nu*, *ni* ‘we’.

← Proto-Nostratic first person plural exclusive personal pronoun *\*na* (~ *\*nə*) ‘we, us’ (Bomhard 2014.3:1020—1022, no. 900)

149. Proto-Afrasian *\*na/\*-n* demonstrative stem/deictic particle: ‘this, that’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*na/\*-n* demonstrative stem/deictic particle: ‘this, that’ > Hebrew *-n* [ן] deictic element; Arabic (conjunction) *ʔan, ʔanna* ‘that’, *-n, -n-* deictic element; Akkadian *annū* ‘this’; Sabaean *-n* definite article: ‘the’; Šheri / Jibbāli *-n, -n-* deictic element. Barth 1913:96—103.
- B. Egyptian (demonstrative neuter and pl.) *nʒ* ‘this, these’, (demonstrative pronoun) *nw* ‘this, these’; Coptic *n-* [n-], *nen-* [nen-] plural of definite article, (plural demonstrative pronouns) *nai* [nai] ‘these’, *nē* [nē] ‘those’, (plural possessive prefix) *na-* [na-] ‘of those’. Hannig 1995:390 and 396—397; Faulkner 1962:125 and 127; Erman—Grapow 1921:133, 133—134, 135, 137—138 and 1926—1963.2:199, 2:216; Gardiner 1957:572 and 573; Černý 1976:103, 104, and 105.
- C. Berber: Kabyle *-nni* ‘this, that; these, those’, *-inna/-yinna* ‘that, those’ (a person or thing at a distance but usually within sight). Independent 3rd person personal pronoun: Tuareg *ənta* (m./f. sg.) ‘him, her’; Ghadames (m. sg.) *niṭṭu* ‘him’, (f. sg.) *niṭtat* ‘her’; Tamazight (m. sg.) *nətta, nəttan* ‘him’, (f. sg.) *nəttat* ‘her’, (m. pl.) *niṭni* ‘them’, (f. pl.) *niṭənti* ‘them’.
- D. Cushitic: Proto-Agaw 3rd singular pronoun base *\*ɣV-* ‘he’ > Bilin *nī* ‘he’; Xamir *ṇāṇ* ‘he’; Quara *nī* ‘he’; Kemant *ni* ‘he’; Awngi / Awiya *ṇi* ‘he’. Appleyard 2006:80—81; Reinisch 1887:279.

← Proto-Nostratic deictic particle *\*na* (~ *\*nə*), *\*ni* (~ *\*ne*) ‘this, that’ (Bomhard 2014.3:1022—1024, no. 901)

150. Proto-Afrasian *\*na-* interrogative-relative particle:

- A. Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *-nu* [-n] interrogative particle; Amharic *-nə* interrogative particle; Ancient Harari *-n* in *mist-n* ‘how much?’.
- B. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Burji *-na* positive affirmative copula; Sidamo *-ni* interrogative copula; Gedeo / Darasa *-n* positive affirmative copula. Sasse 1982:150. Central Cushitic: Bilin *-n* interrogative particle. Reinisch 1887:279.
- C. Omotic: Proto-Omotic *\*oon* ‘who?’ > Gemu (nom.-acc.) *oon+i/a* ‘who?’, (pl.) *oon+anta*; Kullo (acc.) *oni+n* ‘whom?’; Welaitta (subject/object) *oon+i/oon+a* ‘who?’. Note also the Mao (Hozo) interrogative stem *na* ‘when?’. Bender 2000:197 and 230.
- D. Ongota *na* ‘what?’, *neeni* ‘what?, why?’, *niike* ‘what?’. Fleming 2002b:61.

← Proto-Nostratic interrogative-relative particle *\*na-* (~ *\*nə-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1024—1027, no. 902)

151. Proto-Afrasian negative particle *\*na* (~ *\*nə*), *\*ni* (~ *\*ne*), *\*nu* (~ *\*no*) ‘no, not’:

- A. Egyptian *n, nn, ny, nw* negative particle: ‘not’; Coptic *n-* [n-] negative particle. Hannig 1995:387—389; Faulkner 1962:125 and 134; Gardiner



1957:572 and 574; Erman—Grapow 1921:76 and 1926—1963.2:195; Vycichl 1983:135; Černý 1976:103.

B. Omotic: C'ara negative (*n*)*ne* (cf. Bender 2000:218—219).

← Proto-Nostratic negative/prohibitive particle *\*na* (~ *\*nə*), *\*ni* (~ *\*ne*), *\*nu* (~ *\*no*) 'no, not' (Bomhard 2014.3:1027—1028, no. 903)

152. Proto-Afrasian *\*naʕ-* '(vb.) to come, to go, to arrive, to journey, to travel; (n.) journey' (Ehret 1995:323, no. 627, *\*naaʕ-/niiʕ-* 'to come, to go'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*naʕ-* 'to come' > Geez / Ethiopic (suppletive imperative of the verb 'to come') *naʕa* [ṇṇ], *naʕā* [ṇṇ], *nəʕā* [ṇṇ] 'come!, come now!, come up!'; Tigre (imptv.) *nāʕa* 'come!'; Tigrinya (imptv.) *nəʕa* 'come!'; Amharic (imptv.) *na* 'come!'; Gurage (imptv.) *na* 'come!'. Leslau 1979:445 and 1987:382.
- B. Egyptian *nʕi* 'to come, to go, to arrive, to journey, to travel (by boat), to sail', *nʕt* 'expedition', *nʕy-t* 'mooring-post'; Coptic *na* [na] 'to go'. Erman—Grapow 1921:77 and 1926—1963.2:206; Faulkner 1962:126; Hannig 1995:394; Gardiner 1957:573; Vycichl 1983:136; Černý 1976:103.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic: Ngizim *nai* (intr.) 'to come' (form of 'come' used in the subjunctive), (tr.) 'to bring' (form of 'bring' used in the subjunctive), *ni* (intr.) 'to come, to go', (tr.) (with transitivity suffixes *-náa*, *-dù*) 'to bring, to take' (subjunctive form; *ni* is neutral with respect to motion), *nná* (intr.) 'to come', (tr.) (with transitivity suffixes *-náa*, *-dù*) 'to bring' (used in the second subjunctive), *nyà* corresponding to 'come/ bring, go/take' (imperfective; *nyà* is neutral with respect to motion); Kirfi *no* (perf. ventive *nó-n-kò*) 'to come'. Central Chadic: Musgu *na* 'to go'; Masa *nàná* 'to go'. Stolbova 2005— I:96, no. 325, *\*nV* > *\*nVnV* 'to come, to go'; Schuh 1981:xxiii (paradigms of the verbs 'to go' and 'to come'), 121—122, 128, 129, and 129—130; Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:82—83 and II:162—163.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*naʕ-* (~ *\*nəʕ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1028—1030, no. 904):  
(vb.) *\*naʕ-* 'to come, to go, to journey, to travel';  
(n.) *\*naʕ-a* 'journey'

153. Proto-Afrasian *\*nadʷ-* '(vb.) to press, to crush; (n.) anything crushed or mashed':

- A. Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *nazara*, *nazzara* [ṇṇṇ] 'to bite, to tear to pieces, to pierce, to crunch, to hit'; Tigrinya *nāzārā*, *nāzālā* 'to tear to pieces, to bite'; Tigre *nāğra* 'to bite off'; Amharic *nāzzārā* 'to strike, to hit', *a-nāzzārā* 'to harass, to pester'; Gafat *tā-nāzzārā* 'to feel pain'. Leslau 1987:411.

- B. Egyptian *nd* ‘to grind’, *nd*, *ndt* ‘flour’, *ndw* ‘miller’; Coptic (Sahidic, Bohairic) *nut* [𐩌𐩨𐩣𐩪], (Sahidic) *nat-* [𐩌𐩨𐩣-], (Bohairic) *not-* [𐩌𐩨𐩣-] ‘to grind, to pound’, (Bohairic) *noyt* [𐩌𐩨𐩣𐩢] ‘meal, flour’. Hannig 1995:447; Faulkner 1962:143; Gardiner 1957:576; Erman—Grapow 1921:90 and 1926—1963.2:369—370; Vycichl 1983:145; Černý 1976:111.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*nady-* (~ *\*nədy-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1032, no. 907):  
 (vb.) *\*nady-* ‘to press, to crush, to mash’;  
 (n.) *\*nady-a* ‘anything crushed or mashed’
154. Proto-Afrasian *nady-* ‘(vb.) to vex, to disturb, to annoy, to irritate, to agitate; to be annoying, irritating, malicious, rude, bad, mean, base; (n.) vexation, disturbance, annoyance, irritation, trouble; (adj.) annoying, irritating, rude, bad, mean, malicious, base’ (Ehret 1995:319, no. 617, *\*naj-* ‘to become low’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*nady-ul-* ‘to be rude, bad, mean, base, low, vile’ > Arabic *naḍula* ‘to be low, base, mean, despicable, debased, depraved’, *naḍl*, *naḍīl* ‘low, base, mean, vile, despicable, debased, depraved; coward’, *naḍāla* ‘depravity’; Šheri / Jibbāli *naḍl* ‘to remain bad, base, worthless’, *enḍél* ‘to humiliate, to disgrace’, *šənḍél* ‘to blame’, *nūḍal* ‘low, useless, worthless fellow’; Mehri *nəḍūl* ‘to be thoroughly bad, base; to remain bad’, *hənḍūl* ‘to make bad, to disgrace’, *əntəḍūl* ‘to be bad, to be rude and unkind, to be antisocial in one’s behavior’, *nōḍal* ‘low, useless, worthless person’.
- Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*nady-nady-* ‘to vex, to disturb, to annoy, to irritate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *naznaza* [𐩌𐩨𐩣𐩢] ‘to vex, to torment, to cause pain, to shake, to agitate’, *tanaznaza* ‘to be vexed’; Tigrinya *nāznāzä* ‘to shake’; Tigre *nāznāza* ‘to jog’; Amharic *nāzännāzä* ‘to importune, to pester’. Leslau 1987:411.
- B. Egyptian *ndyt* ‘baseness’, *ndwyt* ‘wickedness, evil, depravity’. Faulkner 1962:144; Gardiner 1957:577; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:369 and 377.
- C. Berber: Ghadames *ənzəz* ‘to give someone the evil eye, to single out someone with the intention of doing something bad to him or her’; Tuareg *ənzəz* ‘to challenge someone (to cut them down to size, to find a fault with them, etc.); to ebb considerably (water)’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*nady-* (~ *\*nədy-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1033, no. 908):  
 (vb.) *\*nady-* ‘to vex, to disturb, to annoy, to irritate, to agitate; to be annoying, irritating, malicious, rude, bad, mean, base’;  
 (n.) *\*nady-a* ‘vexation, disturbance, annoyance, irritation, trouble’; (adj.) ‘annoying, irritating, malicious, rude, bad, mean, base’

155. Proto-Afrasian *\*nag-* ‘(vb.) to strike, to split, to pierce; (n.) stroke, blow, wound’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:402, no. 1866, *\*nig-* ‘to break’, 402—403, no. 1867, *\*nigal-* ‘sickle, sword’, 408, no. 1896, *\*nVgil-* ‘to cut’, 408, no. 1898, *\*nVguf-* ‘to cut, to break’, 408—409, no. 1899, *\*nVgVʕ-* ‘to break, to smite’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*nag-al-* ‘to strike, to split, to pierce’ > Arabic *nağala* ‘to beat, to push; to split, to pierce’, *mingal* ‘scythe, sickle’; Hebrew *maggāl* [מַגָּל] (base *ngl* [נָגַל]) ‘sickle’; Syriac *maggālā* ‘sickle’; Geez / Ethiopic *nagala* [ነገለ] ‘to be uprooted’; Amharic *näggälä* ‘to be uprooted’. Murtonen 1989:272; Klein 1987:315; Leslau 1987:392.

Proto-Semitic *\*nag-aḥ-* ‘to strike, to gore’ > Hebrew *nāyah* [נָיַח] ‘to push, to thrust, to gore’; Aramaic *nəyah* ‘to push, to thrust, to gore’; Ugaritic *ngh* ‘to gore’; Gurage (Wolane) *nagä*, (Selti, Zway) *nägä* ‘to mow grass (with a sickle), to reap cereals’, (?) (Muher, Masqan, Gogot, Soddo) (*tä*)*nagga*, (Wolane) *tänagä* ‘to clash (cattle, objects), to collide’ (either here or with *\*nag-aʕ-* ‘to strike, to split, to break’, below). Murtonen 1989:271; Klein 1987:403; Leslau 1979:453.

Proto-Semitic *\*nag-aʕ-* ‘to strike, to split, to break’ > Mandaic *nga* ‘to strike, to injure’; Hebrew *nāyaʕ* [נָיַע] ‘to touch; to strike, to injure’, *neyaʕ* [נְיַע] ‘stroke, blow, wound’; Aramaic *nəyaʕ* ‘to touch’; Geez / Ethiopic *nag<sup>w</sup>a* [ነገዐ] ‘to make a cracking sound, to crack, to shout, to be broken, to break (intr.)’, *ʔastanāg<sup>w</sup>a* [አስተናገዐ] ‘to break to bits, to incite, to provoke, to remove (fat)’, (causative) *ʔanag<sup>w</sup>a* [አነገዐ] ‘to break, to dislocate’; Tigrinya *näg<sup>w</sup>e* ‘to break (intr.)’; Amharic *nägg<sup>w</sup>a* ‘to snap, to crack, to make a snapping or cracking sound’, *an-nagga* ‘to disjoin, to dismember, to shatter’, *a-nägg<sup>w</sup>a* ‘to break’; (?) Gurage (*tä*)*nagga* ‘to clash (cattle, objects), to collide’ (either here or with *\*nag-aḥ-* ‘to strike, to gore’, above). Murtonen 1989:272; Klein 1987:404; Leslau 1979:453 and 1987:390.

Proto-Semitic *\*nag-ap-* ‘to strike, to split; to cut off, to split off’ > Hebrew *nāyaḥ* [נָיַח] ‘to strike, to smite’, *neyeḥ* [נְיַח] ‘strike, (fatal) blow, plague’; Aramaic *nəyaḥ* ‘to strike, to push, to injure’; Arabic *nağafa* ‘to shave or polish an arrow; to cut down (a tree), to pull out; to milk a sheep well’; Sabaean *ngf* ‘to tear out, to uproot’; Mehri *nəgūf* ‘to throw away, to reject’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ngɔf* ‘to throw away, to reject’; Soqotri *negof* ‘to disperse’; Geez / Ethiopic *nagafa* [ነገፈ] ‘to shake, to shake off, to shake out, to knock off, to jolt, to dispel, to brush away, to cut off, to lay away, to throw down, to cast, to trip, to carry away’; Tigre *nägfa* ‘to shake, to shed’; Tigrinya *nägäfä* ‘to shake, to shed’. Murtonen 1989:272; Klein 1987:404; Leslau 1987:391.

Proto-Semitic *\*nag-aʕ-* ‘to strike, to smite, to kill, to destroy’ > Sabaean *ngz* ‘to damage, to destroy; to put an end to (someone’s life), to execute’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ngɔz* ‘to die, to finish’.

Proto-Semitic *\*nag-ar-* ‘to cut down, to cut into’ > Arabic *nağara* ‘to hew, to carve, to plane’.

- B. Egyptian *ng*, *ngʒ* ‘to strike, to smite, to cut off, to cut open, to hew, to slay, to crush’, *ngi* ‘to break open, to break up’, *ngt* ‘breach’. Hannig 1995:438; Faulkner 1962:141; Gardiner 1957:576; Erman—Grapow 1921:88 and 1926—1963.2:348, 2:349.
- C. Berber: Ghadames *əngəj* ‘to give butts with a horn or the head’; Tuareg *əngəs* ‘to butt with a horn or the head’, *anağas* ‘a butt with a horn or the head’, *amānğas* ‘an animal that butts with its horns’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ngəs* ‘to butt with the head or horn (a ram)’.
- D. Chadic: Central Chadic: Gude *ngila* ‘knife’; Nzangi *ngəla* ‘knife’; Mafa *ngəl-* ‘to cut’; Daba *nga-* ‘to break’; Logone *ggē-* ‘to break’; Buduma *gai-* ‘to break’. East Chadic: Bidiya *ʔangul* ‘sickle’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*nag-* (~ *\*nəg-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1033—1034, no. 909):  
 (vb.) *\*nag-* ‘to strike, to split, to pierce, to stab’;  
 (n.) *\*nag-a* ‘stroke, blow, wound’

156. Proto-Afrasian *\*naḥ-* (vb.) to tremble, to shake; to fear, to be afraid; (n.) fear’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*naḥ-naḥ-* ‘to tremble, to shake; to fear, to be afraid’ > Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *nāḥnəḥa* [ናሕንሐ] ‘to shake, to agitate, to break; (probably also) Tigrinya (*tä*)*nāḥanḥe* ‘to argue, to quarrel’, *nəḥnəḥ* ‘violent argument, violent quarrel’. Leslau 1987:395.
- B. Egyptian *nḥʒ* ‘to shake’ (?), *nḥʒt* ‘palpitations (of the heart)’ (?). Hannig 1995:421; Faulkner 1962:136; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:291.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*naḥ-* ‘to fear’ > Somali *naḥ-* ‘to pity, to be startled’; Galla / Oromo *nah-* ‘to fear, to take pity on’; Konso *nah-* ‘to be tender-hearted’; Gidole *nah-* ‘to be afraid, to tremble’; Burji *naʔ-* ‘to fear’. Sasse 1979:23 and 1982:150—151; Hudson 1989:19.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*naḥ-* (~ *\*nəḥ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1035, no. 910):  
 (vb.) *\*naḥ-* ‘to tremble, to shake; to fear, to be afraid’;  
 (n.) *\*naḥ-a* ‘fear’

157. Proto-Afrasian *\*nak<sup>w</sup>-* (vb.) to sleep with, to lie with, to copulate: (n.) sexual intercourse, copulation’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*na/ya/k-* ‘to have sexual intercourse, to copulate’ > Akkadian *nāku* (*niāku*) ‘to have illicit sexual intercourse, to fornicate’; Arabic *nāka* ‘to have sexual intercourse (with a woman)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *nēk* ‘to sleep with (a woman)’; Mehri *nəyūk* ‘to have sexual intercourse with, to sleep with (a woman)’; Harsūsi *neyōk* ‘to sleep with (a woman)’.

- B. Egyptian *nk* ‘to lie with, to sleep with, to copulate’, *nk<sup>w</sup>* ‘fornicator, adulterer’; Coptic *noyk* [𐩢𐩣𐩬] ‘adulterer’, (reduplicated) *noknek* [𐩢𐩣𐩬𐩢𐩣𐩬] ‘to have affection for’. Hannig 1995:437; Erman—Grapow 1921:88 and 1926—1963.2:345; Faulkner 1962:141; Gardiner 1957:576; Vycichl 1983:141; Černý 1976:107.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *ənki* ‘to perform the movements of the sexual act on (a woman or a female animal)’; Kabyle *ənki* ‘to place oneself in position and make strenuous effort (as a woman in labor)’.
- D. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *nek<sup>wi</sup>* ‘to be or become pregnant’, *nák<sup>w</sup>a* ‘pregnant’, *nák<sup>w</sup>e* ‘pregnancy’. Reinisch 1895:183. Diakonoff 1965:46.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*nak<sup>wh</sup>*- (~ *\*nək<sup>wh</sup>*-) (Bomhard 2014.3:1036—1037, no. 912):  
 (vb.) *\*nak<sup>wh</sup>*- ‘to lie down, to go to sleep, to go to bed’;  
 (n.) *\*nak<sup>wh</sup>-a* ‘bedtime, evening, nighttime’
158. Proto-Afrasian *\*naf*-, *\*nif*-, *\*nuf*- ‘(vb.) to breathe, to blow; (n.) breath, life’ (Diakonoff 1992:33 *\*nif* ‘nose’; Ehret 1995:316, no. 611, *\*naf*/\**nif*- ‘to exhale’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:395, no. 1828, *\*naf*- ‘breath’, 395—396, no. 1830, *\*nafus*- ‘breath’, 402, no. 1865, *\*nif*- ‘to smell, to breathe’, and 405—406, no. 1882, *\*nufas*- ‘to blow, to breathe’; Militarev 2012:79 *\*(ʔa-)na/if*-):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*nap-as<sup>v</sup>*- ‘(vb.) to breathe, to blow; (n.) soul, life, person’ > Hebrew *nepeš* [נֶפֶשׁ] ‘soul, living being, life, self, person’; Phoenician *npš* ‘soul, self’; Imperial Aramaic *npš* ‘soul, person’; Syriac *nəpaš* ‘breath of life; soul, spirit, living creature’; Ugaritic *npš* ‘soul’; Akkadian *napāšu* ‘to breathe’, *napištu* ‘life’; Arabic *nafusa* ‘to breathe, to inhale, to exhale’, *nafs* ‘soul, life, person’; Sabaean *nfs* ‘self, soul, life’; Ḥarsūsi *nefesēt* ‘soul’; Šheri / Jibbāli *nafs* ‘person, individual’, *nəfsēt* ‘soul, individual’; Mehri *nafs* ‘individual, person’; Geez / Ethiopic *nafsa* [ፍስሳ] ‘to blow (wind, spirit)’, *ʔanfasa* [አንፈሰ] ‘to breathe, to exhale, to make breathe, to rest’, *nafs* [ፍስሳ] ‘soul, breath, a person, life, self’, *naḥās* [ፍስሳ] ‘wind, air, spirit’; Tigre *nāfsa* ‘to blow (wind)’, *tənāffāsa* ‘to breathe’, *nāfs* ‘soul’; Tigrinya *nāfāsā* ‘to blow (wind)’, *tānāffāsā* ‘to breathe’, *nāfsi* ‘soul’, *nāfas* ‘wind’; Amharic *nāffāsā* ‘to blow (wind)’, *tānāffāsā* ‘to breathe’, *nāfs* ‘soul, life’, *nāfas* ‘wind’; Argobba *nāfs* ‘soul’; Harari *nāfsi* ‘soul’, *(at)nāfāsa* ‘to take a rest’; Gurage *nāfāsā* ‘to blow (wind)’, *nāfs* ‘soul’, *nāfas* ‘wind’. Murtonen 1989:286—287; Klein 1987:422; Tomback 1978:218—219; Leslau 1963:118, 1979:452, and 1987:389; Zammit 2002:407.
- Proto-Semitic *\*nap-ax*- ‘to breathe, to blow’ > Hebrew *nāḥaḥ* [נָחַח] ‘to breathe, to blow’; Aramaic *nəḥaḥ* ‘to blow’; Ugaritic *mḥn* (base *nḥ*) ‘bellows’; Akkadian *napāhu* ‘to inflame, to blow’; Arabic *nafaḥa* ‘to blow, to puff, to breathe, to blow up, to inflate’; Ḥarsūsi *nefōx* ‘to blow’, *anfōx*

‘to inflate’; Šheri / Jibbāli *nifx* ‘to blow, to inflate’; Mehri *nefx* ‘to blow, to inflate’; Geez / Ethiopic *naḥa* [ገፍጎ], *naḥa* [ገፍሐ] ‘to blow, to blow upon, to breathe on, to inflate, to sound (an instrument), to blow (a horn, trumpet)’; Tigre *nāḥa* ‘to blow’; Tigrinya *nāḥe* ‘to blow’; Harari *nāḥa* ‘to inflate, to blow an instrument, to blow air into something’; Argobba *nāffaha* ‘to blow’; Amharic *nāffa* ‘to blow, to play (the flute), to blow up, to inflate’; Gurage (Chaha) *nāfa* ‘to blow up, to inflate’. Murtonen 1989:285–286; Klein 1987:421; Zammit 2002:406; Leslau 1963:117–118, 1979:450–451, and 1987:388.

Proto-Semitic *\*nap-at-* ‘to blow one’s nose, to sneeze’ > Arabic *naḥa* ‘to sneeze’; Ḥarsūsi *entefōt* ‘to blow one’s nose’; Šheri / Jibbāli *əntfēt* ‘to blow one’s nose’; Soqotri *nəfōt* ‘to sneeze’; Mehri *nəfūt* ‘to snort’, *əntəfūt* ‘to blow one’s nose’; Geez / Ethiopic *naḥa* [ገፍሐ] ‘to blow the nose’; Tigre *nāffātā* ‘to blow the nose’; Tigrinya *nāffātā* ‘to blow the nose’; Amharic *tānāffātā* ‘to blow the nose’, *nəfi* ‘mucus’; Harari *ənfi* ‘nasal mucus’; Gurage (tā)nāffātā ‘to blow the nose’, (Zway) *nəfi* ‘nose’. Leslau 1963:28, 1979:452, and 1987:390.

Proto-Semitic *\*ʔanp-* ‘nose, nostril’ > Akkadian *appu* ‘nose’; Hebrew *ʔaḥ* [אח] ‘nose, nostril, face’; Ugaritic *āp* ‘nose’; Arabic *ʔanf* ‘nose’; Sabaeen *ʔnf* ‘front’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʔənfī* ‘first, ancient’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔanf* [አገፍ] ‘nose, nostril’; Tigre *ʔanəf* ‘nose’; Tigrinya *ʔanfi* ‘nose’; Harari *ūf* ‘to blow the nose’; Gafat *āfwä* ‘nose’; Gurage (Chaha) *āfuna* ‘nose’. Murtonen 1989:95–96; Klein 1987:45; Zammit 2002:81; Leslau 1963:19–20, 1979:21, and 1987:28.

- B. Egyptian *nf* ‘air, wind, breath’, *nfy* ‘to breathe, to blow at’, *nfw*, *nfwyt* ‘breezes’, *fnḏ* (< *\*nfḏ*) ‘nose’; Coptic *nife* [ⲛⲓⲑⲉ] ‘to blow, to breathe’. Hannig 1995:306 and 407; Faulkner 1962:98 and 131; Erman—Grapow 1921:58, 80 and 1926—1963.1:577, 2:250; Gardiner 1957:566; Vycichl 1983:149; Černý 1976:116.
- C. Berber: Kabyle *ənfas* ‘to breathe’, *nnəfs* ‘breathing, breath; soul’; Ahaggar *unfas* ‘breath’, *sunfas* ‘to breathe’, *asunfas* ‘to make breathe’; Tamazight *unfus* ‘respiration, breath, blowing’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *unfus* ‘blowing’, *sunəfs* ‘to breathe’.
- D. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*nass-/ness-* (< *\*nafs-/nəfs-*) ‘to breathe, to rest’ > Elmolo *nas-i* ‘to breathe, to rest’; Somali *nas-ad-* ‘to breathe, to rest’; Rendille *nas-* ‘to breathe, to rest’; Konso *ness-a* ‘soul, breath, noise’; Yaaku *nes-i* ‘breath’; Dullay *nass-ad-* ‘to breathe’, *nass-o* ‘soul, life, spirit, breath’; Gidole *nass-* ‘voice, character’. Sasse 1979:23.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*nap<sup>h</sup>-* (~ *\*nəp<sup>h</sup>-*), *\*nip<sup>h</sup>-* (~ *\*nep<sup>h</sup>-*), *\*nup<sup>h</sup>-* (~ *\*nop<sup>h</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1037—1038, no. 913):  
 (vb.) *\*nap<sup>h</sup>-*, *\*nip<sup>h</sup>-*, *\*nup<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to breathe, to blow’;  
 (n.) *\*nap<sup>h</sup>-a*, *\*nip<sup>h</sup>-a*, *\*nup<sup>h</sup>-a* ‘breath, life’

159. Proto-Afrasian *\*n[i]k-* ‘(vb.) to strike, to hit; (n.) injury, harm, damage, wound, murder, destruction; suffering, pain’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:409, no. 1902, *\*nVkvV-* ‘to be evil’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*nak-ay-* ‘to strike, to smite’ > Akkadian *nakū* ‘to strike, to smite’ (?); Hebrew *nāḥāh* [נָחַח] ‘to beat, to strike’; Syriac *nəḫā* ‘to harm, to injure, to wound’; Arabic *nakā* ‘to cause damage, to harm, to hurt, to injure’; Sabaeen *nky* ‘(vb.) to injure; (n.) injury’; Šheri / Jibbāli *enké* ‘to hurt, to hit on a sore spot’; Geez / Ethiopic *nakaya* [ነክየ] ‘to injure, to hurt, to damage, to harm’; Tigrinya *nākkäyā* ‘to diminish’; Tigre *nāka* ‘to remove, to clear away’. Murtonen 1989:281—282; Klein 1987:415—416; Leslau 1987:397—398.

Proto-Semitic *\*nak-aʔ-* ‘to injure, to harm, to damage’ > Hebrew *nāḥāʔ* [נָחָא] ‘to beat, to strike’, *nāḥēʔ* ‘smitten, afflicted’; Arabic *nakaʔa* ‘to scrape the scab off a wound, to hurt, to wound, to kill’; Tigre *nākʔa* ‘to damage, to hurt’; Tigrinya *nākʔe* ‘to touch’; Amharic *nākka* ‘to touch, to hurt’; Argobba *nākka* ‘to touch, to hurt’; Harari *nākaʔa* ‘to touch, to harm’; Gurage (Zway) *nākā* ‘to touch’. Murtonen 1989:281; Klein 1987:415; Leslau 1963:118 and 1979:455.

Proto-Semitic *\*nak-aʃ-* ‘to injure, to harm, to damage’ > Geez / Ethiopic *nakʔa* [ነክዐ] ‘to injure, to harm, to damage’. Leslau 1987:396.

- B. Egyptian *nkn* ‘harm, injury, damage’. Hannig 1995:438; Faulkner 1962:141; Erman—Grapow 1921:88 and 1926—1963.2:346—347; Gardiner 1957:576.
- C. Berber: Tamazight *nəγ* ‘to kill’, *tinyi* ‘evil, pain, suffering’, *imənyī* ‘dispute, combat, quarrel, battle’; Kabyle *nəγ* ‘to kill, to slay’; Siwa *əny* ‘to kill’; Tuareg *əny* ‘to kill’; Ghadames *əny* ‘to kill’; Nefusa *əny* ‘to kill, to put an end to’; Mzab ‘to kill, to assassinate’, *anuyi* ‘dispute, battle, combat, fight’, *amənyī* ‘fight, scuffle, brawl’; Zenaga *əni* ‘to kill’, *aməni* ‘killer, assassin’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*nik<sup>h</sup>-* (~ *\*nek<sup>h</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1045—1046, no. 919):  
 (vb.) *\*nik<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to strike, to hit’;  
 (n.) *\*nik<sup>h</sup>-a* ‘injury, harm, damage, wound, murder, destruction; suffering, pain’

160. Proto-Afrasian *\*nus<sup>y</sup>-* (n.) ‘woman, female’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:406, no. 1887, *\*nūs-* ‘woman’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic (pl.) (*\*nəs<sup>y</sup>-w-* >) *\*nis<sup>y</sup>-w-* ‘women’ > Hebrew (pl.) *nāšīm* [נָשִׁים] ‘women’; Aramaic (pl.) *neššē* ‘women’; Arabic (pl.) *niswa*, *niswān*, *nisāʔ* ‘women’, *niswī*, *nisāʔī* ‘female, feminine, womanly’. Murtonen 1989:96; Klein 1987:429; Zammit 2002:400.
- B. Chadic: West Chadic: Fyer *nusi* ‘woman’; Sha *nisi* ‘female’. Central Chadic: Tera *nušu* ‘woman’; Guduf *nósəl* ‘woman’; Ngweshe *násé*



‘woman’; Dghwede *nīšē* ‘woman’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II: 346—347.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*nus<sup>y</sup>-a* ‘woman, female; any female connected by marriage: wife, bride, sister-in-law, daughter-in-law’ (Bomhard 2014.3:1050—1051, no. 923):

Derivative of:

(vb.) *\*nus<sup>y</sup>-* ‘to be small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’;

(n.) *\*nus<sup>y</sup>-a* ‘smallness, insufficiency, decrease, diminishment’; (adj.) ‘small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’

Semantic development as in Naikri *koraḷ* ‘daughter-in-law, bride’ and Telugu *kōḍalu* ‘daughter-in-law’, both from the same stem found in Tamil *kuṛa* ‘young, tender’, Kannada *koḍa* ‘tenderness, tender age, youth’, Tuḷu *korē* ‘weak, small’, etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:193—194, no. 2149).

161. Proto-Afrasian *\*naṣ-r-* (n.) ‘young man, boy, youth’

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*naṣar-* ‘young man, boy, youth’ > Hebrew *naʿar* [נַעַר] ‘boy, lad, youth’, *nōʿar* [נְעָר] ‘youth, early life’; Ugaritic *nʿr* ‘boy, servant’; Phoenician *nʿr* ‘youth, boyhood’, *nʿr* ‘young man, youth’. Murtonen 1989:285; Klein 1987:421; Tomback 1978:217.  
B. Egyptian *nʿrn* ‘young soldiers’ (= Canaanite *\*naʿrōn(a)* ‘group of young men’). Albright 1934:49; Hannig 1995:395; Erman—Grapow 1921:77 and 1926—1963.2:209.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*nʷaṣ-r-a* ‘young man, boy, youth’ (Bomhard 2014.2: 1054, no. 926):

Derivative of:

(vb.) *\*nʷaṣ-V-r-* ‘to appear, to arise, to sprout, to come into being; to grow (up), to mature’;

(n.) *\*nʷaṣ-r-a* ‘shoot, sprout, seedling’

162. Proto-Afrasian *\*naṣ-* (n.) ‘offspring, descendant, young one’:

- A. Semitic: Akkadian *nīplu* ‘offshoot’, *nīpru* ‘offspring’.  
B. Egyptian *nfrw* (pl.) ‘young men (of army), recruits’ (also *ḥwnw nfrw*), (f.) *nfr-t* ‘maiden, young woman, teenager’. Hannig 1995:409; Faulkner 1962:132; Erman—Grapow 1921:81 and 1926—1963.2:258; Gardiner 1957:574.  
C. Chadic: Pero *neepe* ‘first-born child’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*nʷaṣ<sup>h</sup>-a* ‘offspring, descendant, young one’ (Bomhard 2014.2:1056—1057, no. 928)



## CHAPTER FIVE

### VELARS (AND POSTVELARS)

Proto-Afrasian	*k	*g	*kʼ
Proto-Semitic	*k	*g	*kʼ
Ancient Egyptian	k 𓆎	g 𓆏	q 𓆐
Proto-Berber	*ɣ, *-kk-	*g	*k
Proto-East Cushitic	*k	*g	*kʼ
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*k	*g	*kʼ
Proto-Chadic	*k	*g	*kʼ

#### 5.1. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*k

163. Proto-Afrasian *\*-k(a)-* 1st person pronoun stem (see the Appendix to Chapter 2 for more information on the development of personal pronoun stems in Afrasian):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*-ku* marker of the 1st person sg. in the stative; *\*-ku* in the 1st person sg. independent pronoun *\*ʔan-āku* (also *\*ʔan-ā* and *\*ʔan-ī*), which consists of the stem *\*ʔan-* followed by the suffixal element *\*-āku*, which itself is composed of *\*-ā* plus *\*-ku* (cf. Moscati 1964:103—104) — *\*ʔan-* itself can be further analyzed as *\*ʔa-+\*na-*: Old Babylonian *anāku* ‘I’; Ugaritic *ʾnḱ* ‘I’; Hebrew *ʾănōḵî* [ʾnḵ] ‘I’; Phoenician *ʾnk* ‘I’; Moabite *ʾnk* ‘I’. Barth 1913:3—8; Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:297—306; Gray 1934:61—63; Lipiński 1997:298—306; Moscati 1964:102—106; O’Leary 1923:139—141; Stempel 1999:81—82.
- B. Egyptian *-k* in *īnk* 1st person independent pronoun; also *-kw(i)*, *-kī*, *-k* ending of the 1st person sg. of the old perfective (“pseudo-participle”); Coptic 1st person sg. independent pronoun *anok* [ʌnɒk]. Hannig 1995:79—80 and 879; Faulkner 1962:24; Erman—Grapow 1921:15 and 1926—1963.1:101, 5:117; Gardiner 1957:53 (§64), 234—236 (§309), 554, and 597; Loprieno 1995:64—66 and 74; Černý 1976:9; Vycichl 1983:12.
- C. Berber: *-k* in, for example: Tuareg *nək*, *nəkkunan* 1st person independent pronoun ‘I, me’; Kabyle *nəkk*, *nəkki*, *nəkkini* 1st person independent pronoun ‘me’; Tamazight *nəkk*, *nəç* 1st person independent pronoun ‘me’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *nki* 1st person independent pronoun ‘me’, 1st person suffixed personal subject pronoun *-aγ* (< *\*-ā-kV*; cf. Diakonoff 1988:80—81, table and note c); Ghadames *nəç*, *nəccan* 1st person independent pronoun ‘me’; Mzab *nəcc*, *nəcci*, *nəccin* 1st person independent pronoun ‘me’.

D. Ongota *ka/-k* ‘I, me’ (cf. Fleming 2002b:50).

← Proto-Nostratic 1st person pronoun stem (stative) *\*k<sup>h</sup>a-* (Bomhard 2014.2: 436—438, no. 397)

164. Proto-Afrasian *\*ka-*, *\*ki-*, *\*ku-* demonstrative pronoun stem (Ehret 1995:194, no. 309, *\*kaa* ‘this’):

- A. Semitic: Aramaic *-χ* (< *\*-k*) in *dēχ* ‘that’; Arabic *-k* in *ōāka*, *ōālika* ‘that’; Mehri *-k* in *ōāk* ‘that’; Geez / Ethiopic *-(k)ku* [-**h**] an element expressing distance as in *zəkkū* ‘that’; Gurage *ka* ‘that’, (Chaha) *kəm* in *kəməkəm* ‘such and such’, *-x* (< *\*-k*) in *zax* ‘that’; Amharic *-h* (< *\*-k*) in *zih* ‘this’. Barth 1913:80—83; Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:318 and I:323—324; Leslau 1979:331, 343 and 1987:271, 635.
- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Burji (m. sg.) *kú* ‘this’, (m./f. sg./pl.) *kāaci* ‘that, those’, (m./f. pl.) *cí* ‘these’; Gedeo / Darasa (m. sg./pl.) *kunni* ‘this, these’, (m. sg./pl.) *ikki* ‘that, those’; Hadiyya (m. sg./pl., f. pl.) *ku(k)* ‘this, these’, (m. sg./pl., f. pl.) *o(k)* ‘that, those’; Kambata (m. sg./pl., f. pl.) *ku* ‘this, these’; Sidamo (m. sg.) *kuni* ‘this’, (m. sg., m./f. pl.) *kuuʔu* ‘that, those’, (m. pl.) *kuni*, *kuri* ‘these’. Hudson 1976:255—256 and 1989:150—151, 153; Sasse 1982:111. Galla / Oromo (Wellegga) near demonstratives: (subject) *kun(i)*, (base) *kana* ‘this’. Proto-Southern Cushitic (m.) *\*ʔuukaa* ‘this’, (m. bound) *\*kaa* ‘this’ > Iraqw *ka* ‘this’ (neuter ?); Burunge (m.) *ki* ‘this’, (m.) *kaʔa* ‘that’; Kʼwadza *-(u)ko* masculine gender marker; Asa *-(u)k*, *-ok* masculine gender marker; Maʼa *ka* ‘this’; Dahalo *ʔuukwa* ‘this’. Ehret 1980:296.
- C. Omotic: Aari unaffixed 3rd person pronominal stems (m. sg.) *kí*, (f. sg.) *kó*, (m./f. pl.) *ké*.

← Proto-Nostratic demonstrative pronoun stem (Bomhard 2014.2:438—439, no. 398):

- Proximate: *\*k<sup>h</sup>a-* (~ *\*k<sup>h</sup>ə-*) ‘this’;
- Intermediate: *\*k<sup>h</sup>i-* (~ *\*k<sup>h</sup>e-*) ‘that’;
- Distant: *\*k<sup>h</sup>u-* (~ *\*k<sup>h</sup>o-*) ‘that yonder’

165. Proto-Afrasian *\*kab-* (n.) ‘(sg.) foot, hoof; (pl.) shoes’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995: 307, no. 1406, *\*kab-* ‘shoe, sandal’ — according to Orël—Stolbova, the *-o-* in East Cushitic *\*kob-* is a “secondary *-o-* before a labial”):

- A. Egyptian *kbwí* ‘sole (of foot)’, *tbwt*, *tbt* ‘sole (of foot), sandal’. Hannig 1995:880 and 951; Faulkner 1962:304; Gardiner 1957:601; Erman—Grapow 1921:208 and 1926—1963.5:118, 5:361—363.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*kab-/k<sup>h</sup>ob-* ‘(sg./sglt.) foot, hoof, footprint; (pl./coll.) shoes’ > Burji *kótt-ee* (< *\*kob-te*) ‘foot, hoof’; Saho *kab-ela*

‘shoes’; Afar *kab-el* ‘shoes’; Arbore *kob-o* ‘shoes’; Dasenech *kob* ‘shoes’; Elmolo *kop* ‘shoes’; Sidamo *kotte* ‘shoe’; Somali *kab* ‘shoes’; Rendille *kob* ‘shoes’; Galla / Oromo *kop’-ee* ~ *kob-ee* ‘shoes’, *kotte* (< \**kob-tee*) ‘paw, hoof, spoor’; Konso *xop-ta* ‘footprint, sandal’; Gidole (sglt.) *hof-t* ‘footprint’, (pl.) *hop-a* ‘shoe(s)’. Sasse 1979:12 and 1982:119; Hudson 1989:133. East Cushitic (Werizoid) \**xop-* ‘shoe, sandal’ > Gawwada *xope* ‘shoe, sandal’.

C. Chadic: West Chadic \**kab-* ‘shoes’ > Angas *kaap* ‘shoes’.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \**khab-a* ‘foot, hoof’ (Bomhard 2014.2:440—441, no. 400):

166. Proto-Afrasian \**kal-* (n.) ‘female in-law’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:310, no. 1419, \**kal-* ‘female in-law’):

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**kall-* ‘daughter-in-law, bride’ > Akkadian *kallatu*, *kallutu* ‘daughter-in-law, wife of son living in his father’s household, bride, sister-in-law’; Hebrew *kallāh* [כַּלָּה] ‘bride, betrothed; daughter-in-law’; Jewish Aramaic *kalləθā* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Palmyrene *klh* ‘bride’; Ugaritic *klt* ‘bride, daughter-in-law (?)’; Sabaeen *hklln* ‘to give in marriage’; Soqotri *kəlan* ‘bridegroom’; Mehri *kəlōn* ‘bride, groom’; Hōbyōt *kúlūn* ‘bridegroom’, *kulūnt-* ‘bride’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kólūn* ‘bride, bridegroom’; Harsūsi *kelōn* ‘bridegroom’, *kelōnet* ‘bride’. Klein 1987:277.

B. (?) Berber: Tuareg *kəl* ‘people of (a particular clan or tribe)’; Riff (Iznasen) *aklal* ‘family’. For the semantics, cf. Lithuanian *gentis* ‘tribe’ from the same stem found in *žéntas* ‘son-in-law’ (cf. Smoczyński 2007.I:169—170 and I:779).

C. Chadic: West Chadic \**kalya-* ‘woman’ > Zem *kal* ‘woman’; Zaar *kəl* ‘woman’; Zakshi *kyel* ‘woman’; Buu *kəl* ‘woman’; Dokshi *kəli* ‘woman’.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \**khal-a* ‘female in-law’ (Bomhard 2014.2:443—444, no. 403):

Note also:

(n.) \**k’el-a* ‘female in-law’

167. Proto-Afrasian \**kal-* ‘(vb.) to make a noise, to sound; to call out, to shout; (n.) noise, sound’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**kal-aḥ-* ‘to call, to cry out, to shout’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kalḥa*, *kalləḥa* [ክለሐ] ‘to cry out, to cry, to shout, to cry aloud, to howl’; Tigre *kālah* ‘little bell’; Tigrinya (*tä*)*kalhe* ‘to argue with one another, to quarrel’; Harari *kālahā* ‘to call someone by shouting’. Amharic (*a*)*klalla* ‘to make a thundering noise’, *källälä* ‘to resound’. Leslau 1987:282—283.

- B. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *kaláʔ* (pl. *kálʔa*) ‘bell’; Saho *kalah* ‘to shout’; Awngi / Awiya *kəläx-xʷa* ‘to shout’. According to Leslau (1987:283), the Cushitic forms may be loans from Ethiopian Semitic.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*kʰal-* (∼ *\*kʰəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:444—446, no. 404):  
 (vb.) *\*kʰal-* ‘to make a noise, to sound; to call out, to shout’;  
 (n.) *\*kʰal-a* ‘noise, sound’
168. Proto-Afrasian *\*kam-* ‘(vb.) to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch; (n.) grip, hold, hand(ful); bond, fetter’ (Ehret 1995:198, no. 321, *\*kam-* ‘to hold’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kam-* (*\*kam-atʔ-*, *\*kam-aw/y-*) ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’ > Arabic *kamaša* ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’, *kamša* ‘a handful’; Akkadian *kamū* ‘to capture, to overcome, to ensnare’, *kamū* ‘fettters’, *kamū* ‘captured, captive’, *kāmū* (f. *kāmītu*) ‘ensnaring’, *kamītu* ‘bonds, captivity’, *kimītu*, *kimūtu* ‘captivity’.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *əkməm* ‘to hold on tightly to something vertical; to clench, to press, to squeeze (for example, to weigh down, to bother, to annoy, to worry, to cause difficulties or problems)’, *takmant* ‘a muzzle’; Mzab *takmamt* ‘a muzzle’; Kabyle *kəm*, *kəmməm* ‘to muzzle, to suffocate, to stop someone from speaking’, *takmamt* ‘a muzzle’.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*kam-* ‘to hold’ > Iraqw *kom-* ‘to have’; Burunge *kom-* ‘to have’; Asa *kom-* ‘to have’; K’wadza *komos-* ‘to grip’; Dahalo *kam-* ‘to hold’. Ehret 1980:241.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*kʰam-* (∼ *\*kʰəm-*) or *\*qʰam-* (∼ *\*qʰəm-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:449—450, no. 409):  
 (vb.) *\*kʰam-* or *\*qʰam-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’;  
 (n.) *\*kʰam-a* or *\*qʰam-a* ‘grip, hold, hand(ful); bond, fetter’
169. Proto-Afrasian *\*kam-* ‘(vb.) to gather together, to collect; (n.) collection, assemblage, gathering’:
- A. Semitic: Akkadian *kamāsu* (Middle Assyrian *kamāšu*) ‘to gather, to collect, to bring in (barley, persons, animals, documents, or objects)’, *kummusu* ‘to gather in barley, to collect or assemble persons; (in the stative) to be assembled, stationed’, *šukmusu* ‘to collect, to place’, *nakmusu* ‘to be gathered’.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *kəmət* ‘to gather up, to collect, to pick up; to be picked up, to be gathered up, to be collected’, *akmu* ‘act of picking up, collecting’; Tamazight *kəmməm* ‘to amass, to pick up and carry in one’s arms’, *tukkimt* ‘armful, load, burden’; Kabyle *kəmməm* ‘to amass’, *takumma* ‘armful’, *ukkim* ‘fist, a punch’; Mzab *tçuma* ‘bundle, large package’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k<sup>h</sup>am-* (~ *\*k<sup>h</sup>əṁ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:451—452, no. 411):  
 (vb.) *\*k<sup>h</sup>am-* ‘to gather together, to collect’; (adv.) ‘together, along with’;  
 (n.) *\*k<sup>h</sup>am-a* ‘collection, assemblage, gathering’

170. Proto-Afrasian *\*kan-* (n.) ‘stem, stalk, shoot’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kann-* ‘stem, stalk, shoot’ > Akkadian *kannu* ‘slip (of a plant), stalk, shoot (of a tree)’; Syriac *kannā* ‘stem (of a tree), stalk, root (of a plant)’; Hebrew *kēn* [כֵּן] ‘base, pedestal; office, place’ (< ‘base [root] of a plant’), *kannāh* [כִּנָּה] ‘plant, shoot’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible), *kannāh* [כִּנָּה] ‘base, stand’; Tigre *kanāt* ‘rowing-pole’. Murtonen 1989:235; Klein 1987:280.  
 B. Berber: Tawlemmet *təkənīt* ‘a kind of plant’; Tamazight *takumət* ‘tan (bark of an oak)’.  
 C. Cushitic: Bilin *kānā* ‘tree’; Kemant *kana* ‘tree’; Awngi / Awiya *kani* ‘tree’. Appleyard 2006:140.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*k<sup>h</sup>an<sup>v</sup>-a* ‘stem, stalk, stick’ (Bomhard 2014.2:452—453, no. 412)

171. Proto-Afrasian *\*kap-* ‘(vb.) to take, to seize; (n.) hand’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:312, no. 1428, *\*kap-* ‘hand’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kapp-* ‘palm, hand’ > Hebrew *kaṣ* [כַּף] ‘palm’; Phoenician *kpp* ‘palm of the hand’; Imperial Aramaic *kp* ‘hand’; Syriac *kappā* ‘palm of the hand’; Ugaritic *kp* ‘palm, hand’; Akkadian *kappu* ‘hand’; Arabic *kaff* ‘palm of the hand, hand’; Šheri / Jibbāli *keff* ‘to withhold, to keep someone quiet’, *kef* ‘paw, claw, palm of the hand’; Ḥarsūsi *kef* ‘flat of the hand, claw, paw’; Mehri *kəf* ‘to withhold, to keep someone quiet’, *kaf* ‘palm of the hand, paw, claw’. Murtonen 1989:236—237; Klein 1987:283; Diakonoff 1992:85 *\*kapp-* ‘palm of the hand’; Zammit 2002:356.  
 B. Egyptian *kp* ‘enemy’s hands separated from his arms, cut off hands’. Erman—Grapow 1921:195 and 1926—1963.5:118; Hannig 1995:880.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k<sup>h</sup>aph-* (Bomhard 2014.2:454—457, no. 415):  
 (vb.) *\*k<sup>h</sup>aph-* ‘to take, seize, or grasp with the hand; to press or squeeze with the hand’;  
 (n.) *\*k<sup>h</sup>aph-a* ‘hand’

172. Proto-Afrasian *\*kar-* ‘(vb.) to cut, to cut into, to cut off; (n.) cut, incision’ (Ehret 1995:200, no. 330, *\*kur-/kar-* ‘to cut up’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kar-at-* ‘to cut off, to cut down’ > Hebrew *kāraθ* [כָּרַת] ‘to cut off, to cut down’; Phoenician *krt* ‘woodcutter’ (?); Akkadian *karātu* ‘to strike, to cut off, to break off’, *kartu* ‘cut up’; Tigrinya *kārātā* ‘to cut’, *kārtātā* ‘to nibble’. Murtonen 1989:240; Klein 1987:288.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*kar-ad-* ‘to cut off’ > Arabic *karada* ‘to cut off, to shear’.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*kar-ay-* ‘to cut into, to make cuts or incisions, to dig’ > Hebrew *kārāh* [כָּרַח] ‘to dig’; Aramaic *kārā* ‘to dig’; Ugaritic *kry* ‘to dig’; Arabic *karā* ‘to dig’, *karw* ‘digging, excavation’; Geez / Ethiopic *karaya* [ካረየ] ‘to dig (a well, in the ground), to make holes, to dig up, to excavate, to peck (the eyes), to make cuts or incisions’; Tigre *kāra* ‘cut off (by digging)’; Amharic *kārāyyā* ‘to dig, to till the earth’; Gurage *kāre* ‘to dig a hole’; Harari *xara* ‘to dig a hole’. Murtonen 1989:239; Klein 1987:285; Leslau 1963:97, 1979:347, and 1987:294—295.
- B. Egyptian *krt* ‘carnage, massacre’, (reduplicated) *krkr* ‘knife’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:136; Hannig 1995:887.
- C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *kar-* ‘to cut down a tree’; Sidamo *kar-* ‘to fell (a tree)’. Hudson 1989:249 and 376.
- D. Chadic: Ngizim *kārmú* ‘to chop, to cut down, to chop off’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*khar-* (~ *\*kʰər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:458—460, no 418):  
 (vb.) *\*khar-* ‘to cut, to cut into, to cut off’;  
 (n.) *\*khar-a* ‘cut, incision’  
 Derivative:  
 (n.) *\*khar-a* ‘skin, hide; bark, rind’
173. Proto-Afrasian *\*kar-* ‘(vb.) to twist, turn, or wind around; (n.) ring, circle, curve; (adj.) round, curved, twisted’ (Ehret 1995:200, no. 328, *\*kar-* ‘to turn round, to go round’; [Orël—Stolbova 1995:323, no. 1481, *\*kor-* ‘(to be) round’]):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kar-ar-* ‘to twist, turn, or wind around’ > Arabic *karra* ‘to turn around and attack; to return, to come back’, *karr* ‘rope of bast or fibers of palm leaves’, *kura* ‘globe, sphere, ball’; Sabaeen *krr* ‘to return to a campaign’; Hebrew *\*kārar* [כָּרַר] (participle *məḥarkēr* [מְחַרְכֵּר]) ‘to dance’; Tigrinya *kārārā* ‘to be twisted; to be round’; Harari *kārāra* ‘to become tight (thread that is twisted by passing it through the palms)’; Amharic *kārrārā* ‘to become tight, twisted’, *kər* ‘thread’; Argobba *kər* ‘thread’; Gurage (*a*)*kārrārā* ‘to twist threads’, *kərr* ‘thread’. Klein 1987:288; Zammit 2002:352; Leslau 1963:94 and 1979:350.  
 Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*kar-kar-* ‘to twist, turn, wind, or roll around’ > Arabic *karkara* ‘to turn the millstone’; Sabaeen *krkr* ‘a load or measure’; Hebrew *kikkār* [כִּכְאָר] (< *\*kirkār*) ‘round loaf of bread; a round weight, a talent’; Aramaic *kakkārā* ‘ball’, *kəraχ* ‘to go round, to encircle’;

Akkadian *kakkaru* (< \**karkaru*) ‘metal disk (weighing one talent); round loaf of bread’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔankʷarkʷara* [ḵʷḵḵḵḵḵḵ] ‘to roll, to roll around, to roll along, to roll off, to revolve, to overturn’; Tigrinya *ʔankʷärkʷärä* ‘to roll’; Tigre *kärkärä* ‘to roll’; Amharic (*tän*)*kʷäräkkʷärä* ‘to roll’, *mänkʷärakʷər* ‘wheel’; Gurage (Endegeñ) (*tä*)*kʷräkkʷärä* ‘to be lumpy (flour)’. Klein 1987:276; Murtonen 1989:238; Leslau 1979:349 and 1987:292.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *kurət* ‘to wrap around several times (as a turban around the head)’, *takārut* ‘turban’, *asəkkāru* ‘a piece of material which can be wrapped several times around the head’; Tamazight *kur* ‘to be wrapped up, to be wound into a ball’, *sskur* ‘to roll, to roll into a ball’, *takurt*, *tacurt* ‘ball, a spool of thread or yarn, balloon’, *akur* ‘paunch, gizzard’; Kabyle *kʷər* ‘to be wrapped, to be wound into a ball’, *akur* ‘a large ball’, *takurt* ‘ball, a spool of thread or yarn’.
- C. Cushitic: Saho (reduplicated) *karkar* ‘to be round’. Proto-Southern Cushitic \**kar-* ‘to turn around’ > Kʷadza *kangal-* ‘to turn around’; Ma’a *kikarara* ‘ring’. Ehret 1980:242.
- D. Omotic: Bench / Gimira *kar-* ‘to be round’, *kart-* ‘to turn (intr.)’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**kʰar-* (~ \**kʰər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:461—463, no. 420):  
 (vb.) \**kʰar-* ‘to twist, turn, spin, or wind around’;  
 (n.) \**kʰar-a* ‘ring, circle, curve’; (adj.) ‘round, curved, twisted’  
 Possible derivative:  
 (n.) \**kʰar-a* ‘edge, side, bank’

174. Proto-Afrasian \**kar-* ‘(vb.) to be or become hard, dry; (adj.) hard, dry’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**kar-ar-* ‘to be or become hard, dry’ > Geez / Ethiopic *karra* [ḵḶ], *karara* [ḵḶḶ] ‘to be dry, to dry up (spring)’; Tigrinya *kärärä* ‘to be hard, dry’; Amharic *kärrärä* ‘to become hard, to dry out’; Harari *kärära* ‘to become stiff’. Leslau 1963:94 and 1987:293—294.
- B. Cushitic: Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift \**karaḥ-* ‘hard, dry’ > Burunge *karaḥadi* ‘hard, dry’; Kʷadza *kalahayi* ‘dry, withered, hard’. Ehret 1980:366.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \**kʰar-a* ‘hardness, strength, firmness, fortitude’; (adj.) ‘hard, strong, firm’ (Bomhard 2014.2:464—465, no. 422):  
 Identical to:  
 (n.) \**kʰar-a* ‘roughness, coarseness’; (adj.) ‘rough, coarse’

175. Proto-Afrasian \**kar-* (adj.) ‘black, dirty’:

- A. Egyptian (Demotic) *krky* ‘filth’; Coptic *čorġ(e)* [ⲉⲟⲣⲭ(ⲉ)], *ġerġi* [ⲭⲉⲣⲭⲓ] ‘dirt, filth’, *r-čorġ* [ⲣ-ⲉⲟⲣⲭ] ‘to become filthy’. Vycichl 1983:347; Černý 1976:336.
- B. Omotic: Yemsa / Janjero *kara* ‘black’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic *\*khar-a* ‘(n.) blackness, darkness; (adj.) black, dark’ (Bomhard 2014.2:467—468, no. 245):
176. Proto-Afrasian *\*kil-* ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise, to ascend; (n.) hill, height; (adj.) raised, high’:
- A. Egyptian (*\*kil-* > *\*kvil-* > *\*vil-* >) *tnī, tny* ‘to lift up, to raise’. Hannig 1995:956; Faulkner 1962:305; Erman—Grapow 1921:209 and 1926—1963.5:374—375.
- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *kiil-* (< *\*kilo-* ?) ‘to weigh’. Hudson 1989:165 and 249.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*khiḷ-* (~ *\*kheḷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:480—481, no. 438):
- (vb.) *\*khiḷ-* ‘to rise, to ascend, to lift up’;
- (n.) *\*khiḷ-a* ‘hill, height’; (adj.) ‘raised, high’
177. Proto-Afrasian *\*kir-* (n.) ‘uppermost part (of anything): horn, head, skull, crown of head’:
- A. Egyptian *krty* (f. dual) ‘horns (on the crown of Amun)’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:134; Hannig 1995:885.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *takarkort* ‘skull, cranium’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *takarkurt* ‘cock’s comb’.
- C. Cushitic: Bilin (reduplicated) *kirkirtā* ‘skull, crown of head’. Reinisch 1887:226.
- D. Chadic: Margi *kḥār/kār* ‘head’; Nzangi *kırre/kre/kre* ‘head’; Sukur *kḥur/kxər* ‘head’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:182—183.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*khir-a* ‘uppermost part (of anything): horn, head, skull, crown of head; tip, top, summit, peak’ (Bomhard 2014.2:481—483, no. 439)
178. Proto-Afrasian *\*kum-* ‘(vb.) to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate; (n.) large amount, accumulation, heap; crowd, multitude’ (Ehret 1995:198, no. 322, *\*kum-* ‘to add together’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kam-ar-* ‘to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate’ > Akkadian *kamāru* ‘to heap up, to pile up, to spread out (dates for sorting), to accumulate, to add (in mathematics)’, *kamru* ‘sorted (dates) ready for transport’; Ugaritic *kmr* ‘pile’; Geez / Ethiopic *kamara* [ክሞረ] ‘to heap, to



accumulate'; Tigrinya *k<sup>w</sup>ämmärä* 'to pile up'; Tigre *kämmära* 'to pile up'; Amharic *kämmärä* 'to pile up, to accumulate'; Gafat *kimmärä* 'to pile up, to accumulate'; Argobba *kemmära* 'to pile up, to accumulate'; Gurage *kämärä* 'to pile up, to heap up'. Leslau 1979:343 and 1987:286.

- B. Egyptian *km* 'to total up, to amount to, to complete', *kmt* 'completion, final account', *kmyt* 'conclusion'. Hannig 1995:883; Gardiner 1957:597; Faulkner 1962:286; Erman—Grapow 1921:195 and 1926—1963.5:128—130.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*kum-* 'thousand' > Burji *kúm-a* 'thousand'; Somali *kun* (pl. *kum-an*) 'thousand'; Sidamo *kum-e* 'thousand'; Gedeo / Darasa *kum-a* 'thousand'; Galla / Oromo *kum-a* 'thousand'; Konso *kum-a* 'thousand'; Hadiyya *kum-a* 'thousand'; Kambata *kumi-ta* 'thousand'. Sasse 1979:12, 25 and 1982:120; Hudson 1989:153—154. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*kum-* 'to expand, to spread' > Iraqw *kumit-* 'to continue, to progress'; Dahalo *kum-* 'to puff out the cheeks (as with water)'. Ehret 1980:246. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*kuma* 'thousand' > Iraqw *kuma* 'thousand'. Ehret 1980:246. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*kumura-* 'many' > K'wadza *kolombayo* (< *\*kombolayo*) 'hundred'; Ma'a *-kumúre* 'many'. Ehret 1980:246. (Ehret suggests that *\*kum-* 'to expand, to spread', may ultimately be the source of *\*kuma* 'thousand' and *\*kumura* 'many' — "but if so this derivation lies far back in Cushitic history".)
- D. Omotic: North Omotic *\*kum-* 'to increase in volume' > Omoto *kum-* 'to fill'; Koyra *kum-* 'to fill'.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k<sup>h</sup>um-* (Bomhard 2014.2:492—493, no. 446):  
 (vb.) *\*k<sup>h</sup>um-* 'to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate';  
 (n.) *\*k<sup>h</sup>um-a* 'large amount, accumulation, heap; crowd, multitude'

179. Proto-Afrasian *\*kum-* '(vb.) to be or become black; (adj.) dark, black' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:326, no. 1496, *\*kum-* 'to be black'):

- A. Egyptian *km*, *kmm* 'to be or become black', *km* 'black', *kmmt*, *kmim̥t* 'darkness', *Kmt* 'the Black Land, Egypt'; Coptic *kmom* [ⲕⲙⲟⲙ] 'to become black', *kame* [ⲕⲁⲙⲉ] 'black', *kime* [ⲕⲙⲙⲉ] 'the Black Land, Egypt', *kmime* [ⲕⲙⲙⲙⲉ] 'darkness'. Hannig 1995:882—883; Faulkner 1962:286; Erman—Grapow 1921:196 and 1926—1963.5:122—124, 5:126—127, 5:128, 5:130; Gardiner 1957:597; Černý 1976:58; Vycichl 1983:81.
- B. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Werizoid: Gawwada *kumma* 'black'.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k<sup>h</sup>um-* (~ *\*k<sup>h</sup>om-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:494—495, no. 448):  
 (vb.) *\*k<sup>h</sup>um-* 'to char, to blacken; to burn, to smolder; to be or become hot';  
 (n.) *\*k<sup>h</sup>um-a* '(hot or smoldering) ashes, embers, charcoal; heat, warmth'; (adj.) 'warm, hot; glowing, smoldering; black'

180. Proto-Afrasian *\*kuwan-* ~ *\*kun-* (n.) ‘dog’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:311, no. 1425, *\*kan-* ‘dog’, 1995:327, no. 1498, *\*kun-* ‘dog’, and 1995:329, no. 1511, *\*küHen-* ‘dog’):

- A. Berber: Guanche (*\*kun-* ‘dog’ >) *cuna* ‘dog’.
- B. Omotic (*\*kuwán-* > *\*kwán-* >) *\*kan-* ‘dog’ > Ome *kana*, *kanaa* ‘dog’; Mao *kano* ‘dog’; Yemsa / Janjero *kana* ‘dog’; Bench / Gimira *kyan* ‘dog’. Omotic (*\*kuwan-* > *\*kuwen-* > *\*kuHen-* >) *\*keHen-* ‘dog’ > Dime *keenu* ‘dog’. Omotic *\*kunan-* ‘dog’ > Kefa *kunano* ‘dog’; Mocha *kunano* ‘dog’.
- C. Chadic: East Chadic (*\*kuwán-* > *\*kwán-* >) *\*kanya-* ‘dog’ > Dangla *kanya* ‘dog’; Jegu *kany-* ‘dog’. West Chadic (*\*kuwan-* > *\*kuwen-* >) *\*kuHen-* ‘dog’ > Mogogodo *kwehen* ‘dog’; Fyer *kʷeeŋ* ‘dog’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*kʰuwan-a* or *\*kʰun-a* originally a generic term meaning ‘young (especially of animals)’; later specialized as ‘young dog, puppy’ (Bomhard 2014.2:496—497, no. 450)

181. Proto-Afrasian *\*kam-* ‘(vb.) to cover, to hide, to conceal; (n.) covering’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kam-am-* ‘to cover, to hide, to conceal’ > Arabic *kamma* ‘to cover, to cover up, to conceal, to hide, to cloak’; Mehri *kmūm* ‘to cover (a camel’s teats) with cloth so that it’s young cannot drink and milk is kept for human beings’, *kīmēm* ‘under shield, teat shield’, *kāmmēt* ‘small women’s head-cloth under the top cloth’; Ḥarsūsi *kémmeḥ* ‘skull cap’.

Proto-Semitic *\*kam-an-* ‘to cover, to hide’ > Hebrew *miḥmān* [מִחְמָן] ‘treasure, hidden store, cache, hoard’; New Hebrew (pi.) *kimmēn* [כִּמְנֶן] ‘to hide’, *kāmānāh* [כִּמְנֶה] ‘ambush, trap; hiding-place’; Aramaic *kāman* ‘to lie in ambush’; Arabic *kamana* ‘to hide, to conceal; to be hidden, concealed, latent; to ambush, to waylay’, *makman* ‘place where something is hidden; ambush, hiding place’, *kamīn* ‘hidden, lying in ambush; ambush, secret attack’ (according to Klein [1987:279], this is a loan from Syriac), *kāmin* ‘hidden, concealed, latent; secret’; Mehri *mākāmnēt* ‘hidden beyond the rise of a slope’; Šheri / Jibbālī *kūn* (base *kmn*) ‘to hide’, *mākmún* ‘ambush’, *ekmín* ‘to lay an ambush for’. Klein 1987:279.

Proto-Semitic *\*kam-as-* ‘to hide’ > Hebrew *kāmas* [כָּמַס] ‘to hide, to conceal, to lay up, to store away’; Aramaic *kāmās* ‘store-room, cellar’; Amorite *kms* ‘to hide’. Murtonen 1989:233; Klein 1987:279.

Proto-Semitic *\*kam-ar-* ‘to cover, to hide’ > Akkadian *kaṁāru*, *kaṁarru* ‘a trap with a snare’; Arabic *kaṁara* ‘to cover, to veil, to conceal’; Hebrew *kimrūr* [כִּמְרֹר] ‘darkness, gloom’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); New Hebrew *kāmar* [כָּמַר] ‘to hide, to bury (for example, fruit in the ground)’; Aramaic *kāmar* ‘to hide; to keep warm’. Murtonen 1989:233; Klein 1987:279.

- B. New Egyptian *kmmnt* ‘material (for a shawl, scarf)’. Hannig 1995:884; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:131.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *təkamist* ‘a wide tunic with wide sleeves’; Wargla *takmist* ‘a lightweight robe, a long tunic’; Mzab *tačmist* ‘a lightweight robe with sleeves’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*q<sup>h</sup>am-* (~ *\*q<sup>h</sup>əm-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:631—632, no. 567):  
 (vb.) *\*q<sup>h</sup>am-* ‘to cover, to conceal’;  
 (n.) *\*q<sup>h</sup>am-a* ‘covering’
182. Proto-Afrasian *\*kat-* ‘(vb.) to beat, to strike; (n.) anger, fury, wrath, spite; fight, battle, quarrel; killing, slaughter’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kat-at-* ‘to beat, to strike’ > Arabic (Daḡina) *katt* ‘to demolish, to cut down’; Hebrew *kāθaθ* [כָּתַת] ‘to crush, to pound’; Aramaic *kəθaθ* ‘to crush, to pound’; Ugaritic *ktt* ‘beaten (copper)’; Akkadian *katātu* ‘to be low or short; to suffer physical collapse; (in astrology) to descend to the horizon’; Geez / Ethiopic *katta* [ክተ] ‘to cut in little pieces, to beat’; Tigre (reduplicated) *kātkāta* ‘to hurt, to beat’; Tigrinya (reduplicated) *kātkātä* ‘to cut’; Amharic (reduplicated) *kātākkātä* ‘to cut in little pieces, to chop up (wood)’; Gurage (reduplicated) *kätäkātä* ‘to break into pieces’, *kätta* ‘to break bread in half; to make an incision in the eye’. Klein 1987:290; Leslau 1979:356, 357 and 1987:298.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*kat-as<sup>y</sup>-* ‘to beat, to strike’ > Hebrew *kāθaš* [כָּתַשׁ] ‘to crush, to pound’; Aramaic *kəθaš* ‘to beat, to crush, to pound’; Syriac *kəθaš* ‘to beat; to quarrel, to contend’. Murtonen 1989:242; Klein 1987:290.
- B. Egyptian (reduplicated) *ktkt* ‘to beat, to strike’; Coptic (reduplicated) *čotčēt* [Ⲫⲟⲩⲧⲉⲧ] ‘to cut, to break, to destroy’. Hannig 1995:890; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:146; Vycichl 1983:348.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*q<sup>h</sup>ath-* (~ *\*q<sup>h</sup>əth-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:633—635, no. 569):  
 (vb.) *\*q<sup>h</sup>ath-* ‘to beat, to strike, to fight’;  
 (n.) *\*q<sup>h</sup>ath-a* ‘anger, fury, wrath, spite; fight, battle, quarrel; killing, slaughter’

## 5.2. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*g

183. Proto-Afrasian *\*gab-* (n.) ‘front, front part’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:194, no. 858, *\*gab-* ‘front’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*gab-ah-* ‘forehead, front, brow’ > Hebrew *gaḇ* [גַּב] ‘brow’; Arabic *ḡabīn*, *ḡabha* ‘forehead’; Šheri / Jibbāli *gebhāt* ‘brow’; Ḥarsūsi *yābheh* ‘brow’; Mehri *gebhēt* ‘front’; Tigre *gābbah* ‘broad-fronted’. D. Cohen 1970— :95; Murtonen 1989:125; Klein 1987:89.

- B. Chadic: Proto-Chadic *\*gab-* ‘front, front part’ (> ‘breast, chest’) > Hausa *gàbaa* ‘front part of body (of person or animal)’, (adv.) *gàba* ‘in front, forward, ahead’, *gàban* (prep.) ‘in front of, before’; Kera *gàw* ‘breast’; Tumak *gàu* ‘breast’; Ndam *gàwú* ‘breast’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:46—47.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*gab-a* ‘front, front part’ (Bomhard 2014.2:387—388, no. 347):  
Probably identical to:  
(n.) *\*gab-a* ‘peak, tip, top’
184. Proto-Afrasian *\*gab-* (n.) ‘hand, arm’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:194, no. 859, *\*gabaʔ-* ‘hand, arm’):
- A. Egyptian *gbʔ* (f. *gbt*) ‘arm’; Coptic (Sahidic) *čboy* [Ⲫⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ], (Bohairic) *ǧphoy* [Ⲭⲫⲟⲓ] ‘arm (of human being), leg (of animal)’. Faulkner 1962:288; Hannig 1995:898; Erman—Grapow 1921:198 and 1926—1963.5:163; Gardiner 1957:597; Vycichl 1983:338; Černý 1976:325.
- B. Cushitic: Saho-Afar *\*gab-* ‘hand’ > Saho *gabaa* ‘hand’; Afar *gaba*, *gabaa* ‘hand’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gab-* (~ *\*gəb-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:389—390, no. 349):  
(vb.) *\*gab-* ‘to grasp, to seize’;  
(n.) *\*gab-a* ‘hand, arm’
185. Proto-Afrasian *\*gad-* ‘(vb.) to be or become big, great, mighty; (n.) bigness, greatness, might; (adj.) big, great, mighty’ (Ehret 1995:180, no. 265, *\*gad-* / *\*gud-* ‘to be big’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*gad-ad-* ‘to be or become great, honored, rich’ > Arabic *ǧadda* ‘to be great, honored, rich’, *ǧadd* ‘good luck, good fortune’, *ǧiddan* ‘very, much’, *ǧadd* ‘riches, wealth, good fortune; greatness, honor; rich’; Sabaean *gdd* ‘(the) great, great ones’. D. Cohen 1970— :99—100; Zammit 2002:118—119.
- B. Egyptian *ḡdʔ* ‘(to be) fat’; Coptic *ǧate* [Ⲭⲁⲧⲉ] ‘to become ripe, mature; to advance in age’, *ǧtay* [Ⲭⲧⲁⲓ] ‘to ripen’. Hannig 1995:1019; Faulkner 1962:325; Gardiner 1957:604; Erman—Grapow 1921:223 and 1926—1963.5:631; Černý 1976:321; Vycichl 1983:332.
- C. Berber: Nefusa *guda* ‘pile, heap’; Tamazight *gudy* ‘to be numerous, to be many’, *sgudy* ‘to produce a lot, to furnish a large quantity’, *agdud* ‘crowd (on a festival day), a gathering’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *gudi* ‘to be in a pile or heap’, *agudi* ‘pile, heap’; Kabyle *agdud* ‘swarm of bees’.
- D. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *gada* ‘king, chief’; Sidamo *gada* ‘king, chief’. Hudson 1989:86—87. Proto-Southern Cushitic

\**a-gad-* ‘man, adult man’ > Burunge *gaduwa* ‘elder’; Alagwa *garmo* ‘elder’; Ma’a *mwagíru* ‘man, adult man’. Ehret 1980:297. Proto-Southern Cushitic \**gadu* ‘large, big’ > K’wadza *gala* ‘very’; Ma’a *-gíru* ‘very’; Dahalo *gurumuw-* ‘to grow’. Ehret 1980:235 — Ehret notes: “this root probably has a common source with root in IX.B.108, \**agadu*.”

E. Omotic: Dime *gääd* ‘big’.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**gad-* (~ \**gəd-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:390, no. 350):

(vb.) \**gad-* ‘to be or become big, great, mighty’;

(n.) \**gad-a* ‘bigness, greatness, might’; (adj.) ‘big, great, mighty’

186. Proto-Afrasian \**gad-* ‘(vb.) to cut, to split; (n.) that which cuts: (pick)axe, saw, hoe; that which is cut or split: cut, split, piece, fragment, bit’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:196, no. 868, \**gad-* ‘to cut, to split’, 197, no. 872, \**gadum-* ‘cut; axe, hoe’):

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**gad-ad-* ‘to cut off’ > Akkadian *gadādu* ‘to chop’; Hebrew *gāḏaḏ* [גָּדַד] ‘to cut, to make incisions in oneself’; Aramaic *gəḏaḏ* ‘to cut’; Mandaic *gdd* ‘to cut off, to put an end to’; Arabic *ḡadda* ‘to cut, to cut off’; Geez / Ethiopic *gəddu* [ገደዱ] ‘piece of wood cut with an axe or a saw’; Tigre *gädda* (< \**gad-ay-*) ‘to tear off’, *gədet* ‘a piece of meat (severed from the bone)’; Amharic *gəd* ‘name of a cut of meat’. D. Cohen 1970— :99—100; Murtonen 1989:127; Klein 1987:91; Leslau 1987:180.

Proto-Semitic \**gad-aš-* ‘to cut, to cut off’ > Hebrew *gāḏaʿ* [גָּדַע] ‘to cut down or off, to hew’; Aramaic *gəḏaʿ* ‘to cut off, to amputate’; Arabic *ḡadaʿa* ‘to cut off, to amputate’; Geez / Ethiopic *gʷadʿa* [ገደደላ] *gʷadʿa* [ገደደዐ] ‘to strike, to smite, to thrust, to knock, to crush, to shake, to touch, to butt, to heave with sobs’; Tigre *gädʿa* ‘to push, to pound’; Tigrinya *gʷädʿe* ‘to crush, to damage’; Amharic *gʷädda* ‘to harm, to damage’; Argobba *gʷädda* ‘to harm, to damage’; Gurage *gʷäda* ‘to injure, to harm, to hurt’. D. Cohen 1970— :102; Murtonen 1989:182; Klein 1987:92; Leslau 1979:260 and 1987:180.

Proto-Semitic \**gad-am-* ‘to cut off’ > Akkadian *gadāmu* ‘to cut off (hair)’; Hebrew *gāḏam* [גָּדַם] ‘to cut off, to lop off, to amputate’; Aramaic *gəḏam* ‘to cut down’; Mandaic *gdm* ‘to cut’; Arabic *ḡadama* ‘to cut off’; Geez / Ethiopic *gadāmit* [ገዳሚት] ‘scissors’; Tigre *gəddom* ‘pickaxe’; Amharic *gäḡämo* ‘axe’. D. Cohen 1970— :101; Klein 1987:92; Leslau 1987:182—183.

B. Berber: Kabyle *ḡaddəḥ* ‘to cut down, to hack’.

C. Cushitic: Bilin *gad-* ‘to smite, to hit’; Beja / Beḏawye *gaddūm*, *gadūm* ‘axe’; Afar *gadumaa* ‘axe’; Somali *gaduumo* ‘axe’. Reinisch 1895:91.

D. Chadic: East Chadic \**gad-* ‘to split’ > Tumak *gaad-* ‘to split’; Ndam *gəda* ‘to split’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gad-* (~ *\*gəd-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:390—392, no. 351):  
 (vb.) *\*gad-* ‘to cut, to split, to strike (with an instrument)’;  
 (n.) *\*gad-a* ‘that which cuts: (pick)axe, saw; that which is cut or split: cut, split, piece, fragment, bit’

187. Proto-Afrasian *\*gad-* (n.) ‘kid, young goat’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*gady-* ‘kid, young billy-goat’ > Akkadian *gadū* ‘male kid’; Ugaritic *gdy* ‘kid’; Hebrew *gəḏī* [גְּדִי] ‘kid’; Punic *gdʔ* ‘kid’; Aramaic *gadyā* ‘kid’; Arabic *ḡady* (pl. *ḡidāʔ*) ‘kid, young billy-goat’. D. Cohen 1970— :100—101; Murtonen 1989:127; Klein 1987:91.  
 B. (?) Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Burji *gadām-a* ‘greater kudu’; Gedeo / Darasa *gadansa* ‘antelope, buffalo’. Hudson 1989:20—21, 192, and 240; Sasse 1982:75. According to Sasse, these forms may be borrowings (cf. Galla / Oromo *gadam-sa* ‘greater kudu’).  
 C. (?) Chadic: Hausa *gàdāa* ‘duiker’; Ngizim *gádùwà* ‘crested duiker’; Dghwede *gə̀də̀gíre* ‘duiker’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrisimow 1994.II:112—113.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*gad-a* ‘kid, young goat’ (Bomhard 2014.2:392—393, no. 352)

188. Proto-Afrasian *\*gal-* ‘(vb.) to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate; (n.) cut, break, tear, separation’

Derivative:

*\*gal-* ‘(vb.) to dig, scoop, or hollow out (> to plow); (n.) the act of digging, scooping, or hollowing out’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*gal-al-* ‘to to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *galla* [ገለ], *gallala* [ገለለ] ‘to separate, to pick out, to choose, to set aside, to move aside, to winnow’, *gə̀lāl* [ገለለ] ‘matter picked out ( gleanings), winnowed or cleared grain’; Tigrinya *gälälä* ‘to move away from a place, to make way’; Amharic *gäläll alä* ‘to make way, to depart’. D. Cohen 1970— :125—129; Leslau 1987:191.

Proto-Semitic *\*gal-ay-* ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *galaya* [ገለየ] ‘to cut off, to cut away, to pluck off, to break off, to separate, to divide’; Amharic *gällälä* ‘to cut (wood)’; Harari *gäläla* ‘to cut the fingernails, to cut the edges, to remove impurities from the surface’. Leslau 1963:71 and 1987:192—193; D. Cohen 1970— :120—122.

Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*gal-gal-* ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *galgala* [ገለገለ] ‘to lay bear, to empty, to evacuate, to separate, to pillage, to destroy’; Tigre *gälgälä* ‘to tear off and

split'; Tigrinya *g<sup>w</sup>äl<sup>w</sup>älä* 'to take out'; Amharic *gäläggälä* 'to uproot'. Leslau 1987:190; D. Cohen 1970— :118.

Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*gal-gal-* 'to plow repeatedly' > Gurage *gäläggälä* 'to plow for the second time'; Amharic *gäläggälä* 'to repeat, to plow for the second and third time'; Harari *giläggälä* 'to repeat (referring to plowing)'. D. Cohen 1970— :118; Leslau 1963:71 and 1979:273.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *ağəlhim* 'hoe'; Nefusa *agəlzim* 'axe, hoe'; Ghadames *ağəlzim*, *ağərzim* 'hatchet'; Tamazight *agəlzim* 'pick, pickaxe', *tigəlzimt* 'pickaxe, hatchet, hoe'; Riff *agəlzim* 'pick, pickaxe'; Kabyle *agəlzim* 'pick, pickaxe', *tagəlzimt* 'hatchet'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gal-* (~ *\*gəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:393—394, no. 353, and 2:394, no. 354):

(vb.) *\*gal-* 'to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate';

(n.) *\*gal-a* 'cut, break, tear, separation'

Derivative:

(vb.) *\*gal-* 'to dig, scoop, or hollow out' (> 'to plow');

(n.) *\*gal-a* 'the act of digging, scooping, or hollowing out'

189. Proto-Afrasian *\*gal-* (n.) 'pot, vessel, container' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:199, no. 878, *\*gal-* 'vessel'):

- A. Egyptian *gn-t* [*\*gl-*] 'vessel, container (for wine)', *gnn-t* [*\*gl-gl-*] 'vessel, container (for milk)'. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:173 and 5:177; Hannig 1995:901 and 902.

- B. Chadic: West Chadic *\*gal-* 'calabash' > Warji *galiya* 'calabash'; Kariya *gali* 'calabash'; Geji *gale* 'calabash'; Burma *kal* 'calabash'; Buli *gal* 'calabash'. Central Chadic *\*gal-* 'pot' > Banana *gala* 'pot'.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*gal-a* 'pot, vessel' (Bomhard 2014.2:395, no. 355)

190. Proto-Afrasian *\*gal-* '(vb.) to be or become visible, clear, obvious, evident; to regard, to look at, to peer at; (n.) visibility, clarity, understanding; (adj.) clear, plain, evident' (Ehret 1995:183, no. 276, *\*gal-* 'to show'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*gal-ay-* 'to be or become shining, bright, clear, clean; to make shining, bright, clear, clean' > Arabic *ğalā* 'to clean, to polish; to make clear, to clear up, to clarify, to reveal, to disclose, to unveil; to shine, to be brilliant; to distinguish (oneself); to regard, to look at', *ğaliy* 'clear, plain, evident', *ğalayān* 'vision, revelation'; Hebrew *gālāh* [גָּלָה] 'to uncover, to reveal, to disclose'; Phoenician *gly* 'to uncover'; Aramaic *gālā* 'to reveal'; Harsūsi *gelō* 'to clean (a wound)'; Geez / Ethiopic *galaya* [ገለየ] 'to explain, to interpret, to reveal, to disclose', *galyat* [ግለየት] 'explanation, interpretation'. D. Cohen 1970— :120; Murtonen

1989:134—135; Leslau 1987:192—193; Klein 1987:99; Zammit 2002:125.

Proto-Semitic *\*gal-ah-* ‘to be visible, clear, obvious, evident’ > Tigrinya *gälhe* ‘to reveal’, *g<sup>w</sup>älhi*, *g<sup>w</sup>äl* ‘visible’, *guläh* ‘visible’; Gurage *guläh* ‘clear, evident’; Amharic *guläh* ‘evident, visible, obvious, plain (clear)’, *g<sup>w</sup>älla* ‘to be clear, to stand out’, *ag<sup>w</sup>älla* ‘to make clear, to magnify, to accentuate, to amplify, to emphasize’. D. Cohen 1970— :120; Leslau 1979:273.

B. Egyptian (Demotic) *glp*, *grp* ‘to reveal, to uncover’; Coptic *ġōlp* [Ⲅⲱⲗⲡ] ‘to uncover, to reveal’. Vycichl 1983:339; Černý 1976:328.

C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*gal-* or *\*gaal-* ‘to look at or look over’ > K’wadza *gal-* ‘to see’; Ma’a *-gali* ‘to try’. Ehret 1980:235. Chadic: Zaar *gali* ‘to see’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gal-* (~ *\*gäl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:395—396, no. 356):  
 (vb.) *\*gal-* ‘to be or become visible, clear, obvious, evident; to regard, to look at, to peer at’;  
 (n.) *\*gal-a* ‘visibility, clarity, understanding’; (adj.) ‘clear, plain, evident’

191. Proto-Afrasian *\*gam-* ‘(vb.) to bend, to be bent; (n.) a bent or curved object’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*gam-atṭ-* ‘to bend, to be bent’: Geez / Ethiopic *gamaša*, *gammaša* [ገመሻ], *gamaṣa* [ገመፀ] ‘to incline, to bend, to be bent, to bow down; to pervert (justice), to be partial (in justice)’; Tigre *gāmčuy* ‘crooked, perverted’; Tigrinya *gāmāšä* ‘to tell a lie’; Amharic *gāmmāṭä* ‘to speak ill (of an absent person)’. D. Cohen 1970— :143—144; Leslau 1987:195—196.

Akkadian *gamlu* ‘bent or curved stick (as projectile), throwing-stick’, *gamliš* (adv.) ‘like a bent (throwing-)stick, like a *gamlu*’. Perhaps also Ugaritic *gml*, if the meaning is ‘sickle’. D. Cohen 1970— :139.

B. Egyptian *gmḥt* ‘a braid or plait of hair, a lock of hair, a tress; temple(s) (of head)’. Hannig 1995:900; Faulkner 1962:289; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:171.

C. Berber: Tuareg *iğəm* ‘tent post to which the door is attached (for example, cord attached to the part of the canopy holding the door in place)’, *tağma* ‘nipple’; Siwa *gum* ‘pivot of mill’; Ghadames *uğəm* ‘pivot of the millstone of a home mill’; Wargla *asgum* ‘axle, pivot, spindle’; Tamazight *agum* ‘breechblock, pivot of mill’; Kabyle *agum* ‘pivot of mill’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gam-* (~ *\*gəm-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:399, no. 361):  
 (vb.) *gam-* ‘to bend, to be bent’;  
 (n.) *gam-a* ‘a bent or curved object: hook; wrist, ankle; etc.’



192. Proto-Afrasian \**gam-* ‘(vb.) to fill (up); (n.) plenty, surplus, abundance; (adj.) full, abundant, plentiful, much’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:201, no. 888, \**gam-* ‘to be full’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**gam-am-* ‘(vb.) to fill (up); (adj.) full, abundant, plentiful, much’ > Arabic *ġamma* ‘to gather; to collect (one’s thoughts); to grow luxuriantly’, *ġamm* ‘(adj.) abundant, plentiful; much, a great deal of; many, numerous; manifold, multiple; (n.) crowd, group of people’, *maġamm* ‘place where something gathers or flows together’; Maghrebi *ġamm* ‘to be near, to be abundant, to be full’, *ġammam* ‘to fill to the brim’; Šheri / Jibbāli *gimm* ‘(water) to gather again after being depleted’; Hebrew *gam* [גַּם] ‘also, moreover’; (?) Punic *gm* ‘majesty’. Klein 1987:102; D. Cohen 1970— :141—142; Tombback 1978:66; Zammit 2002:126.
- B. Berber: Kabyle *əgməm* ‘to amass, to accumulate’, *ggəmgəm* ‘to be full to the brim; to be swarming, teeming, or bustling with people; to froth, to seethe, to bubble up’ (these may be Arabic loans).
- C. Chadic: West Chadic \**gamu-* ‘to fill, to be full’ > Sura *gam* ‘to fill, to be full’; Tal *gām* ‘to fill, to be full’; Angas *gam* ‘to fill, to be full’; Montol *gum* ‘to fill, to be full’; Ankwe *gam* ‘to fill, to be full’; Bolewa *gom* ‘to fill, to be full’; Pero *kem* ‘to fill, to be full’; Ngamo *ngama* ‘to fill, to be full’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:156—157.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**gam-* (~ \**gəm-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:399—400, no. 362):  
 (vb.) \**gam-* ‘to fill (up)’;  
 (n.) \**gam-a* ‘plenty, surplus, abundance’

193. Proto-Afrasian \**gan-* ‘(vb.) to bend; (n.) side, edge’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:202, no. 891, \**gan-* ‘leg’, 202, no. 893, \**ganaḥ-* ‘to bend’, and 215—216, no. 954, \**gonVḥ-* ‘elbow, shoulder, wing’, 224, no. 994 \**gün-* ‘to bend’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**gan-aḥ-* ‘to bend’, \**gan-ḥ-*, \**gin-ḥ-* ‘side, flank; wing’ > Arabic *ġinḥ* ‘side, edge; shore, bank’, *ġanāḥ* ‘wing (of a bird, of an airplane, of a building, of an army); side, edge, flank; shoulder, arm, hand’, *ġāniḥ* ‘side, flank, wing’, *ġanaḥa* ‘to incline, to be inclined; to lean (to or toward); to turn, to go over, to join, to associate oneself (with); to diverge, to depart, to turn away, to break (with)’; Soqotri *ganḥ* ‘side’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ġēnaḥ* ‘wing’; Mehri *agōnəḥ* ‘to fly’. D. Cohen 1970— :157; Zammit 2002:127.

Proto-Semitic \**gan-ab-* ‘to turn away from, to turn aside’, \**gan-b-* ‘side’ > Arabic *ġanaba* ‘to keep away, to avert, to ward off (from someone or something), to keep someone out of the way, to spare; to be or walk by someone’s side; to run alongside of, to run parallel to, to skirt, to flank; to avoid (something)’, *ġanb* (prep.) ‘beside, next to, near, at’, *ġanba* ‘side, region, area’, *ġanbī* (adj.) ‘lateral, side’, *ġānib* ‘side; lateral portion;

sidepiece; flank; wing; face (geometry); part, portion, partial amount; partial view, section (of a scene, picture, or panorama); quantity, amount; a certain number; a few, some', *ḡannābīya* 'curb, embankment, levee; side channel, lateral (following a road or railroad tracks); bypass (of a lock or sluice)'; Arabic (Yemenite) *ḡanb*, *ḡamb* 'shoulder'; Sabaean *gnb* 'to fight on the side of'; Šheri / Jibbāli *ganb* 'side'; Ḥarsūsi *yanb* 'side', *b-ayanb de* 'beside'; Mehri *ganb* 'side', *gātnəb* 'to take someone aside from others in a group'. D. Cohen 1970— :150—151; Zammit 2002:127.

- B. Egyptian *ḡnh* 'wing', (?) *ḡnh* 'upper part of hind-leg, ham'. Hannig 1995:1008; Faulkner 1962:322; Erman—Grapow 1921:220 and 1926—1963.5:577—578, 5:578.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *aḡən* 'to crouch down, to squat', *səḡən* 'to make crouch down (camel)'; Tamazight *gən* 'to lie down, to sleep (by extension, to be confined to bed; to be flattened, bent, inclined); to be in labor', *sgən* 'to put to sleep'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *gən* 'to lie down'; Kabyle *gən* 'to lie down, to sleep', *asg<sup>w</sup>ən* 'bed'.
- D. Chadic: Central Chadic: Zime *gan* 'to bend'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gaŋ-* (~ *\*gəŋ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:401—403, no. 364):  
 (vb.) *\*gaŋ-* 'to bend: to bend forward; to bend back; to bend to the side';  
 (n.) *\*gaŋ-a* 'side, corner, flank, edge'

194. Proto-Afrasian *\*gar-* '(vb.) to cut, to split; (n.) cut, injury; that which cuts: (pick)axe; (adj.) cut, separated, shortened' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:203—204, no. 900, *\*garaʕ-* 'to cut'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*gar-aʕ-* 'to cut, to split' > Hebrew *gāraz* [גָּרַז] 'to cut, to cut off', *garzen* [גָּרַזַן] 'pick, pickaxe'; Arabic *ḡaraza* 'to cut off, to lop; to annihilate, to kill; to kick; to sting, to injure'; Geez / Ethiopic *garaza* [ገረዘ] 'to cut'; Tigre *gārza* 'to divide'; Tigrinya *gārāzā* 'to partition', *gärzāwä*, *gärzäyä* 'to divide the meat of a slaughtered cow'; Amharic *gärräzä* 'to circumcise', *gäräzzäzä* 'to cut down a tree'; Gafat *gärräzä* 'to cut'; Harari *gērāza* 'to plait hair' (from the basic meaning 'to separate'). D. Cohen 1970— :184—185; Murtonen 1989:140—141; Klein 1987:108; Leslau 1963:75 and 1987:204; Zammit 2002:121.

Proto-Semitic *\*gar-aʕ-* 'to cut, to shave' > Hebrew *gāraʕ* [גָּרַע] 'to shave, to trim (beard)'; Aramaic *gəraʕ* 'to shave (the head)'; Šheri / Jibbāli *géraʕ* 'to cut, to shave off (all the head hair)'; Mehri *gōra* 'to shave (the head)'; Soqotri *gāraʕ* 'to shave'. D. Cohen 1970— :190; Murtonen 1989:142; Klein 1987:110.

- B. Egyptian *grp* 'to cut, to carve', *grb* 'to form, to fashion'. Hannig 1995:903.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *aḡər* 'eunuch, castrated animal'; Tamazight *iggər* 'infertile, sterile'; Kabyle *əngər* 'to die childless, especially without male progeny; to

be massacred (family, people)', *ssəngər* 'to destroy, to make die', *aməngur* 'a childless man'; Zenaga *aggur* 'to be sterile, to be castrated'.

D. Cushitic: Saho *gara*<sup>o</sup>- 'to castrate'; Afar *gara*<sup>o</sup>- 'to cut off'; Galla / Oromo *gara*<sup>o</sup>- 'to cut'.

E. Chadic: Central Chadic: Yedina *garébate* (n.) 'a cut'. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:97.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gar-* (~ *\*gər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:404—405, no. 366):  
 (vb.) *\*gar-* 'to cut, to split';  
 (n.) *\*gar-a* 'cut, injury; that which cuts: (pick)axe'; (adj.) 'cut, separated, shortened'

195. Proto-Afrasian *\*gar-* '(vb.) to scratch, to scrape; (n.) scratch, scrape':

Derivative:

*\*gar-b-* (n.) 'itch, scab, sore' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:203, no. 889, *\*garab-* 'disease')

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*gar-ad-* 'to scratch, to scrape, to peel' > Hebrew *gāraḏ* [גָּרַד] 'to scratch, to scrape'; Aramaic *gəraḏ* 'to scrape off'; Phoenician *m-grd* 'scraper'; Arabic *ġarada* 'to peel, to pare'; Šheri / Jibbāli *góród* 'to disarm, to strip someone of his uniform, to strip (tree of branches)'; Mehri *gərōd* 'to undress (tr.), to disarm (tr.), to strip someone of everything, to cut (a branch off a tree) for no apparent purpose'; Geez / Ethiopic *garada* [ገረደ] 'to remove chaff'; Tigrinya *gurdi* 'chaff', *g<sup>w</sup>ärädä* 'to become chaff'; Tigre *gərd* 'chaff'; Amharic *g<sup>w</sup>ärrädä* 'to separate chaff from grain', *gərd*, *g<sup>w</sup>ərdo* 'chaff'. D. Cohen 1970— :182; Klein 1987:107; Leslau 1987:201; Zammit 2002:120.

Proto-Semitic *\*gar-ab-* 'itch, scab' > Akkadian *garābu* 'itch, scab, leprosy'; Hebrew *gārāḇ* [גָּרַב] 'itch, scab'; Arabic *ġarab* 'itch, scabies'; Ḥarsūsi *garb* 'mange'; Šheri / Jibbāli *gérab* 'to have the mange'; Mehri *gērəb* 'to have the mange', *garb* 'mange'; Soqotri *gerb* 'scabies'; Tigre *gərbeḅ* 'scab'. D. Cohen 1970— :178; Murtonen 1989:140; Klein 1987:107.

B. Chadic: East Chadic: Somray *gaber* (< *\*gabyar-* < *\*gabari-* [metathesis from *\*garabi-*]) 'syphilis'.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gar-* (~ *\*gər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:405—406, no. 367, and 2:406, no. 368):  
 (vb.) *\*gar-* 'to scratch, to scrape';  
 (n.) *\*gar-a* 'that which scratches, scrapes: spade, rake'  
 Derivative:  
 (n.) *\*gar-b-a* 'itch, scab, sore'

196. Proto-Afrasian \**gar*- ‘(vb.) to swell, to increase, to grow; (n.) swelling, increase, growth; great quantity, abundance, excess’:
- A. Berber: Tuareg *ağər* ‘to be bigger than, superior to’; Tamazight *agər* ‘to be older, bigger, superior’, *ssəgru* ‘to multiply, to augment, to increase’, *agar* ‘advantage, superiority’, *ugar* ‘more, more than’, *amyagar* ‘inequality, bad disposition, disequilibrium, difference (height, age, etc.)’; Kabyle *ag<sup>w</sup>ar* ‘to surpass, to exceed’, *ugar* ‘more’.
  - B. Cushitic: Central Cushitic: Bilin (pl.) *gäri-w* ‘strong; much; numerous’, *gär-* ‘to be strong, powerful, capable’, *gärä-s-* ‘to be able’; Quara *gärš-* ‘to be able’. Appleyard 2006:21 and 97; Reinisch 1887:157.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**gar*<sup>y</sup>- (~ \**gar*<sup>y</sup>-) (Bomhard 2014.2:407—408, no. 369):  
 (vb.) \**gar*<sup>y</sup>- ‘to swell, to increase, to grow’;  
 (n.) \**gar*<sup>y</sup>-*a* ‘swelling, increase, growth; great quantity, abundance, excess’  
 Identical to:  
 (vb.) \**gar*<sup>y</sup>- ‘to stick out, to stand out, to jut out, to project, to protrude; to be or become erect, rigid, stiff’;  
 (n.) \**gar*<sup>y</sup>- ‘tip, point, peak’
197. Proto-Afrasian \**gar*- ‘(vb.) to stick out, to stand out, to jut out, to project, to protrude; to be or become erect, rigid, stiff; (n.) tip, point, peak’:
- A. Semitic: (?) Akkadian *garānu* (also *karānu*) ‘to store, to pile up in heaps’, *gurunnu* ‘heap, mound’; (?) Geez / Ethiopic *g<sup>w</sup>ar’<sup>a</sup>* [ገረዓ] ‘to pile, to heap up stores’ (according to Leslau 1987:200, this is probably reconstructed from Amharic *g<sup>w</sup>är<sup>r</sup>a*). Cushitic loans (cf. Leslau 1979:288) in: Gurage (Soddo) *gara* ‘mountain’, *gägära* ‘ascent, hill, uphill, upward slope’; Amharic *gara* ‘mountain’.
  - B. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Burji *gáar-i* ‘eyebrow’ (perhaps a loan from Oromo); Galla / Oromo *gaara* ‘eyebrow’; Gedeo / Darasa *gaara* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’; Boni *gaar-i* ‘eyebrow’ (loan from Oromo); Konso *káar-a* ‘edge’; Sidamo *gaara* ‘forehead, eyelash; brow, hill’. Sasse 1982:73; Hudson 1989:60.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**gar*<sup>y</sup>- (~ \**gar*<sup>y</sup>-) (Bomhard 2014.2:408—410, no. 370):  
 (vb.) \**gar*<sup>y</sup>- ‘to stick out, to stand out, to jut out, to project, to protrude; to be or become erect, rigid, stiff’;  
 (n.) \**gar*<sup>y</sup>- ‘tip, point, peak’  
 Identical to:  
 (vb.) \**gar*<sup>y</sup>- ‘to swell, to increase, to grow’;  
 (n.) \**gar*<sup>y</sup>-*a* ‘swelling, increase, growth; great quantity, abundance, excess’
198. Proto-Afrasian \**gen*- (n.) ‘jaw, cheek’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*ʔa-gan-, \*wa-gan- ‘cheek’ > Arabic ʔa-ġna-t, ʔi-ġna-t, ʔu-ġna-t ‘fullest part of the cheek’, wa-ġnāʔ ‘having strong cheeks (strong she-camel)’, wa-ġna-t, wi-ġna-t, wu-ġna-t, wa-ġana-t ‘cheek’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ōgən* ‘to have prominent cheekbones’, *égənt* ‘cheekbone’; Mehri *wəgnēt* ‘cheekbone’; Ḥarsūsi *wegnēt* ‘cheek’. D. Cohen 1970— :7 and 493—494.
- B. Chadic: Sura *gén* ‘cheek’; Dera *gəŋgá* ‘cheek’; Pa’a *gàncáka* ‘cheek’; Zime-Dari *gin* ‘cheek’; Zime-Batna *gìn* ‘cheek’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:68—69.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \**gen-a* ‘jaw, cheek’ (Bomhard 2014.2:)

199. Proto-Afrasian \**gib-* ‘(vb.) to bestow upon, to give; (n.) gift’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic (\**gib-* > \**gvib-* > \**dvib-* > \**ʒab-* [~ secondary *a*-grade form: \**ʒab-*] >) \**ʒab-ad-* ‘to bestow upon, to give’ > Hebrew *zāḇaḏ* [זָבַד] ‘to bestow upon, to endow with’, *zeḇeḏ* [זֶבֶד] ‘endowment, gift’; Aramaic *zāḇaḏ* ‘to bestow upon’; Arabic *zabada* ‘to bestow upon, to give little’; Sabaean *zbd* ‘gift’. Murtonen 1989:160; Klein 1987:193.
- B. Egyptian (\**gib-* > \**gvib-* > \**dvib-* >) *ḏb*, *ḏbʔ* ‘to supply, to furnish with, to equip, to provide’; Coptic *tōḏbe* [ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲉ] ‘(vb.) to repay, to requite; (n.) requital, repayment’. Hannig 1995:1002; Faulkner 1962:321; Erman—Grapow 1921:219 and 1926—1963.5:555—556; Vycichl 1983:211; Černý 1976:181.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**gib-* (~ \**geb-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:415—416, no. 376):  
 (vb.) \**gib-* ‘to bestow upon, to give’;  
 (n.) \**gib-a* ‘gift’

200. Proto-Afrasian \**gid-* ‘(vb.) to force, drive, or press together; to join; to unite; to gather (together); to collect; (n.) force, compulsion; collection, heap; union; (adj.) pressed close together, near, united’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**gad-ad-* ‘to force, drive, or press together; to join; to unite; to gather (together); to collect’ > Hebrew *gāḏaḏ* [גָּדַד] ‘to gather in bands or troops’, *gəḏūḏ* [גִּדּוּד] ‘band, troop’; Phoenician (pl.) \**gddm* ‘troops’; Akkadian \**gudūdu* ‘military detachment’ (Hebrew loan); Geez / Ethiopic *gadada* [ገደደ] ‘to force, to compel, to be cruel, to be deformed’, *gədud* [ግደድ] ‘serious, severe, impure, dirty’, *bagədud* [በግደድ] ‘by force’; Tigre *gədd* ‘compulsion, force’; Tigrinya *gädädä* ‘to force, to compel’, (*bä*)*gəddi* ‘compulsory’; Amharic *gäddädä* ‘to force, to oblige’; Harari *gädäd* ‘stubborn’; Gurage (Soddo) (*ag*)*giddädä* ‘to force someone to do something’. D. Cohen 1970— :99—100; Murtonen 1989:127; Klein

- 1987:91 (different from *gāḏaḏ* ‘to cut’); Leslau 1979:262 and 1987:181 (not derived from Semitic *\*gdd* ‘to cut’).
- B. Egyptian (*\*gid-* > *\*gʷid-* > *\*dʷid-* >) *ḏdb* ‘to gather; to assemble, to come together (people); \*to heap or pile up’, *ḏdmṯ* /ḏidma-t/ ‘heap, pile’; Coptic (Sahidic) *ḡatme* [Ⲭⲁⲧⲙⲉ], (Akhmimic) *ḡetme* [Ⲭⲉⲧⲙⲉ] ‘heap (of grain)’. Hannig 1995:1019; Erman—Grapow 1921:223 and 1926—1963.5:632 and 5:634; Černý 1976:321; Vycichl 1983:332.
- C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *gidd-is-* ‘to compel, to force; to persuade’; Kambata *gidd-is-* ‘to order’. Hudson 1989:279 and 318.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gid-* (~ *\*ged-*) or *\*gid-* (~ *\*ged-*) (Bomhard 2014.2: 416—417, no. 377):
- (vb.) *\*gid-* or *\*gid-* ‘to force, drive, or press together; to join; to unite; to gather (together); to collect’;
- (n.) *\*gid-a* or *\*gid-a* ‘force, compulsion; collection, heap; union’; (adj.) ‘pressed close together, near, united’
201. Proto-Afrasian *\*gin-* ‘(vb.) to grind, to pound, to break or crush into pieces; (n.) the act of grinding, pounding, crushing’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:209, no. 927, *\*gin-* ‘to grind, to pound’):
- A. Egyptian (*\*gin-* > *\*gʷin-* > *\*dʷin-* >) *ḏn* ‘to grind’. Hannig 1995:1007; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:575.
- B. East Chadic *\*gin-* ‘to pound’ > Somray *gine* ‘to pound’; Ndam *gəna* ‘to pound’; Tumak *gən* ‘to pound’; Dangla *igina* ‘to pound’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gin-* (~ *\*gen-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:419—420, no. 381):
- (vb.) *\*gin-* ‘to grind, to pound, to break or crush into pieces’;
- (n.) *\*gin-a* ‘the act of grinding, pounding, crushing’
202. Proto-Afrasian *\*gir-* ‘(vb.) to gird, to enclose; (n.) enclosure, fence, wall’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic (*\*gir-* > *\*gʷir-* > *\*dʷir-* > *\*zər-* [~ secondary *a*-grade form: *\*zar-*] >) *\*zar-* (*\*ʔa-zar-*, *\*zar-ar-*) ‘to gird’ > Arabic *zarra* ‘to button up’, *ʔazara* ‘to surround’; Hebrew *zēr* [זֶר] ‘circlet, border’, *zarzīr* [זֶרְזִיר] ‘girded, girt’, *ʔāzar* [אָזַר] ‘to gird, to encompass, to equip’, *ʔezōr* [אֶזֶר] ‘waistcloth’; Ugaritic *mīzrt* ‘wrap, shawl’; Harsūsi *wezār* ‘waistcloth’; Šheri / Jibbālī *zerr* ‘to tie tightly, to pull (a rope) tight’; Mehri *zər* ‘to fix, to secure’. Murtonen 1989:86 and 169; Klein 1987:16 and 203; D. Cohen 1970— :14.
- B. Egyptian (*\*gir-* > *\*gʷir-* > *\*dʷir-* >) *ḏri* ‘to constrain, to enclose, to fortify’, *ḏr* (later variant *ḏrīt*) ‘wall, enclosure’. Gardiner 1957:604; Faulkner 1962:323; Hannig 1995:1012—1013; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:598.

- C. Berber: Proto-Berber (\**gir*- > \**g<sup>y</sup>ir*- > \**d<sup>y</sup>ir*- >) \**dər*- > Tawlemmet *adər* ‘to keep, to support, to maintain’, *asədər* ‘a rope used to hold another’; Nefusa *ədri* ‘to close’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *idri* ‘rack’; Kabyle *adar* ‘row, line’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**gir*- (~ \**ger*-) (Bomhard 2014.2:420—422, no. 382):  
 (vb.) \**gir*- ‘to gird, to enclose’;  
 (n.) \**gir-a* ‘enclosure, fence, wall’
203. Proto-Afrasian \**ger*- ‘(vb.) to be or become old; (n.) old age, old person; (adj.) old’ (Takács 2011:197 \**g-r* ‘old’; Ehret 1995:186, no. 284, \**gerʕ*- ‘to become old’):
- A. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic \**gerʕ*- ‘to become old’ > Galla / Oromo *jaarsa* ‘to become old’; Gidole *kerʔ*- ‘to become old’; Sidamo *geedʔ*, *geedid*- (< \**geer-d*-) ‘to grow old (of people)’, (pl.) *geerra* ‘old men, elders’, *geer-co* ‘old man, old woman’; Gedeo / Darasa *geer-co* ‘old man, old woman’, (pl.) *geeʔre* ‘old men’. Hudson 1989:107; Sasse 1979:37.
- B. Chadic: Proto-Chadic \**garə* ‘to grow old’ > Kirfi *gaaro* ‘old’; Ngizim *gàrú* ‘to grow old’; Tera *gorə* ‘to grow old’. Newman 1977:27.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**gir<sup>y</sup>*- (~ \**ger<sup>y</sup>*-) or \**gir<sup>y</sup>*- (~ \**ger<sup>y</sup>*-) (Bomhard 2014.2:422—423, no. 383):  
 (vb.) \**gir<sup>y</sup>*- or \**gir<sup>y</sup>*- ‘to be or become old’;  
 (n.) \**gir<sup>y</sup>-a* or \**gir<sup>y</sup>-a* ‘old age, old person’; (adj.) ‘old’
204. Proto-Afrasian \**gir*- ‘(vb.) to move, to move swiftly, to hasten, to hurry; to run, to flow; (n.) movement, flow, flux, step, course’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:211, no. 934, \**gir*-/\**gur*- ‘to go, to run’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**gar-ay*- ‘to move, to move swiftly, to hasten, to hurry; to run, to flow’ > Arabic *ġarā* ‘to flow, to stream (water); to run; to hurry, to rush, to hasten; to blow (wind); to take place, to come to pass, to happen, to occur; to be under way, to be in progress, to be going on (work); to befall, to happen; to be in circulation, to circulate, to be current; to wend one’s way, to head (for); to proceed; to follow, to yield, to give way; to entail; to run or be after something, to seek to get something’, *ġary* ‘course’, *ġarrāʔ* ‘runner, racer’, *ġarayān* ‘flow, flux; course; stream’, *ġārin* ‘flowing, streaming, running; circulating’, *maġran* ‘course, stream, rivulet, gully; torrent or flood of water’; Syriac *gərā* ‘to run, to flow’. D. Cohen 1970— :187; Zammit 2002:121—122.
- B. Berber: Riff *uġur* ‘to go, to walk’; Iznasen *uyur* ‘to go, to walk’.
- C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *geer*- ‘to run’. Hudson 1989:279. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *ʔagir*-, *ʔagar*- ‘to return’.

- D. Chadic: West Chadic *\*guraʔ-* ‘to come; to go around’ > Dera *gur-* ‘to come’; Bokkos *garaʔ-* ‘to go around’. Central Chadic *\*gwar-* (< *\*gura-*) ‘to go into; to return; to follow’ > Tera *gəri-* ‘to return’; Hildi *gwər-* ‘to go into’; Logone *gər-* ‘to go into’; Banana *gwərə-* ‘to follow’. East Chadic *\*gVr-* ‘to come’ > Sibine *gər-* ‘to come’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*girʷ-* (~ *\*gerʷ-*) or *\*girʷ-* (~ *\*gerʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2: 422—424, no. 384):
- (vb.) *\*girʷ-* or *\*girʷ-* ‘to move, to move swiftly, to hasten, to hurry; to run, to flow; to go, to walk’;
- (n.) *\*girʷ-a* or *\*girʷ-a* ‘movement, flow, flux, step, course’
205. Proto-Afrasian *\*gol-* (n.) ‘edge, corner, valley’:
- A. [Berber: Tuareg *aǧəlmam* ‘any body of water occurring naturally (lake, basin, pool, puddle)’; Nefusa *aǧəlmam* ‘depression in the earth filled with water from rain; pond, lake’; Tamazight *aǧəlmam* ‘pond, lake, large pool’; Kabyle *aggwəlmam* ‘lake, pond, pool’, *agwəlmim* ‘depression in the earth, hole filled with water’.] Note: The Berber forms belong either here or with Proto-Afrasian *\*gal-* (n.) ‘river, lake’.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*gol-* ‘edge, slope, valley’ > Burji *gól-oo* ‘slope’; Afar *gol-o* ‘valley’; Somali *gol* ‘foot of hill’; Galla / Oromo *gol-a* ‘corner, edge, gorge’; East Oromo *gol-uu* ‘valley’; Tsamay *gole* ‘river’; Gawwada *kol-l-e* ‘river’; Gollango *kol-l-e* ‘river’; Sidamo *gola, gollo* ‘corner’. Hudson 1989:194 and 366; Sasse 1982:83.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*gol-a* ‘edge, corner, valley’ (Bomhard 2014.2:424, no. 385)
206. Proto-Afrasian *\*gub-* (n.) ‘highest point, pinnacle’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:223, no. 992, *\*gübaʃ-* ‘mountain’; Militarëv 2012:74 Proto-Afrasian *\*ga/ub-*; [Ehret 1995:179, no. 263, *\*gab-* ‘top’]):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*gab-* ‘highest point, summit, top, mountain, hill’ > Akkadian *gabʷu* ‘summit, top, height’; Hebrew *gāḇah* [גָּבַח] ‘to be high, exalted’, *gəḇāl* [גְּבָל] ‘mountainous region’, *giḇʿāh* [גִּבְעָה] ‘hill, height, elevation’; Ugaritic *gbʰ* ‘hill’, *gbl* ‘mountain’; Arabic *ǧabal* ‘mountain’, *ǧabalī* ‘mountainous, hilly’; Sabaeen *gblt* ‘hill country’; Mehri *gebēl* ‘mountain’; Šheri / Jibbāli *giél* (base *gbl*) ‘mountain’; Amharic *gäbäta* ‘high hill’. D. Cohen 1970— :96 and 97; Militarëv 2012:74 Proto-Semitic *\*gVb-Vl-*; Klein 1987:89 and 90; Murtonen 1989:126; Zammit 2002:116.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*gub(b)-* ‘mountain’ > Afar *gubb-i* ‘high spot in undulating country’; Burji *gúbb-a* ‘highland’; Dullay *ǧup-o* ‘mountain’; Dasenech *gum* ‘mountain’; Galla / Oromo *gubb-aa* ‘up, above’. Sasse



1979:15 and 1982:85; Hudson 1989:195. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *guβa* ‘plains’.

- C. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*guba-* (< *\*gubaH-*) ‘mountain’ > Glavda *γoba* ‘mountain’; Gava *γuba* ‘mountain’; Mesme *gəbəy* ‘mountain’.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*gub-a* ‘highest point, summit, top’ (Bomhard 2014.2: 424—425, no. 386):

Note also:

(n.) *\*gab-a* ‘peak, tip, top’

207. Proto-Afrasian *\*gub-* ‘(vb.) to cook, to roast, to burn; (n.) the act of cooking; that which is used for cooking: pot, pan; stove, furnace’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:219, no. 971, *\*gub-* ‘to burn’):

- A. Semitic: Akkadian *gubbubu* ‘to roast’, *gabbubu* ‘roasted’, *\*gubibtu* (pl. *gubibāte*) ‘parched barley’.

- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*gub-* ‘to burn’ > Somali *gub-* ‘to burn’; Rendille *gub-* ‘to burn’; Boni *kub-* ‘to burn’; Galla / Oromo *gub-* ‘to burn’; Konso *kup-* ‘to burn’; Yaaku *kup-* ‘to rot’. Sasse 1979:17. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa (transitive) *gub-* ‘to burn, to burn the mouth (food)’, (intransitive) *gub-at-* ‘to burn’; Burji (transitive) *gub-*, *gub-ad-* ‘to burn’. Hudson 1989:33—34, 195, and 243. The Highland East Cushitic forms may be loanwords from Galla / Oromo. Orël—Stolbova include Dahalo *guβ-* ‘to burn’. However, Ehret (1980:238) derives the Dahalo form from Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*guf-* ‘to burn (something)’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gub-* (~ *\*gob-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:425—426, no. 387):

(vb.) *\*gub-* ‘to cook, to roast, to burn’;

(n.) *\*gub-a* ‘the act of cooking; that which is used for cooking: pot, pan; stove, furnace’

208. Proto-Afrasian *\*gur-* ‘(vb.) to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle; (n.) rumbling, roaring, gurgling, growling noise or sound; larynx, throat’:

- A. Semitic: [Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*gar-gar-* ‘to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle’ > Arabic *ğarğara* ‘to gargle’, *ğarğara* ‘gargling, rumbling noise, rumble, clatter (of a wagon)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *egergér* ‘to make a gurgling noise’, *əngergér* ‘(stomach) to rumble’; Mehri *agárər* ‘to make a gurgling noise’, *engergör* ‘(stomach) to rumble’; Geez / Ethiopic *?ang<sup>w</sup>arg<sup>w</sup>ara* (*\*g<sup>w</sup>ar-g<sup>w</sup>ar-*) [**አገገግግ**] ‘to murmur, to mutter, to grumble, to complain, to claim, to be vexed, to be angry’; Tigrinya *?ang<sup>w</sup>ärg<sup>w</sup>ärä* ‘to mutter, to mumble’; Gurage *angəraggärä* ‘to grumble’, (*a*)*g<sup>w</sup>arra* ‘to roar, to bellow, to howl’, *gurgurtä* ‘thunder’, (Masqan) *gurgur barä*, (Wolane) *gurgur balä* ‘to thunder, to murmur’; Amharic

*ang<sup>w</sup>äragg<sup>w</sup>ärä* ‘to mutter’; Harari *gūr bāya* ‘to thunder’, *gurur bāya* ‘to roar (animals), to thunder, to rumble (thunder)’, *gurgurti* ‘rumor’, *gurum gurum bāya* ‘to grumble, to groan’, *gurumti* ‘groan, rumor’. D. Cohen 1970— :175—177; Leslau 1963:74, 75, 1979:288, 293, and 1987:202. Proto-Semitic \**gar-*, *gar-gar-*, *gan-gar-*, etc. ‘throat, larynx, gullet’ > Ugaritic *grgr* ‘throat’ (?); Akkadian *gaggurītu*, *gangurītu* ‘gullet’ (?); Arabic *ḡurḡur* ‘noisy (throat)’, *ḡirtīʔa-t* ‘windpipe, throat, larynx’, *ḡarāḡir* ‘throat’; Hebrew *gargereθ* [גַּרְגֵּרֶת] ‘throat, windpipe, gullet, neck’; Syriac *gaggarθā* (< \**gargartā*) ‘throat’; Geez / Ethiopic *g<sup>w</sup>ər<sup>ʿ</sup>e* [ጉርዳ], *gur<sup>ʿ</sup>e* [ጉርዳ] ‘throat, neck, palate’; Tigrinya *g<sup>w</sup>äräro*, *g<sup>w</sup>ärəro* ‘throat’; Tigre *gərə<sup>ʿ</sup>* ‘throat’; Amharic *g<sup>w</sup>ərorro*, *guroorro* ‘throat’; Gafat *gurarä* ‘throat’; Gurage *g<sup>w</sup>ärärä* ‘throat, gullet, glottis’. D. Cohen 1970— :175—177; Klein 1987:107; Leslau 1979:295 and 1987:200—201.]

- B. Berber: Tashelhiyt / Shilha *gurzu* ‘to be hoarse’, *agurza* ‘hoarseness’; Tuareg *igurhayən* ‘larynx, throat’; Tawlemmet *agurzay* ‘throat, salivary glands’; Chaouia *igərzi* ‘throat’.
- C. Chadic: Hausa *guṛṇaani* ‘growling (of lions, dogs, etc.)’.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**gur-* (onomatopoeic) (Bomhard 2014.2:430—432, no. 393):

- (vb.) \**gur-* ‘to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle’;
- (n.) \**gur-a* ‘rumbling, roaring, gurgling, growling noise or sound’

Note: The Semitic forms are phonologically ambiguous and may belong either here or with the following:

← Proto-Nostratic root \**gar-* (~ \**gər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:617—618, no. 555):

- (vb.) \**gar-* ‘to mutter, to groan, to grumble, to howl, to roar’;
- (n.) \**gar-a* ‘groan, howl, murmur, roar, cry’
- Reduplicated (Semitic and Kartvelian):
- (vb.) \**gar-gar-* ‘to mutter, to groan, to grumble, to howl, to roar’;
- (n.) \**gar-gar-a* ‘groan, howl, murmur, roar, cry’

209. Proto-Afrasian \**g[uw]ar-* (n.) ‘antelope’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:203, no. 898, \**gar-*/\**gawar-* ‘antelope’):

- A. Egyptian *gw* ‘(wild) bull’. Hannig 1995:896; Faulkner 1962:288; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:159.
- B. Cushitic: North Cushitic: Beja / Beḏawye *gār-uwa* ‘a kind of antelope’. Reinisch 1895:102. Southern Cushitic: Rift \**gwar-* ‘antelope’ > Iraqw *gwaraay* ‘antelope’.
- C. Omotic \**gar-* ‘antelope’ > Ome *gaaraa* ‘antelope’.
- D. Chadic: West Chadic \**gar-* ‘oryx’ > Tsagu *gaare* ‘oryx’; Mburku *gaari* ‘oryx’. Central Chadic \**gar-* ‘antelope’ > Logone *garia* ‘antelope’. East

Chadic \**gawar-* ‘antelope’ > Tumak *gəru* ‘antelope’; Kwang *gowor-to* ‘antelope’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**guw-* (~ \**gow-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:434—435, no. 396):  
 (vb.) \**guw-* ‘to hunt wild animals’;  
 (n.) \**guw-a* ‘wild animal, wild beast, game’; (adj.) ‘wild, untamed’  
 Extended form:  
 (vb.) \**guw-V-r-* ‘to hunt wild animals’;  
 (n.) \**guw-r-a* ‘wild animal, wild beast, game’; (adj.) ‘wild, untamed’

Notes:

1. The unextended stem is preserved in Egyptian.
2. The remaining Afrasian (Cushitic and Chadic) and Indo-European forms are deverbatives: \**guw-V-r-*.

210. Proto-Afrasian \**gal-* ‘(vb.) to come, to go; to come in, to enter; to go out, to go away, to leave, to depart; (n.) the act of coming or going; trip, voyage’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:199, no. 879, \**gal-* ‘to go, to enter’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ga-/wa-/l-* ‘to roam, to rove, to wander about’ > Arabic *ġāla* ‘to roam, to rove, to wander about; to move freely, to be at home, to occupy oneself, to be circulated, to make the rounds; to pass (through the mind)’, *ġawla* ‘circuit, round, patrol; excursion, outing; tour; trip, voyage’, *taġwāl* ‘migration, wandering, roving, traveling; nomadic life, nomadism’; Sabaeen *gyl* ‘course, period’; Šheri / Jibbāli *egtél* ‘(usually animals) to gather; to wander, to tour around’; Hebrew *gīl* [גִּיל] ‘circle, age’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). D. Cohen 1970— :108; Murtonen 1989:133; Klein 1987:98.

Proto-Semitic \**gal-aw-* ‘to go out or away from’ > Hebrew *gālāh* [גָּלָה] ‘to go away, to disappear, to go into exile’; Aramaic *gālā* ‘to go into exile, to go away, to disappear’; Ugaritic *gly* ‘to leave, to depart’; Arabic *ġalā* ‘to move away, to go away (from a place), to leave (a place); to depart, to leave, to quit, to evacuate (a place)’. Perhaps also Geez / Ethiopic (passive) *tagalgala* [ተገለገለ] ‘to be taken into captivity, to go into exile’. D. Cohen 1970— :120—122; Murtonen 1989:134—135; Leslau 1987:190.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *əḡəl* ‘to leave, to go, to walk; (by extension) to be lost (animal, thing); to go past’, *tagəllawt* ‘departure’; Tawlemmet *aglu* ‘to leave, to go past, to continue on one’s way’, *saglu* ‘to make go, to send away’; Kabyle *əglu* ‘to go’; Tamazight *gulu* ‘to arrive, to await, to reach’; Ghadames *təḡḡəli* ‘a short while ago, a month ago’.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic \**gal-* ‘to enter, to come home’ > Burji *gal-* ‘to enter’; Somali *gal-* ~ *gel-* ‘to enter’; Rendille *gel-* ‘to enter’; Boni *kal-* ‘to enter’; Dasenech *gal-* ‘to enter’; Bayso *gal-* ‘to enter’; Galla / Oromo

*gal-* ‘to enter’; Konso *kal-* ‘to enter’; Gidole *kal-* ‘to enter’; Gedeo / Darasa *gal-* ‘to pass the night, to spend the night’; Kambata *gal-* ‘to pass the night, to spend the night’; Sidamo *gal-* ‘to pass the night, to spend the night’. Sasse 1979:17 and 1982:76; Hudson 1989:110. Proto-Southern Cushitic \**gaal-* ‘to go home’ > Ma’a -*gale* ‘to go home’; Dahalo *gaalij-* ‘to go home’. Ehret 1980:235.

D. Omotic: Ometo *gal-* ‘to enter’; Anfilla *gal-* ‘to enter’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**gal-* (~ \**gəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:612—613, no. 551):  
 (vb.) \**gal-* ‘to come, to go’;  
 (n.) \**gal-a* ‘the act of coming or going; trip, voyage’

211. Proto-Afrasian \**gal-* (n.) ‘river, lake’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:200, no. 884, \**gal-an-* ‘river, lake’):

- A. [Berber: Tuareg *ağəlmam* ‘any body of water occurring naturally (lake, basin, pool, puddle)’; Nefusa *agəlmam* ‘depression in the earth filled with water from rain; pond, lake’; Tamazight *agəlmam* ‘pond, lake, large pool’; Kabyle *aggwəlmam* ‘lake, pond, pool’, *agwəlmim* ‘depression in the earth, hole filled with water’.] Note: The Berber forms belong either here or with Proto-Afrasian \**gol-* (n.) ‘edge, corner, valley’.
- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *galaana* ‘river’ (according to Hudson 1989:124, this is a loan from Oromo). Lowland East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *galaana* ‘sea’. Hudson 1989:124 and 241.
- C. Central Chadic \**galan-H-* ‘swampy river branch’ > Mbara *golonay* ‘swampy river branch’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**gal-* (~ \**gəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:613—614, no. 552):  
 (vb.) \**gal-* ‘to flow’;  
 (n.) \**gal-a* ‘ravine, gully, watercourse, river’

212. Proto-Afrasian \**gam-* (vb.) ‘to gather together, to bring together, to put together, to join together, to come together; (n.) gathering, collection, crowd, multitude, throng’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:213, no. 952, \**gomaʕ-* ‘to gather, to meet’; Ehret 1995:184, no. 280, \**gim-* ‘to come upon, to meet with’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**gam-aʕ-* ‘to gather together, to bring together’ > Arabic *ğamaʕa* ‘to gather (something); to collect (for example, money); to unite, to combine, to bring together (parts into a whole); to put together, to join (things); to set, to compose (type); to compile (a book); to summarize, to sum up (something); to rally, to round up (people); to pile up, to amass, to accumulate (something); to assemble (several persons); to add (numbers), to add up (a column); to make plural, to pluralize (a word); to convoke, to convene, to call (a meeting); to unite, to link, to bring together

(several things of persons); to combine; to contain, to hold, to comprise (something)’, *ḡam*<sup>o</sup> ‘gathering; collection; combination; connection, coupling, joining; accumulation; addition; union, merger, aggregation, integration; holding together; gathering (of people), crowd, throng; gang, troop; plural (in grammar)’; *ʔaḡma*<sup>o</sup> ‘entire, whole, all’; Sabaeen *gm*<sup>o</sup> ‘to assemble, to bring together’; Šheri / Jibbāli *gī*<sup>o</sup> ‘to gather’, *egū*<sup>o</sup> ‘to collect’, *gótma*<sup>o</sup> ‘to gather’, (collective) *gī*<sup>o</sup>at ‘company, band of robbers’; Mehri *gūma* ‘to gather (tr.)’, *gátma*, *gátəma*, -maʔ, *gátmam//yəgtámam* ‘to gather (intr.)’; Ḥarsūsi *egtōma*, *egtemá*ʔ, *gátma* ‘to collect, to gather’. D. Cohen 1970— :143; Zammit 2002:125.

Arabic *ḡumla* (pl. *ḡumal*) ‘totality, sum, whole; group, troop, body; crowd’. D. Cohen 1970— :139; Zammit 2002:126.

Arabic *ḡamhara* ‘to gather, to collect; to assemble’, *ḡamhara* ‘multitude, crowd, throng; the great mass, the populace’, *taḡamhara* ‘to gather, to flock together (crowd)’, *ḡumhūr* ‘multitude; crowd, throng; general public, public’, *taḡamhur* ‘gathering (of people), crowd’. D. Cohen 1970— :137.

Arabic *ḡamara* ‘to gather, to unite; to tie together (the back of the hair); to unite for a purpose’, *ḡamār* ‘crowd, people’. D. Cohen 1970— : 144.

- B. Berber: Tawlemmet *əgmər* ‘to hunt, to go hunting, to collect’, *tagmər* ‘hunting’, *ənəgmər* ‘hunter, collector’; Ghadames *əgmər* ‘to pick fruit, dates’, *aḡəmmər* ‘ancient festival celebrating the first picking of dates’; Tamazight *gmər* ‘to hunt, to steal, to steal game’, *tagəmriwt* ‘prey, game’, *tanəgmart* ‘hunting, stealing game’; Kabyle *əgmər* ‘to gather, to gather cardoon’, *tagmər* ‘picking, gathering’; Riff *əgmər*, *əymar* ‘to hunt, to fish’, *tagəmrawt*, *tayəmrawt* ‘hunting, fishing’.
- C. West Chadic: Hausa *gàmu* ‘to meet’, *gàmo* ‘meeting, encounter’; Montol *kwam* ‘to meet together’; Angas *gwom* ‘to meet together’; Bole *gom* ‘to meet together’; Karekare *gam* ‘to meet together’; Tangale *komb-* ‘to meet together’; Bade *gam-* ‘to meet together’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gam-* (~ *\*gəm-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:616—617, no. 554):  
 (vb.) *\*gam-* ‘to gather together, to bring together, to put together, to join together, to come together, to do together’;  
 (n.) *\*gam-a* ‘gathering, collection, crowd, multitude, throng’

213. Proto-Afrasian *\*gat*<sup>y-</sup> ‘(vb.) to bite; (adj.) biting, sharp, bitter’:

Derivative:

*\*gat*<sup>y-</sup> (n.) ‘jaw, chin’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:196, no. 866, *\*gač-* ‘cheek, chin’ — Orël—Stolbova also include several possible Chadic cognates):

- A. Semitic: Akkadian *gašāšu* ‘to gnash the teeth, to bare the teeth, to rage’. Though the phonetics are problematic, the following may ultimately

belong here as well: Tigre *gāḥaṭa* ‘to nibble’; Tigrinya *gahaṣä* ‘to nibble’, *gāḥaṭä* ‘to eat a lot, to carry away’; Gurage *gaṭä* ‘to nibble, to gnaw, \*to pluck out grass’; Amharic *gaṭä* ‘to nibble’; Gafat *gaṣä* ‘to nibble’; Argobba *gāḥaṭä* ‘to nibble’; Harari *gēḥaṭa* ‘to nibble the meat from the bone or the flesh of the fruit from the stone’. Leslau 1963:70 and 1979:301. We may reconstruct a Proto-Ethiopian Semitic *\*gaḥaṣ-* ‘to nibble’ (< ? Proto-Semitic *\*gatʿu-ah-* through metathesis). Note also Aramaic *gūṣ* ‘to gnaw (of mice)’ with *w* infix.

- B. Berber *\*gac-* ‘cheek’ > Ahaggar *ayaz* ‘cheek’.
- C. Proto-East Cushitic *\*gad-* ‘chin, jaw’ > Sidamo *gacc-o* ‘chin, jaw’; Burji *gac-oo* ‘molar, jaw’; Somali *gaḍ* ‘chin’. Sasse 1982:75 *\*gad-* ‘jaw’; Hudson 1989:85.
- D. Omotic *\*gat-* ‘chin’ > Mocha *gat'-ano* ‘chin’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gatʿu-* (~ *\*gatʿu-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:611—624, no. 560, and 3:622, no. 561):

- (vb.) *\*gatʿu-* ‘to bite’;
- (n.) *\*gatʿu-a* ‘bite’; (adj.) ‘biting, sharp, bitter’
- Derivative:
- (n.) *\*gatʿu-a* ‘jaw, chin’

214. Proto-Afrasian *\*gub-* ‘(vb.) to bend, to twist; (n.) that which is twisted, bent, curved’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:212, no. 938, *\*gob-* ‘to bend’):

- A. Proto-Semitic *\*gab-ab-* ‘to bend, to twist; to be bent’ > Post-biblical Hebrew *gaḅ* [גָּב] ‘back, hunch’; Syriac *gəḅīḅā* ‘hunch-backed’; Mandaic *gab* ‘to bend, to curve’; Geez / Ethiopic *gabbaba* [ገበበ] ‘to be bent’; Tigrinya (reduplicated) *gʷägʷäbä* (< *\*gʷab-gʷab-* < *\*gab-gab-*) ‘to be crooked, twisted’; Tigre *gäbb bela* ‘to incline’; Amharic *gʷäbbäbä*, *gʷäbbäbä alä* ‘to be bent’. D. Cohen 1970—:94—95; Murtonen 1989:125; Klein 1987:88; Leslau 1987:177. Proto-Semitic *\*gab-as-* ‘crook-backed’ > Tigre *gäbs* ‘crook-backed’. D. Cohen 1979—:97.

Proto-Semitic *\*gab-an-* ‘to be crooked, bent’ > Hebrew *gibbēn* [גִּבֵּן] ‘crook-backed, hump-backed’; Gurage (Muher) *gʷəbən*, (Chaha, Eža, Ennemor) *gʷəbər* ‘hunchbacked’. D. Cohen 1970—:96; Leslau 1979:257 and 258.

- B. Egyptian *gb* ‘to bend, to stoop’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:162.
- C. Cushitic: Saho-Afar *\*gub-* ‘to be bent’ > Afar *guub-* ‘to be bent’.
- D. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*gwaḅ-* ‘to bend’ > Gisiga *gob-* ‘to bend’; Mofu *gəḅ-* ‘to bend’. East Chadic *\*gʷab-* ‘to bend’ > Kera *gobe* ‘to bend’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*gub-* (~ *\*gob-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:627, no. 564):

- (vb.) *\*gub-* ‘to bend, to twist’;
- (n.) *\*gub-a* ‘that which is twisted, bent, curved: hunch, wattle’

## 5.3. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*k'

215. Proto-Afrasian \**k'ab-* '(vb.) to seize, to take hold of; (n.) seizure, grasp, grip, hold; bite' (Ehret 1995:233, no. 409, \**k'ab-* 'to take hold of'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**k'ab-atl-* 'to seize, to take, to grab, to grasp, to take hold of' > Arabic *kabaḍa* 'to seize, to take, to grab, to grasp, to grip, to clutch, to take hold of, to take possession, to hold; to apprehend, to arrest; to receive, to collect', *kabḍ* 'seizing, gripping, grasping, seizure, holding; taking possession, appropriation; apprehension, arrest'; Sabaeen *kbd* 'seizers' (branch of the military forces); Hebrew *kāḇaṣ* [קָבַץ] 'to gather, to collect'; Syriac *kāḇaṣ* 'to harvest'. Klein 1987:561; Zammit 2002:332.

Proto-Semitic \**k'ab-aṣ-* 'to rob' > Hebrew *kāḇaṣ* [קָבַץ] 'to rob'; Aramaic *kāḇaṣ* 'to rob, to defraud'. Murtonen 1989:369; Klein 1987:561.

- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic \**k'ab-* 'to seize, to take hold of' > Saho *kab-* 'to take for oneself'; Somali *qab-* 'to catch, to seize, to hold'; Rendille *xab-* 'to catch, to seize, to hold'; Dasenech *ḡa(b)-* 'to catch, to seize, to hold'; Arbore *kab-* 'to hold, to take'; Galla / Oromo *k'ab-* 'to possess, to take hold of'; Konso *qap-* 'to possess, to take hold of'; Gidole *k'ap-* 'to possess, to take hold of'; Dullay *qap-* 'to possess, to take hold of'; Burji *k'af-* 'to have'. Sasse 1979:14, 48 and 1982:122—123; Hudson 1989:77. Proto-Southern Cushitic \**k'ab-* 'to restrain' > Burunge *qab-* 'to keep quiet'. Ehret 1980:331.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**k'ab-* (~ \**k'əb-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:498—499, no. 451):  
(vb.) \**k'ab-* 'to seize, to take hold of; to seize with the teeth, to bite';  
(n.) \**k'ab-a* 'seizure, grasp, grip, hold; bite'

216. Proto-Afrasian \**k'al-* '(vb.) to take away, to remove, to deprive of; to decrease, to diminish, to reduce; to be or become reduced or diminished; (n.) littleness, small quantity, scarcity; few things; lack, want, poverty, deficiency, insufficiency; (adj.) little, scanty, sparse, meager, insufficient, lacking, short of, wanting, needy' (Diakonoff 1992:24 \**k'al-* 'petty, light'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:336, no. 1542, \**k'al-/k'il-* 'to be small'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**k'al-al-* 'to take away, to remove, to deprive of; to decrease, to diminish; to be or become little, small, few, meager' > Arabic *kalla* 'to decrease, to diminish; to be or become little, small, few (in number or quantity), trifling, insignificant, inconsiderable, scant, scanty, sparse, spare, meager; to be second, to be inferior; to pick up, to lift, to raise, to carry (off), to remove', *kīl*, *kull* 'small number or quantity, little; scarcity, rarity', *killa* (pl. *kīlal*) 'littleness, small quantity, scarcity; few things; lack, want, poverty, deficiency, insufficiency'; Hebrew *kālal* [קָלַל]

‘to be small, insignificant, of little account’; Akkadian *kalālu* ‘to be or become light (in weight), few, little, small’, *kalu* ‘light; of low standing, of little value; small, few, young’, *kallalu* ‘small, little; of inferior quality’, *kullulu* ‘to make an inferior-quality product, to reduce, to diminish’, *kalmu* ‘small’; Sabaean *kl* ‘a little, a small quantity’; Harsūsi *kel* ‘to be little, insufficient’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kell* ‘to become little’; Mehri *katlōl* ‘to be little’, *kal* ‘sparseness’; Soqotri *kel* ‘to be small’; Geez / Ethiopic *kalla* [ΦΛ], *kalala* [ΦΛΛ] ‘to be light (in weight), easy, slight, swift, rapid’, *ʔaklala* [ħΦΛΛ] ‘to lighten, to diminish a burden’, *kalil* [ΦΛ,Λ] (f. *kalāl* [ΦΛΛ]) ‘light (in weight), easy, swift, rapid, small, minor, of small value’; Harari *kālāla* ‘to be thin (object)’; Gurage *kālālā* ‘to be light (in weight)’, *kāl* ‘small, little, a bit, a little bit’; Gafat *kālliyā* ‘light’. Murtonen 1989:376; Klein 1987:580; Zammit 2002:344; Leslau 1963:124, 1979:476—477, and 1987:428.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *ɣələlət* ‘to be scrawny (person or animal)’, *ayələla* ‘a scrawny person or animal’, *taɣələlət* ‘a stalk of sorghum, corn, and similar plants’; Ghadames *ɣalal* ‘stalk of grain’; Tamazight *iyəll* ‘culm, stems remaining after the harvest, long straw’; Kabyle *iyilil* ‘to be covered with culm’, *iyələl* ‘culm’; Mzab *iyəlləl* ‘long straw’ (archaic); Riff *iyəll* ‘culm’.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*kʼal-* or *\*kʼalʔ-* ‘to be thin’ > Burji *kʼall-*, *kʼalʔ-* ‘to be thin, narrow’, (vb. mid.) *kʼalʔ-add-* ‘to become thin’; Konso *qallaʔ-* ‘thin’; Galla / Oromo *kʼall-aa* ‘subtle, thin, meager’; Gidole *kʼallaʔ-* ‘narrow’. Sasse 1979:22, 48 and 1982:124.
- D. Chadic: West Chadic *\*kʼal-* ‘small’ > Dera *kalla* ‘small’. East Chadic *\*kal-* ‘small’ > Kabalay *kaale* ‘small’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*kʼal-* (~ *\*kʼəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:505—506, no. 459):
- (vb.) *\*kʼal-* ‘to take away, to remove, to deprive of; to decrease, to diminish, to reduce; to be or become reduced or diminished’;
  - (n.) *\*kʼal-a* ‘littleness, small quantity, scarcity; few things; lack, want, poverty, deficiency, insufficiency’; (adj.) ‘little, scanty, sparse, meager, insufficient, lacking, short of, wanting, needy’

217. Proto-Afrasian *\*kʼ[a]l-* ‘(vb.) to burn, to roast; (n.) cooking, roasting, baking; glowing embers’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:344, no. 1584, *\*kol-* ‘to be hot, to burn’; Ehret 1995:236, no. 419, *\*kʼal-* ‘to burn [tr.]’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kʼal-ay/w-* ‘to burn, to roast’ > Akkadian *kalū* (Assyrian *kalāʔu*) ‘to burn’; Hebrew *kālāh* [כָּלָה] ‘to roast, to parch’; Aramaic *kālā* ‘to burn’; Mandaic *kla* ‘to burn, to roast’; Arabic *kalā* ‘to fry, to bake, to roast’; Soqotri *kaleʔ* ‘to roast (grain)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kélé* ‘to fry’; Mehri *kālō* ‘to cook, to fry’; Geez / Ethiopic *kalawa* [ΦΛω] ‘to roast, to parch’; Tigrinya *kālāwā* ‘to roast’; Tigre *kāla* ‘to roast’; Amharic *kʷälla* ‘to parch grain, to roast’; Gafat *kollä* ‘to roast’; Harari *kala* ‘to roast’;



Argobba *kʷälla* ‘to roast’; Gurage *kollä* ‘to roast grain or coffee, to parch grain or coffee’. Murtonen 1989:376; Klein 1987:578; Leslau 1963:123, 1979:475, and 1987:431; Militarëv 2010:56 Proto-Semitic *\*kʷl-*.

B. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*kwalu-* ‘hotness’ > Bachama *kwul-* ‘hotness’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*kʷal-* (~ *\*kʷəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:506—507, no. 460):  
 (vb.) *\*kʷal-* ‘to burn, to warm, to cook, to roast’;  
 (n.) *\*kʷal-a* ‘cooking, roasting, baking; glowing embers’

218. Proto-Afrasian *\*kʷ[a]l-* ‘(vb.) to move, to tremble, to shake, to agitate, to stir, to mix; (n.) agitation, trembling, perturbation, distress, confusion, uneasiness, disturbance’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:352, no. 1524, *\*kʷl-* ‘to spin’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kʷal-aḱ-* ‘to totter, to be unsteady; to be uneasy, disquieted, apprehensive, anxious, agitated, upset, disturbed, perturbed, troubled; to be restless, sleepless’ > Arabic *ḱaliḱa* ‘to totter, to be unsteady; to be uneasy, disquieted, apprehensive, anxious, agitated, upset, disturbed, perturbed, troubled; to be restless, sleepless’.

Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*kʷal-kʷal-* ‘to move, to tremble, to shake, to agitate’ > Arabic *ḱalkāla* ‘to move, to shake, to convulse’; Hebrew *ḱilkēl* [לְקַלְקֵל] ‘to shake’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʾanḱalkāla* [አንጥልጥል] ‘to move, to shake, to swing, to quake, to agitate, to make tremble, to vacillate, to totter, to stagger’, *kʷalkʷala* [ጭልጭል] ‘to brandish, to agitate, to shake, to vibrate, to throw (a spear)’; Tigre *ʾanḱālḱāla* ‘to shake’; Tigrinya *ʾanḱālḱālā* ‘to tremble, to be agitated, to shake, to vibrate’; Amharic *tānḱālḱālā* ‘to be restless, to roam about’; Gurage (*a*)*ḱlāḱālā*, *anḱālḱālā* ‘to move, to shake, to swing’. Klein 1987:581; Leslau 1979:478 and 1987:430.

Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*kʷal-kʷal-* ‘to stir, to mix up, to confuse’ > Syriac *ḱalkel* ‘to throw into confusion’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḱalkāla* [ጥልጥል] ‘to mix up, to confuse, to blend together, to destroy, to abolish’; Amharic *ḱālāḱālā* ‘to mix, to stir’; Argobba *ḱālāḱālā* ‘to mix, to stir’; Harari (*tä*)*ḱlāḱālā* ‘to be mixed together, to be intermingled’; Gurage *ḱālāḱālā* ‘to mix, to intermingle, to stir food, to knead dough’. Leslau 1963:124, 1979:478, and 1987:430.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *əyli* ‘to spin’; Wargla *əlli* ‘to surround, to encircle’, *əyli* ‘to embrace’; Kabyle *əyli* ‘to fall down, to collapse, to knock down’; Mزاب *əlli* ‘to fall down, to collapse’; Tamazight *əyləy* ‘to disappear, to be no longer visible, to set (sun), to drown’, *əyalluy* ‘disappearance, setting of the sun’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*kʷal-* (~ *\*kʷəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:507—509, no. 461):  
 (vb.) *\*kʷal-* ‘to move, to tremble, to shake, to agitate, to stir, to mix’;  
 (n.) *\*kʷal-a* ‘agitation, trembling, perturbation, distress, confusion, uneasiness, disturbance’

219. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'an-* '(vb.) to get, to acquire, to possess, to create, to produce; (n.) birth, offspring, child, young, produce; (adj.) born, begotten, produced' (Diakonoff 1992:23—24 *\*kṇ* (*\*kṇy/w*) 'begetting, giving birth'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k'an-aw/y-* 'to get, to acquire, to possess, to create, to produce' > Hebrew *kānāh* [כָּנָה] 'to get, to acquire, to create, to produce'; Phoenician *kny* 'to acquire'; Biblical Aramaic *kənā* 'to acquire, to buy'; Ugaritic *kny* 'to create'; Akkadian *kanū* 'to gain, to acquire'; Amorite *kny* 'to create, to acquire' (basic stem, Qal *yaknī*); Arabic *kanā* 'to get, to acquire, to create'; Sabaeen *kny* 'to possess, to acquire'; Geez / Ethiopic *kanaya* [ቀነላ] 'to acquire, to buy, to subjugate, to dominate, to rule, to subdue, to tame, to train, to make serve, to make toil, to reduce to servitude, to bring into bondage, to force to work, to create'. Murtonen 1989:380; Klein 1987:584; Leslau 1987:437; Zammit 2002:347.
- B. Egyptian *qn*, *qnī* 'to be strong, to make strong, to have power over, to possess, to overcome'. Hannig 1995:858; Faulkner 1962:279; Gardiner 1957:596; Erman—Grapow 1921:190 and 1926—1963.5:41—43.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *aynu* 'to be created, to be started; to originate (from)'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k'an-* (~ *\*k'an-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:513—515, no. 465):  
 (vb.) *\*k'an-* 'to get, to acquire, to create, to produce, to beget';  
 (n.) *\*k'an-a* 'birth, offspring, child, young, produce'; (adj.) 'born, begotten, produced'

220. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'a[η]-* '(vb.) to bend, twist, turn, or tie together; (n.) wreath, rope, cord, fiber, tie, band, string' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:336, no. 1546, *\*kan-* 'to plait'):

- A. Egyptian *qn* 'to weave', (pl.) *qnyw* 'weavers, mat-makers', *qn* 'mat'. Hannig 1995:859 and 860; Faulkner 1962:279; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:48 and 50; Gardiner 1957:596.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *aqqaṇ* 'to tie, to attach; to be tied', *ayṇ* 'cord'; Nefusa *aqqaṇ* 'to tie, to attach'; Ghadames *aqqaṇ* 'to tie, to attach'; Mzab *aqqaṇ* 'to tie, to attach', *uqun* 'bond, string, strap'; Wargla *aqqaṇ* 'to tie, to attach; to be tied, attached', *yan* 'bond, cord, string, strap'; Kabyle *aqqaṇ* 'to tie, to attach, to shackle, to close the door'; Tamazight *qqan* 'to attach, to tie, to bind; to be attached, tied, bound'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *aqqaṇ* 'to tie, to close (the door, the eyes, etc.)', *asyun* 'cord'.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic *\*k'anu-* 'to tie' > Tsagu *kun-* 'to tie'; Boghom *kan* 'to tie'; Buli *kannu* 'to tie'. Central Chadic *\*kanwa-* 'to plait' > Lame *kanwa* 'to plait'; Mesme *kan* 'to plait'. East Chadic *\*kwan-* (< *\*kanwa-*) 'to twist, to plait' > Tumak *koṇ* 'to twist'; Mokilko *kini* 'to plait'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k'aṇ-* (~ *\*k'aṇ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:517—518, no. 469):

- (vb.) *\*k'ay-* 'to bend, twist, turn, or tie together';  
 (n.) *\*k'ay-a* 'wreath, rope, cord, fiber, tie, band, string'  
 Derivative:  
 (n.) *\*k'ay-a* 'knot, knob, joint'

221. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'ap-* (n.) 'nape of the neck, back of the head' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:337, no. 1548, *\*kap-* 'head, occiput'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k'ap-aw/y-* 'nape of the neck, back of the head' > Arabic *kaḥan* 'nape; occiput, back of the head; back; reverse; wrong side (of a fabric)', *kaḥāʔ* 'nape; occiput; back of the head'; Ḥarsūsi *keḥē* 'back'; Šheri / Jibbāli *keḥē* 'back, behind'; Mehri *kaḥē* 'back'.  
 B. Berber: Tuareg *əɣəf* 'head'; Siwa *axfi* 'head'; Nefusa *iɣf* 'head'; Ghadames *iɣəf* 'head'; Mzab *iɣəf*, *ixəf* 'head'; Wargla *iɣəf*, *ixəf* 'head'; Tamazight *ixf* 'head'; Riff *ixf* 'head'; Kabyle *ixəf* 'head, summit'.  
 C. Chadic: East Chadic *\*kwap-* (< *\*kapwa-*) 'occiput' > Dangla *kopo* 'occiput'; Migama *kupo* 'occiput'; Jegu *kofo* 'occiput'.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*k'aph-a* 'nape of the neck, back of the head' (Bomhard 2014.2:523, no. 473)

222. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'ar-* (vb.) 'to shout, to screech, to call (out to), to cry (out); (n.) call, cry, invocation, proclamation; roar, lamentation' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:338, no. 1555, *\*kar-* 'to call, to shout'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k'ar-aʔ-* 'to call to' > Hebrew *kārāʔ* [כָּרָא] 'to call, to proclaim'; Phoenician *krʔ* 'to call'; Aramaic *kārā* 'to call, to shout, to name, to crow; to read, to recite'; Ugaritic *krā* 'to call, to invite'; Arabic *karaʔa* 'to recite, to read'; Amorite *krʔ* 'to call'; Akkadian *karū*, *kerū* 'to call to, to invite'; Sabaean *krʔ* 'to call upon, to summon'. Murtonen 1989:385; Klein 1987:590—591; Zammit 2002:336.  
 B. Berber: Tuareg *əɣər* 'to read', *təɣərīt* 'a shrill (and prolonged) cry, expressing enthusiasm and ardor, characteristic war-cry of the Tuaregs of Ahaggar'; Nefusa *ɣər* 'to call out, to read, to cry out, to recite'; Ghadames *ʕər* 'to read', *taɣrit* 'cry of joy, jubilation'; Mzab *ɣiru* 'time of prayer at dawn'; Wargla *ɣər* 'to call out, to be called'; Tamazight *ɣər* 'to read, to study'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ɣər* 'to read, to study, to know how to read; to call out, to call to eat', *tiɣri* 'study, reading; call, cry'; Kabyle *ɣər* 'to call, to cry out; to read, to study', *tiɣri* 'call, cry'.  
 C. Cushitic: Bilin *qarʔ-* 'to read, to learn' (Arabic loan?). Reinisch 1887:242.  
 D. Chadic: West Chadic: Hausa *kaara* 'to cry out', *kaaraa* 'complaint, grievance'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k'ar-* (~ *\*k'ər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:524—526, no. 475):

- (vb.) \**k'ar*- 'to shout, to screech, to call (out to), to cry (out)';  
 (n.) \**k'ar-a* 'call, cry, invocation, proclamation; roar, lamentation'
223. Proto-Afrasian \**k'ar*- '(n.) blackness, darkness, obscurity; dark cloud, rainy weather; dirt, grime; (adj.) dark, dark-colored; dirty, soiled' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:337, no. 1550, \**kar*- 'cloud'):
- A. Egyptian *qr*, *qrī* 'storm, storm cloud', *qrm* 'smoke', *qrmt* 'ashes', *qrmts* (Demotic *qrmts*) 'darkness', *qrṯt* 'dung'; Coptic *kromrm* [ⲕⲣⲟⲙⲣⲙ], *krmr̥m* [ⲕⲣⲙⲣⲙ] 'to become dark', *krmrōm* [ⲕⲣⲙⲣⲟⲙ] 'to be dark' (reduplication of *kōrm* [ⲕⲟⲣⲙ] 'smoke'), (Sahidic) *krmes* [ⲕⲣⲙⲉⲥ], (Bohairic) *kermi* [ⲕⲉⲣⲙⲓ] 'ash, soot, dust', *krōm* [ⲕⲣⲟⲙ] 'fire', *krmts* [ⲕⲣⲙⲧⲥ] 'smoke, mist; darkness, obscurity', *kōrm* [ⲕⲟⲣⲙ] 'smoke', *kerēt* [ⲕⲉⲣⲙⲧⲧ], *čerēt* [Ⲫⲉⲣⲙⲧⲧ] 'dirt, dung'. Hannig 1995:862 and 863; Faulkner 1962:280; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:57, 5:58, and 5:60; Gardiner 1957:596; Vycichl 1983:86; Černý 1976:62 and 335.
  - B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Burji *k'áaraar-i* 'rainy season'; Hadiyya *k'araat'o* 'autumn, fall, season of small rains'; Kambata *k'araa-tu* 'spring season'. Sasse 1982:124; Hudson 1989:120 and 140. Central Cushitic: Bilin *qīr* 'night'; Xamir *xar* 'night'; Quara *xērā* 'night'; Awngi / Awiya *yar* 'night'; Kemant *xir/xer* 'night'. Appleyard 2006:105; Reinisch 1887:242.
  - C. Chadic: West Chadic \**k'ar*- 'cloud' > Bolewa *kəriya* 'cloud'.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \**k'ar-a* 'blackness, darkness, obscurity; dark cloud, rainy weather; dirt, grime'; (adj.) 'dark, dark-colored; dirty, soiled' (Bomhard 2014.2:526—527, no. 476)
224. Proto-Afrasian \**k'ar*- '(vb.) to twist, to turn, to bend, to wind; to tie (together), to bind; (n.) that which is tied or bound together: bunch, bundle; (adj.) bent, curved, crooked; tied, bound':
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**k'ar-an*- 'to tie or bind two things together' > Arabic *karana* 'to connect, to link, to join, to unite, to combine, to associate; to couple, to yoke together, to hitch together, to put together, to bind together', *qīrān* 'close union, close connection', *karīn* 'connected, joined, linked, combined, united, associated, affiliated', *ʔiqtirān* 'union, connection, conjunction, association, affiliation; link'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔastakwārana* [አስተቋረነ] 'to bind in pairs'; Tigrinya *kʷārānā* 'to bind two things together'; Amharic *kʷarāññä* 'to fetter, to shackle'; Harari *kurāññä āša* 'to tie together creditor with debtor, to tie two things together'; Gurage (tä) *kʷrañä* 'to bind together creditor with debtor'. Leslau 1963:129, 1979:498, and 1987:442.

- B. Egyptian *qrf* ‘to bend, to twist, to curve, to wind’, *qrft* ‘contractions’ (medical term), (pl.) *qrfw* ‘facial wrinkles’. Hannig 1995:863; Faulkner 1962:280; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:60.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *əyrəh* ‘to keep, to store away, to put in a safe place’; Tamazight *yrəz* ‘to tack, to baste, to sew, to stitch up a suture’; Kabyle *əyrəz* ‘to set a trap, to gather together’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k’ar-* (~ *\*k’ər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:527—529, no. 477):  
 (vb.) *\*k’ar-* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend, to wind; to tie (together), to bind’;  
 (n.) *\*k’ar-a* ‘that which is tied or bound together: bunch, bundle’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, crooked; tied, bound’  
 Possible derivative:  
 (n.) *\*k’ar-a* ‘protuberance, lump, hump, breast’

225. Proto-Afrasian *\*k’e(e)r-*, *\*k’o(o)r-* ‘(vb.) to cut, to cut into, to incise, to engrave, to notch; to cut off, to sever, to nip off, to clip; to cut in two, to split: (n.) cut, slit, notch; chip, piece cut off’ (Ehret 1995:238, no. 425, *\*k’eer-* / *\*k’oor-* ‘to cut into’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:338, no. 1556, *\*karaš-* ‘to cut’]):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k’ar-* ‘to cut, to cut into, to incise, to engrave, to notch; to cut off, to sever, to nip off, to clip; to cut in two, to split’ > Arabic *ḵaraṣa* ‘to pinch, to nip, to bite’, *ḵaraḥa* ‘to wound’, *ḵaraḍa* ‘to cut, to sever, to cut off, to clip, to gnaw, to nibble, to bite’, *ḵaraša* ‘to gnash, to grind (one’s teeth), to nibble, to crunch, to chew’, *ḵarama* ‘to gnaw, to nibble’, *ḵarmaša* ‘to eat, to crunch, to nibble’, *ḵaraṭa* ‘to cut into small pieces, to chop, to mince’, *ḵarṭama* ‘to cut off, to clip’, *ḵarḵaḍa* ‘to gnaw, to bite’; Hebrew *ḵāraṣ* [כָּרַס] ‘to nip, to pinch’, *ḵāraḥ* [כָּרַח] ‘to shave oneself bald, to make bald’, *ḵardōm* [כָּרְדָּם] ‘adze, axe’, *ḵereš* [כֶּרֶשׁ] ‘board, plank’; Akkadian *ḵarāšu* ‘to nip off, to gnaw’, *ḵarāšu* ‘to trim, to cut wood, to carve (meat)’; Ugaritic *ḵrṣ* ‘to bite’; Harsūsi *ḵerōš* ‘to nip’, *ḵerōḥ* ‘to shave, to cut’, *ḵerōz* ‘to cut up’, *ḵerōt* ‘to bite’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḵérh* ‘to cut off all the hair’, *ḵérós* ‘to nip’, *ḵéróš* ‘to cut, to cut all the hair off something’; Mehri *ḵáwrəh* ‘to cut, to shave’, *ḵərūs* ‘to nip’, *ḵərūt* ‘to chop’, *ḵərūz* ‘to reive (camels); to cut (hair) with scissors’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḵaraḍa* [ቀረፀ] ‘to lacerate, to tear away, to cut off, to shear, to shave’, *ḵwārafa* [ቀረፈ] ‘to cut into little pieces, to tear, to bite from an oversize piece’, *ḵarrəḥa* [ቀርሐ], *ḵarḥa* [ቀርሐ] ‘to shave, to make bald’, *ḵaraša* [ቀረሰ] ‘to incise, to scar, to scalp, to engrave, to carve, to cut, to chisel, to shear, to shave’, *ḵarṭama* [ቀርጠመ] ‘to munch, to chew food that is hard’; Tigrinya *ḵwarräfä* ‘to eat, to browse, to eat the *ḵwarf-* root’, *ḵäräšä*, *ḵwäräšä* ‘to cut, to make an incision’, *ḵwärtätä* ‘to pinch, to break off leaves’; Amharic *ḵwärräfä* ‘to bite an oversize piece’, *ḵwärrätä* ‘to cut off’, *ḵwärättätä* ‘to be nibbled, to be indented’, *ḵwärättämä* ‘to munch, to crush’, *ḵwärrämmätä* ‘to nibble, to tear’; Gurage *ḵwärrärä* ‘to become bald’,

*ḱarātāmā* ‘to crush, to crush a member of the body of a living being’, *ḱārāsā* ‘to break bread, \*to break off a piece’, *ḱ<sup>w</sup>arātāmā* ‘to crunch’, *ḱarātātā* ‘to amputate, to cut off’. Murtonen 1989:386 and 388; Klein 1987:592, 592—593, 596, and 597; Leslau 1979:500, 501, 502—503 and 1987:440—441, 441, 444, 445; Zammit 2002:338.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *ayrās* ‘to slit the throat of an animal as part of a ritual’.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*k’er-/k’ur-* or *\*k’uur-* ‘to cut’ > Galla / Oromo *k’or-* ‘to write’; Somali *qor-i* ‘to carve, to cut, to write’; Rendille *xor/xora* ‘to carve skin’. Sasse 1979:5. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*k’eer-* ‘to cut (meat)’ > Iraqw *qer-* ‘to give an animal for slaughter’; Dahalo *k’eer-* ‘to cut (meat ?)’. Ehret 1980:252.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k’ir-* (~ *\*k’er-*) or *\*k’ur-* (~ *\*k’or-*) (Bomhard 2014.2: 539—541, no. 487):

- (vb.) *\*k’ir-* or *\*k’ur-* ‘to cut, to cut into, to incise, to engrave, to notch; to cut off, to sever, to nip off, to clip; to cut in two, to split’;
- (n.) *\*k’ir-a* or *\*k’ur-a* ‘cut, slit, notch; chip, piece cut off’

226. Proto-Afrasian *\*k’os-* (~ *\*k’as-*) ‘bone’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:338—339, no. 1557, *\*ḱas-* ‘bone’; Ehret 1995:240, no. 428, *\*k’os-* ‘bone’; Takács 2011:191 *\*ḱas-* ‘bone’):

- A. (?) Semitic: Arabic *ḱaṣṣ* (< *\*k’ass-* ?) ‘sternum, breastbone’.
- B. Egyptian *qs* ‘bone’; Coptic *kas* [ⲕⲁⲥ] ‘bone’. Erman—Grapow 1921:192 and 1926—1963.5:68—69; Hannig 1995:865; Faulkner 1962:281; Gardiner 1957:596; Vycichl 1983:87—88; Černý 1976:63.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *ayās* ‘bone’; Kabyle *iḡass* ‘bone’; Tamazight *iḡas* ‘bone’; Nefusa *γass* ‘bone’; Ghadames *γass* ‘bone’; Mzab *iḡas* ‘bone’; Wargla *iḡas* ‘bone’; Riff *iḡas* ‘bone’; Zenaga *isi* ‘bone’.
- D. Lowland East Cushitic *\*k’as-* ‘bone, leg’ > Geleba *k’as* ‘bone, leg’.
- E. Omotic *\*k’us-* ‘bone’ > Nao *k’us* ‘bone’; Dime *k’ūs* ‘bone’; Dizi *us* ‘bone’; Sheko *ʔus* ‘bone’. Fleming 1976a:317.
- F. West Chadic (reduplication or prefix *\*k’a-*) *\*(k’a-)k’as-* ‘bone’ > Hausa *ḱāšii* ‘bone’; Tal *γās* ‘bone’; Yiwom *γas, γās* ‘bone’; Fyer *kʷēēs* ‘bone’; Dafo-Butura *kyās* ‘bone’; Bokkos *kyas* ‘bone’; Geruma *ókaši* ‘bone’; Warji *ḱààsiúnà* ‘bone’; Tsagu *ḱéḱésàn* ‘bone’; Kariya *ḱáásù* ‘bone’; Miya *kúsi* ‘bone’; Siri *kessi, kʷəsī, ḱàsi* ‘bone’; Mburku *ḱákásà* ‘bone’; Jimbin *ḱàḱási* ‘bone’. East Chadic *\*kas-* ‘bone’ > Kwang *kīsígī* ‘bone’; Kera *ḱáskáḡ* ‘bone’; Dangla *kāso, káási, kààsò* ‘bone’. Jungrathmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:36—37.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*k’os-a* ‘bone’ (Bomhard 2014.2:543, no. 490)

227. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'od-* 'vessel, pot' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:343, no. 1579, *\*k'od-* 'vessel');

- A. Egyptian *qd* 'vessel, pot'. Hannig 1995:867; Faulkner 1962:281; Erman—Grapow 1921:192.
- B. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic *\*k'od-* 'receptacle' > Galla / Oromo *k'odaa* 'receptacle'. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *k'oодо* 'a kind of calabash'.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic *\*kwad-* (< *\*k'wad-*) 'calabash' > Kirfi *kòdò* (Orël—Stolbova 1995:343, no. 1579, write *kwaдо*) 'calabash'; Geruma *koddo* 'calabash'; Gera *kwada* 'calabash'; Siri *k'átí* 'calabash'. Central Chadic (with prefix *\*nV-*) *\*nV-k'wad-* 'bottle' > Logone *η-kooda* 'bottle'. East Chadic *\*kwad-* (< *\*k'wad-*) 'pot' > Dangla *kòda* 'pot'. Jungraithmayr—Ibrisimow 1994.I:25 *\*k'wd/\*kwd* 'calabash', II:56—57.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*k'ud-a* (~ *\*k'od-a*) 'vessel, pot' (Bomhard 2014.2:544—545, no. 492)

228. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'ul-* '(vb.) to lift, to raise, to make high; (n.) highest point' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:349, no. 1604, *\*kul-* 'to lift');

- A. Semitic: Arabic *qalla* 'to pick up, to lift, to raise; to carry', *qulla* 'highest point, tip, summit; apex; vertex', *qallās* 'rising'.
- B. Berber: Tashelhiyt / Shilha (Semlal) *ayli* 'to climb, to rise'; Tamazight *yuliy* 'to rise, to ascend'.
- C. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*kul-* 'to lift' > Higi Nkafa *kulu* 'to lift'; Kapiski *kəl-te* 'to lift'; Higi Futu *kəli-* 'to lift'; Fali Kiria *kəltu?* 'to lift'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k'ul-* (~ *\*k'ol-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:546—548, no. 494):  
(vb.) *\*k'ul-* 'to lift, to raise, to pick up; to rise, to ascend; to make high, to elevate';  
(n.) *\*k'ul-a* 'highest point'

229. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'um-* '(vb.) to sigh, to weep, to lament, to moan, to groan; (n.) sigh, mourning, lamentation, moan, groan, roar, grumble' (Ehret 1995: 236, no. 420, *\*k'um-* or *\*k'uum-* 'to grumble, to sigh, to make sounds of complaint');

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k'am-ah-* 'to be in despair' > Harsūsi *əktōmeh* 'to be in despair'; Šheri / Jibbāli *əkmāh* 'to disappoint, to be disappointed'; Mehri *akōmeh* 'to disappoint, to foil, to frustrate', *əktōmeh* 'to be unlucky, to be in despair; (wolf, attacker) to be foiled'.

- B. Egyptian *qmʒ* ‘to mourn’, *qmd* ‘to mourn’. Hannig 1995:856—857 and 857; Faulkner 1962:278 and 279; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:37 and 40.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*k’um-* or *\*k’uum-* or *\*k’im-* or *\*k’iim-* ‘to grumble’ > Ma’a *-xumuka* ‘to grumble’; Iraqw *qununu* ‘to grumble’; Alagwa (reduplicated) *qunqumis-* ‘to grumble’. Ehret 1980:254.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k’um-* (~ *\*k’om-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:549—550, no. 496):  
 (vb.) *\*k’um-* ‘to sigh, to weep, to lament, to moan, to groan’;  
 (n.) *\*k’um-a* ‘sigh, mourning, lamentation, moan, groan, roar, grumble’
230. Proto-Afrasian *\*k’[u]m-* ‘(vb.) to press together; to seize, to grasp; (n.) fetter, shackle, rope; seizing, grasping’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k’am-at-* ‘to press together; to seize, to grasp’ > Hebrew *kāmaṭ* [כָּמַט] ‘to seize, to press together’; Aramaic *kəmaṭ* ‘to seize, to compress’; Arabic *kamaṭa* ‘to swaddle, to bind together, to fetter, to shackle; to dress (a wound)’, *kimṭ* ‘rope, fetter’, *kimāṭ* ‘swaddle, diaper’; Akkadian *kamādu* ‘to seize, to press together’. Klein 1987:582; Murtonen 1989:378—379.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*k’am-ac-* ‘to seize, to grasp’ > Hebrew *kāmaš* [כָּמַשׁ] ‘to enclose with the hand, to grasp, to take a handful, to close, to shut’; Post-Biblical Hebrew *kamšūs* [כָּמְשׁוּס] ‘a pinch, a very small quantity’; Ugaritic *kms* ‘heap, pile’. Murtonen 1989:379; Klein 1987:583.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*k’am-aṣ-* ‘to seize, to grasp’ > Arabic *kamaza* ‘to take with the fingertips’.
- B. Berber: Tawlemmet *əγmās* ‘to wrap, to cover’; Tamazight *əγmās* ‘to cover, to wrap, to hide by covering’, *aγamus* ‘the act of covering, cover, veil, lid, roof’; Kabyle *γmumās* ‘to be wrapped up in one’s burnoose, to be entirely covered’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k’um-* (~ *\*k’om-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:550—551, no. 497):  
 (vb.) *\*k’um-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to press together’;  
 (n.) *\*k’um-a* ‘heap, mass, lump, clump; pressure, compression’  
 Perhaps related to:  
 (n.) *\*k’om-a* ‘hand, fist’
231. Proto-Afrasian *\*k’[u]m-* ‘(vb.) to bend, to curve; to bend the head or body, to bow or stoop down; (n.) bend, curve; the act of bending, bowing, stooping’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k’am-ac-* ‘to bend’ > Ugaritic */k-m-š/* ‘to curl up, to bend’; Akkadian *kamāšu* (< *\*kam-aš-*) ‘to bend the knee, to kneel, to squat down’, *kamšu* ‘squatting, crouching’, *kimšu* ‘shin, lower leg’; Geez / Ethiopic *kammaṭa* [ቀመጠ] ‘to hold tightly, to clasp sheaves, to bend’ (from



Amharic), *ḳamṭarā* [፳፱፻፳፻], *ḳamṭərā* [፳፱፻፳፻], *ḳamṭorā* [፳፱፻፳፻] ‘clasp, fastener, box, chest’; Amharic *täḳämmätä* ‘to sit, to sit down, to seat oneself, to settle’. Leslau 1987:433.

B. Berber: Tuareg *taɣmərət* ‘elbow’; Nefusa *taɣmart* ‘elbow’; Ghadames *taɣmərət* ‘corner, angle’; Tamazight *tiɣmərət* ‘elbow’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tiɣmərət* ‘elbow’; Riff *taɣəmmart* ‘elbow, angle, corner’; Kabyle *tiɣmərət* ‘elbow’; Chaouia *tiɣəmmərət* ‘elbow, angle, corner’.

C. Omotic: Bench / Gimira *k’um* ‘knee’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k’um-* (~ *\*k’om-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:551—552, no. 498):  
(vb.) *\*k’um-* ‘to bend, to curve; to bend the head or body, to bow or stoop down’;

(n.) *\*k’um-a* ‘bend, curve; the act of bending, bowing, stooping’

Identical to:

(n.) *\*k’um-a* ‘a bent or curved object: hollow, cavity; knob, lump, hump; etc.’

232. Proto-Afrasian *\*k’[u]n-* (vb.) to bend; (n.) that which is bent, folded, crooked, curved, hooked: bend, fold, curve, curvature, angle, wrinkle’:

A. Semitic: Arabic *ḳaniya* ‘to be hooked, aquiline (nose)’, *ʔaḳnā* ‘bend, curved, crooked, hooked’.

B. Egyptian *qnb* ‘to bend, to bow, to incline (oneself); to subjugate’, *qnbt* ‘corner, angle’, *qnī* ‘sheaf, bundle’; Coptic *knaaw* [ⲕⲛⲁⲁⲱ] (< *qnīw*) ‘sheaf’. Hannig 1995:860; Faulkner 1962:279 and 280; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:53; Vycichl 1983:83; Černý 1976:60.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k’un-* (~ *\*k’on-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:553—554, no. 500):

(vb.) *\*k’un-* ‘to bend; to bend or fold together; to tie or bind together’;

(n.) *\*k’un-a* ‘that which is bent, folded, crooked, curved, hooked: bend, fold, curve, curvature, angle, wrinkle’

233. Proto-Afrasian *\*k’ut’-* (adj.) ‘short, small’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:351, no. 1615, *\*ḳuṭun-* ‘to be small’):

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k’at’-an-* ‘small, thin’ > Hebrew *ḳāṭōn* [קָטָן] ‘small, insignificant’, *ḳāṭān* [קָטָן] ‘little, small’; Syriac *ḳəṭān* ‘to grow thin’; Mandaic *ḳəṭāna* ‘small’; Arabic *ḳaṭṭīn* ‘servant, slave’; Sabaeen *ḳṭn* ‘small’; Mehri *ḳáyṭən* ‘to become thin’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḳétən* ‘to become thin’; Harsūsi *ḳáyṭen* ‘to become thin’, *ḳetīn* ‘thin’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳaṭana* [፳፱፻፳፻] ‘to be thin, fine, lean, subtle, emaciated’, *ḳaṭṭin* [፳፱፻፳፻] ‘fine, thin, subtle, delicate, transcendent’; Tigrinya *ḳāṭānā* ‘to be thin’; Tigre *ḳāṭna* ‘to be thin’; Amharic *ḳāṭānā* ‘to be thin’; Argobba *ḳāṭṭānā* ‘to be thin’; Gurage *ḳāṭānā* ‘to be thin, slender, slim, lean, meager, skinny’. Murtonen 1989:374; Klein 1987:575; Leslau 1979:508 and 1987:453.

- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *k'uut'a* 'short'. Hudson 1989:133.
- C. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*kut'-un-* 'short, small' > Tera *kutun* 'short, small'.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*k'ut'-a* 'shortness, smallness'; (adj.) 'short, small' (Bomhard 2014.2:555—556, no. 502)
234. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'am-* '(vb.) to crush, to grind; to chew, to bite, to eat; (n.) bite, tooth; flour' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:336, no. 1545, *\*kamVh-* 'flour'; Diakonoff 1992:85 *\*qmḥ-* 'flour'.):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k'am-aḥ-* '(vb.) to crush, to grind; to chew, to bite, to eat; (n.) flour' > Arabic (Daḡina) *ḳamah* 'to eat'; Arabic *ḳamḥ* 'wheat'; Hebrew *ḳemaḥ* [קמח] 'flour, meal'; Ugaritic *ḳmḥ* 'flour'; Akkadian *ḳemū*, *ḳamū* 'to grind, to crush', *ḳēmu* 'flour, meal' (Old Akkadian *ḳam'um*); Geez / Ethiopic *ḳamḥa* [ቀጥሐ] 'to eat grain or other fodder, to graze'; Gurage (Chaha) *ḳāmā* 'flour', (Wolane) *ḳāmā* 'to put flour into the mouth, \*to take a mouthful, to chew the narcotic plant'; Harari *ḳāmaḥa* 'to take a mouthful'; Gafat *ḳumina* 'flour'; metathesis in: Tigrinya *ḳwāḥamā* 'to swallow, to devour'; Tigre *ḳāḥma* 'to take a mouthful (of flour or tobacco)'; Argobba *ḳāḥama* 'to eat, to devour'; Amharic *ḳamā* 'to swallow without chewing'. Murtonen 1989:378; Klein 1987:582; Leslau 1963:125, 1979:479, and 1987:431. Semitic loans in Egyptian *qmḥw* 'bread made of fine flour', *qmḥy-t* 'fine wheaten flour'. Hannig 1995:857; Faulkner 1962:279; Erman—Grapow 1921:190 and 1926—1963.5:40.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *tamyəst* 'molar tooth'; Siwa *taymast* 'molar'; Nefusa *tiyməst* 'molar'; Ghadames *tiymas* 'molar'; Mzab *tiyməst* 'tooth'; Wargla *tiyməst* 'tooth (other than molar)'; Tamazight *tuyməst* 'tooth (in general), toothache'; Riff *tiyməst* 'tooth (in general), molar'; Kabyle *tuyməst* 'tooth (in general)'; Chaouia *tiyməst* 'tooth'.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*k'om-* 'to chew, to bite, to eat' (< former prefix verb *\*-k'(o)m-*) > Saho *-qom-*; Somali *qoom-* 'to wound', *qoon* 'wound'; Dasenech (imptv.) *kom* 'eat!'; Galla / Oromo *k'am-* 'to chew *č'at*'; Konso *qom-* 'to chew'; Gollango *qan-* 'to chew'. Sasse 1979:25 and 1982:121—122. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*k'ama* 'flour' > Burji *k'amay* 'flour of all kinds of cereals'; Hadiyya *k'ama* 'flour'; Kambata *k'ama* 'flour'. Hudson 1989:65; Sasse 1982:124.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*q'am-* (~ *\*q'am-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:638—639, no. 573):  
 (vb.) *\*q'am-* 'to crush, to grind; to chew, to bite, to eat';  
 (n.) *\*q'am-a* 'bite; tooth'

## CHAPTER SIX

### LABIOVELARS (AND LABIALIZED POSTVELARS)

Proto-Afrasian	*k <sup>w</sup>	*g <sup>w</sup>	*k'w
Proto-Semitic	*k	*g	*k'
Ancient Egyptian	k 𓂏	g 𓂐	q 𓂑
Proto-Berber	*k	*g	*k̥
Proto-East Cushitic	*k	*g	*k'
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*k <sup>w</sup>	*g <sup>w</sup>	*k'w
Proto-Chadic	*k <sup>w</sup>	*g <sup>w</sup>	*k'w

Note: In this chapter, labiovelars are reconstructed on the basis of data from all of the Nostratic daughter languages (in accordance with the correspondences shown in the following table), even when corroborating Afrasian data are missing (for details, cf. Bomhard 2014.3:557—610 and 3:643—656):

Proto-Nostratic	k <sup>wh</sup>		g <sup>w</sup>		k'w	
Proto-Afrasian	k <sup>w</sup> -	-k <sup>w</sup> -	g <sup>w</sup> -	-g <sup>w</sup> -	k'w-	-k'w-
Proto-Dravidian	k-	-k(k)-	-k	-k-	k-	-k(k)-
Proto-Kartvelian	kw/u-	-kw/u-	gw/u-	-gw/u-	k'w/u-	-k'w/u-
Proto-Indo-European	k <sup>wh</sup> -	-k <sup>wh</sup> -	g <sup>wh</sup> -	-g <sup>wh</sup> -	k'w-	-k'w-
Proto-Uralic	k-	-k(k)-	k-	-x-	k-	-k-
Proto-Altaic	k <sup>h</sup> -	-k <sup>h</sup> -	g-	-g-	k-	-k-
Proto-Eskimo	k- q-	-k(k)- -q(q)-	k- q-	-ɣ-	k- q-	-k- -q-

#### 6.1. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*k<sup>w</sup>

235. Proto-Afrasian \*k<sup>w</sup>al- ‘(vb.) to go, to walk, to move about; (n.) walking, walk, wandering, roaming’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:310, no. 1418, \*kal- ‘go’ and 310, no. 1420, \*kalah- ‘go’):

- A. Berber: Tuareg *əkəl* ‘to go, to spend the hours in the middle of the day at, to spend the day at home’, *sikəl* ‘to travel, to go on foot (animal)’; Siwa *ukel*- ‘to go, to walk’, *tikli* ‘step, footstep’; Wargla *kəl* ‘to spend the middle of the day’, *sikəl* ‘to go on foot, to walk along’, *tikli* ‘walk, gait, going’; Mزاب *çəl* ‘to spend the middle of the day, to spend the day’; Tamazight *kəl*, *cəl* ‘to spend the day, to spend the day doing something; to take place, to

happen’, *akəl*, *acəl* ‘to step on, to stamp (one’s foot), to trample’; Kabyle *tikliwin* ‘walking, pace; conduct; walk’.

- B. Cushitic: Saho-Afar *\*kalah-* ‘to travel’ > Saho *kalaah-*, *kalaah-* ‘to travel’.  
 C. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*kal-* ‘to run, to go (quickly)’ > Mbara *kal-* ‘to run, to go (quickly)’; Mafa *kəl-* ‘to run, to go (quickly)’; Gisiga *kal-* ‘to run, to go (quickly)’. East Chadic *\*kVl-* ‘to enter’ > Kera *kele-* ‘to enter’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-* (~ *\*k<sup>wh</sup>əl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:565—566, no. 509):  
 (vb.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-* ‘to go, to walk, to move about’;  
 (n.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-a* ‘walking, walk, wandering, roaming’  
 Probably identical to:  
 (vb.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-* ‘to revolve, to go around, to roll’;  
 (n.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-a* ‘circle, circuit’

236. Proto-Afrasian *\*k<sup>w</sup>al-* ‘(vb.) to revolve, to go around, to roll; (n.) circle, circuit’ ([Orël—Stolbova 1995:322, no. 1474, *\*kol-* ‘to return, to go around’]; Militarëv 2012:91 Proto-Afrasian *\*k<sup>w</sup>Vl-*):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kal-al-* ‘to revolve, to go around, to surround’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kallala* [ክለለ] ‘to surround, to surround for protection, to cover over, to protect, to encompass, to encircle, to fence in, to crown’; Tigre *källa* ‘to go around’, *kälkäla* ‘to encircle’, *kəlal* ‘circuit’; Tigrinya *kwallälä* ‘to go around’; Amharic *källälä* ‘to surround, to crown, to guard, to protect’. Note: the words for ‘crown’ associated with this root are considered to be of Aramaic origin. Leslau 1987:283.

Proto-Semitic *\*kal-al-* ‘to roll’ > Geez / Ethiopic *\*kolala*, *\*kwalala*, *?ankolala* [ኦንኮለለ], *?ankwalala* [ኦንኮ-ለለ] ‘to roll (intr.), to roll down (tears), fall (fruit, tears), to be or become giddy, to be tossed about, to turn (one’s head)’, *?akolala* [ኦለለ] ‘to be dizzy’; Tigre *?ankoläla* ‘to turn’; Tigrinya *kolälä*, *k<sup>w</sup>älälä* ‘to go around’, *?ənkəliliw* ‘round’; Amharic (*tän*)*kwallälä* ‘to roll, to make turn’, (*an*)*kwallälä*, *k<sup>w</sup>äläll alä* ‘to roll, to make turn’; Harari *kulul bāya* ‘to roll’; Gurage (*at*)*kuläle* ‘to roll (tr.)’. Leslau 1963:82, 1979:342, and 1987:283—284; Militarëv 2012:91 Proto-Semitic *\*k<sup>w</sup>VlVl-*.

- B. Cushitic: Beja / Beɣawye *kwaläl* ‘round; ball’; Galla / Oromo *konkoladif-* ‘to roll, to roll downhill’; Hadiyya *kulill-*, *kullul-* ‘to turn (around)’; Saho *kulel* ‘circle’; Bilin *kaläl-* ‘to surround’. According to Leslau (1987:283), the Saho and Bilin forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-* (~ *\*k<sup>wh</sup>əl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:566—568, no. 510):  
 (vb.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-* ‘to revolve, to go around, to roll’;  
 (n.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-a* ‘circle, circuit’  
 Probably identical to:  
 (vb.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-* ‘to go, to walk, to move about’;

(n.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-a* ‘walking, walk, wandering, roaming’

Derivative:

(n.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-a* ‘that which turns, rolls, revolves, or goes round and round’ (> ‘wheel’ in the daughter languages)

237. Proto-Afrasian *\*k<sup>w</sup>al-* (vb.) ‘to end, to bring to an end, to complete, to finish’, *\*k<sup>w</sup>al-* ~ *\*k<sup>w</sup>ul-* (adj.) ‘all, whole, entire’ (Ehret 1995:197, no. 317, *\*kal-*/*\*kul-* ‘all’; Militarev 2010:46 Proto-Afrasian *\*k<sup>w</sup>al-* ‘all, each, much’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kal-* (*\*kal-al-*, *\*kal-ay-*) ‘to end, to bring to an end; to complete, to finish’, *\*kull-* ‘all, whole, entire’ > Akkadian *kalu*, *kulu* ‘whole, entirety, all’, *kullatu* ‘all, totality’, *kalū* ‘to finish, to bring to an end, to stop’, *kalama* ‘all, everything’, *kališ* ‘everywhere, anywhere’; Hebrew *kālāh* [כָּלָה] ‘to come to an end; to be complete, at an end, finished, accomplished’, *kālāl* [כָּלַל] ‘to complete, to perfect’, *kōl* [כֹּל] ‘(n.) the whole, totality; (adj.): all whole’; Phoenician *kly* ‘to end, to be complete’, *kl* ‘all’; Aramaic *kullā* ‘totality, the whole, all’; Ugaritic *kl* ‘every, all’, *\*kly*: (reciprocal/passive) *nkly* ‘to be spent’, (factitive active) *ykly*, *tkly*, *tkl* ‘to finish with, to annihilate’, *klkl* ‘everything’, *kl* ‘whole’; Mandaic *kul* ‘all’; Arabic *kull* ‘whole, entire, all’; Sabaeen *kl* ‘to bring to completion’, *kl* ‘all, every, all of, the whole (of)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kell* ‘to be fed up, bored’, *ko(h)l*, *kel-*, *kal-* ‘all’; Ḥarsūsi *kal*, *kāl*, *kall* ‘all’; Soqotri *kal*, *kol* ‘all’; Mehri *kāl*, *kali-* ‘all’; Geez / Ethiopic *k<sup>w</sup>all-* [ኩሉ-] ‘all, whole, every’, *k<sup>w</sup>allo* [ኩሉ] ‘altogether, completely’, *k<sup>w</sup>allu* [ኩሉ] ‘everything, everybody, anything, all’; Tigrinya *k<sup>w</sup>all-u* ‘all’; Tigre *kāl* ‘all’; Gurage *kull-əm* ‘all, whole, every, everything’; Amharic *hullu* ‘all, every, everybody’; Harari *kullu* ‘all’; Gafat *əl-əm* ‘all’. Murtonen 1989:231; Klein 1987:276, 277, and 278; Leslau 1963:92, 1979:341—342, and 1987:281; Militarev 2010:46 Proto-Semitic *\*k<sup>w</sup>all-u*; Zammit 2002: 358.
- B. (?) Egyptian *tnw*, *trw* (*\*tlw*) ‘each, every’ (distinct from *tnw* ‘number; counting, numbering’ [cf. Vycichl 1983:175]). Hannig 1995:956; Erman—Grapow 1921:209 and 1926—1963.5:377—379; Faulkner 1962:305; Gardiner 1957:601.
- C. (?) Berber: Kabyle *akk<sup>w</sup>* ‘all’; Tamazight *akk<sup>w</sup>* ‘all’; Ghadames *ikk*, *akk* ‘each’; Wargla *akk* ‘everything, entirety’; Nefusa *ak* ‘each’; Mzab *acc* ‘each, all’; Tuareg *ak* ‘each’; Chaouia *akk* ‘each’.
- D. South Omotic: Dime *kull* ‘all’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-* (~ *\*k<sup>wh</sup>əl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:569—570, no. 512): (vb.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-* ‘to end, to come to an end; to bring to an end, to complete, to finish’;  
(n.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>al-a* ‘end, finish, completion, fulfillment’

238. Proto-Afrasian *\*kwar-* ~ *\*k<sup>w</sup>ur-* ‘(vb.) to cut; (n.) piece cut off, knife’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:328, no. 1503, *\*kur-* ‘knife’; Ehret 1995:200, no. 330, *\*kur-* /*\*kar-* ‘to cut up’):
- A. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*kur-* ‘to mince’ > K’wadza *kulunso* ‘mortar’; Dahalo *kur-* ‘to mince’. Ehret 1980:247.
  - B. Chadic: East Chadic *\*kur-* ‘knife’ > Somray *kura* ‘knife’. West Chadic: Ngizim *kàrmú* ‘to chop, to cut down, to chop off’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-* (~ *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:572—573, no. 515):
- (vb.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-* ‘to cut’;
  - (n.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-a* ‘piece cut off; knife’
  - Derivatives:
  - (vb.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-* ‘to cut a groove, to hollow out, to dig’;
  - (n.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-a* ‘cut, hole, hollow, digging, excavation, pit, groove, trench’
  - (vb.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-* ‘to cut short, to reduce, to decrease, to diminish, to lessen’;
  - (n.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-a* ‘shortness’; (adj.) ‘short’
239. Proto-Afrasian *\*kwar-* ~ *\*k<sup>w</sup>ur-* ‘(vb.) to cut a groove, to hollow out, to dig; (n.) cut, hole, hollow, digging, excavation, pit, groove, trench’ (Ehret 1995:200, no. 329, *\*kur-* ‘to dig out’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kar-aw/y-* ‘to dig’ > Hebrew *kārāh* [כָּרַח] ‘to dig (a well)’; Aramaic *kārā* ‘to dig’; Punic *kr?* ‘to dig’; Ugaritic *kry* ‘to dig’; Mandaic *kra* ‘to dig’; Arabic *karā* ‘to dig, to dig out earth, to dig a canal’; Geez / Ethiopic *karaya* [ክረየ] ‘to dig (a well, in the ground), to make cuts or incisions, to make holes, to excavate’, *makrit* [መክሪት] ‘shovel, spade’, *makrəy* [መክረይ] ‘instrument for digging, pickaxe, spade’, *kəryat* [ክረየት] ‘digging, excavation, hole, pit’; Tigre *kāra* ‘to cut off (by digging)’; Gurage (Selti) *kāre* ‘to dig a hole’; Harari *xara* ‘to dig a hole’, *māxra* ‘pick’; Amharic *kāräyyä* ‘to dig, to till the earth’. Murtonen 1989:239; Klein 1987:285; Leslau 1963:97, 1979:347, and 1987:294—295; Jean—Hoftijzer 1965:127.
  - B. Egyptian *ḳkr* name of the Earth-god; Coptic *črē* [ϣϣ] ‘to dig’ (Černý considers this to be a loan from Semitic). Hannig 1995:16; Faulkner 1962:6; Gardiner 1957:550; Erman—Grapow 1921:4 and 1926—1963.1:22; Vycichl 1983:346; Černý 1976:335.
  - C. Berber: Ghadames *krəz*, *crəz* ‘to sow, to cultivate, to till’; Nefusa *əkrəz* ‘to plow, to be plowed’, *tagursa* ‘plowshare’; Kabyle *əkrəz* ‘to plow’; Chaouia *tigərsiwin* ‘plowshare’. Note: Two different roots must be reconstructed for Proto-Berber: (1) *\*krz* ‘to acquire’ (see below) and (2) *\*krz* ‘to cultivate, to plow, to till’.
  - D. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*kur-* or *\*kuur-* ‘to cultivate’ > Iraqw *kurumo* ‘hoe’; Alagwa *kurumo* ‘hoe’; Asa *kurim-* ‘to cultivate’; Ma’a *-kúru*

‘to cultivate’, *ukurumé* ‘cultivation’, *mkurumé* ‘cultivator, farmer’. Ehret 1980:247.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-* (~ *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:573—574, no. 516):  
 (vb.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-* ‘to cut a groove, to hollow out, to dig’;  
 (n.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-a* ‘cut, hole, hollow, digging, excavation, pit, groove, trench’  
 Derivative of:  
 (vb.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-* ‘to cut’;  
 (n.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-a* ‘piece cut off, knife’

240. Proto-Afrasian *\*k<sup>w</sup>ar-* ‘(vb.) to procure; (n.) procurement, payment’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kar-ay-* ‘to rent, to buy’ > Hebrew *kārāh* [כָּרָה] ‘to buy’; Arabic *kariya* ‘to rent, to lease, to let, to let out, to farm out, to hire out’, *kirāʔ* ‘rent, hire, hiring; lease; rental; wages, pay’; Sabaeen *kry* ‘rent’; Ḥarsūsi *kerē* ‘fare’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ekóri* ‘to rent, to lease’, *kéréʔ* ‘rent’; Mehri *kōri* ‘to take fare from someone’, *škēri* ‘to hire, to rent (a house, camel)’, *kīrēʔ* ‘rent, hire’. Klein 1987:285.  
 B. Berber: Tuareg *əkrəz* ‘to acquire, to have’; Tawlemmet *əkrəz* ‘to acquire’, *akruz* ‘acquisition’. Note: Two different roots must be reconstructed for Proto-Berber: (1) *\*krz* ‘to acquire’ and (2) *\*krz* ‘to cultivate, to plow, to till’ (see above).  
 C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *karra* ‘property, wealth’. Hudson 1989:249.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-* (~ *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:577, no. 519):  
 (vb.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-* ‘to procure’;  
 (n.) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ar-a* ‘payment, procurement’

241. Proto-Afrasian *\*k<sup>w</sup>ay-* ‘when, as, though, also’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kay-* ‘in order that, for, when, so that’ > Akkadian *kī* ‘according to, concerning’; Hebrew *kī* [כִּי] ‘that, for, when’; Syriac *kay* ‘therefore’; Ugaritic *k, ky* ‘for, because, when, if, that’; Arabic *kay* ‘in order that, so that’; Sabaeen *ky* ‘when’. Klein 1987:275; Zammit 2002:361.  
 B. Egyptian non-enclitic particle *k3* ‘so, then’. Hannig 1995:871; Erman—Grapow 1921:194 and 1926—1963.5:84—85; Faulkner 1962:283; Gardiner 1957:597.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (particle) *\*k<sup>wh</sup>ay-* ‘when, as, though, also’ (Bomhard 2014.3:578, no. 521):  
 Possibly derived from:  
 Relative pronoun stem *\*k<sup>wh</sup>i-*; interrogative pronoun stem *\*k<sup>wh</sup>a-*

242. Proto-Afrasian *\*k<sup>w</sup>ir-* ‘(vb.) to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten; (n.) twist, tie, bundle, rope; the act of twisting or twining together: work, craft, act, action’ (Ehret 1995:207, no. 346, *\*k<sup>w</sup>ir-* ‘to turn’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kar-as-* ‘to tie, to fasten’ > Akkadian *karāsu* ‘to tie, to fasten’, *kurussu* (*kursū*) ‘strap (of leather or metal)’.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*kar-ab-* ‘to twist or twine together’ > Arabic *karaba* ‘to tighten one’s bonds, to twist a rope’; Ḥarsūsi *kerōb* ‘to screw, to screw up’; Mehri *kārūb* ‘to screw, to screw a rifle butt tight through the muzzle’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kórōb* ‘to screw, to screw a rifle butt tight (through the muzzle)’; Geez / Ethiopic *karabo* [ḥzḥ] ‘woven basket, pouch’; Tigrinya *karibbo* ‘small skin used as a bag’; Amharic *kārābo* ‘basket’. Leslau 1987:290.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*kar-ak-* ‘to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten’ > Akkadian *karāku* ‘to intertwine; to obstruct, to dam; to immerse, to soak; to do promptly (?)’; Hebrew *kāraḥ* [כָּרַח] ‘to encircle, to twine around, to embrace, to wrap’, *kereḥ* [כֶּרֶחַ] ‘twining; scroll, volume; bundle’; Aramaic *kəraḥ* ‘to enwrap, to surround’, *kəriḫā* ‘bundle; scroll’; Geez / Ethiopic *k<sup>w</sup>ark<sup>w</sup>ada* [ḥ•ch•ḫ] ‘to embrace, to take in one’s arms’; Amharic *k<sup>w</sup>ärkk<sup>w</sup>ädä* ‘to tie up, to shackle’. Klein 1987:287; Leslau 1987:291; Murtonen 1989:239.
- B. Egyptian *k3-t* ‘work, construction; craft, profession’, *k3wty* ‘workman, laborer, artisan, craftsman, \*weaver’. Hannig 1995:874—875 and 875; Gardiner 1957:597; Faulkner 1962:283; Erman—Grapow 1921:193 and 1926—1963.5:98—101, 5:102.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *kurət* ‘to wind or wrap several times (as a turban around the head)’, *takārut* ‘turban’; Ghadames *akraru* ‘stick used to stir sauces’; Wargla *sskur* ‘to wind into a ball, to wrap’, *akur* ‘large ball, ball of wool’, *takurt* ‘ball’; Mzab *sseḥur* ‘to wind into a ball’, *aḥur* ‘ball’, *taḥrart* ‘skein’; Tamazight *kur* ‘to be wrapped, to be wound into a ball’, *tikurin* ‘ball, spool of thread’; Riff *skur* ‘to wind into a ball’, *takurt* ‘ball (of thread, wool)’; Kabyle *k<sup>w</sup>ər* ‘to be wound into a ball’, *akur* ‘large ball’; Zenaga *kurer* ‘to be round, circular; to walk in a circle’.
- D. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*k<sup>w</sup>irih-*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>iriḥ-* ‘to turn (intr.)’ > Ma’a *-kiri’i* ‘to come back’, *-kiriṭi* ‘to turn (something); to give back; to ask’; Iraqw *kwirihis-* ‘to twist (something)’. Ehret 1980:266.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k<sup>w</sup>hir-* (~ *\*k<sup>w</sup>her-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:585—586, no. 525):  
 (vb.) *\*k<sup>w</sup>hir-* ‘to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten’;  
 (n.) *\*k<sup>w</sup>hir-a* ‘twist, tie, bundle, rope; the act of twisting or twining together: work, craft, act, action’



6.2. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*g<sup>w</sup>

243. Proto-Afrasian \*g<sup>w</sup>an- ‘(vb.) to hit, to strike, to slay, to kill, to wound, to harm, to injure; (n.) strike, harm, injury’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*gan-ay- ‘to harm, to injure’ > Akkadian *genū* ‘to butt, to gore’; Arabic *ġanā* ‘to commit a crime, to harm, to inflict’, *ġanāya* ‘perpetration of a crime, felony’; Modern Hebrew (pi.) *ginnāh* [גִּנָּה] ‘to denounce, to deprecate; to condemn, to censure, to take to task, to put to shame, to disgrace, to defame; to be denounced, deprecated, disgraced’; Syriac *gannī* ‘to blame, to reproach’; Mandaic *ganī* ‘to denounce, to condemn, to blame; to abuse, to insult’. D. Cohen 1970— :147—150; Murtonen 1989:138; Klein 1987:104.
- B. Egyptian *gns* ‘violence, injustice’; Coptic *čons* [ḠONC] ‘violence, injustice; strength, might, force’, *ġinčons* [XINḠONC] ‘to use violence, to act violently; to hurt, to harm, to injure’. Hannig 1995:902; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:177; Vycichl 1983:342; Černý 1976:332.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *suġnāt* ‘to blame’, Tawlemmet *tagna* ‘blame, reproach’, *cagnu* ‘to blame, to reproach’, *aməccəgni* ‘someone who has the habit of blaming or criticizing’; Kabyle *tagant* ‘intransigence, pigheadedness, stubbornness, annoyance’.
- D. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic \*gan- ‘to hit’, \*gan-am- ‘to fight’ > Gedeo / Darasa *gan-* ‘to hit, to whip’, *gan-em-* ‘to fight’, (reduplicated) *gan-gan-* ‘to knock, to pound in a mortar’; Hadiyya *gan-* ‘to hit, to thresh by driving ox’, *gan-am-* ‘to fight’; Sidamo *gan-* ‘to hit’, *gan-am-* ‘to hit, to fight’, (reduplicated) *gan-gan-* ‘to knock’; Kambata *ganno* ‘harm’. Hudson 1989:63, 80, and 116.

← Proto-Nostratic root \*g<sup>w</sup>an- (~ \*g<sup>w</sup>ən-) (Bomhard 2014.3:557—559, no. 504):  
 (vb.) \*g<sup>w</sup>an- ‘to hit, to strike, to slay, to kill, to wound, to harm, to injure’;  
 (n.) \*g<sup>w</sup>an-a ‘strike, harm, injury’

244. Proto-Afrasian \*g<sup>w</sup>an- ‘(vb.) to swell, to abound; (n.) swelling, abundance, large quantity, prosperity’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*gan-an- ‘to swell, to abound’ > Arabic *ġanna* ‘to abound (in plants and herbs)’, *ġanma-t* ‘plenty, abundance; the whole’; Geez / Ethiopic *ganna* [ገገ] ‘to be important, to be proud’; Gurage (Wolane) *genä* ‘large’ in *genä kuṭāl* ‘large leaf of the *äsät* in which dough is placed’, *gännänä* in *səm-äw yägännänä* ‘famous’, literally, ‘a man whose name (*səm*) is exceeding’; Tigre *gänna* ‘to exceed the measure’; Tigrinya *gänänä* ‘to be numerous, to be strong’; Amharic *gännänä* ‘to be abundant, to be large in quantity, to augment, to increase, to grow (of

fame), to be famous'. D. Cohen 1970— :147—150; Leslau 1979:281, 284 and 1987:198; Militarëv 2008:197 and 2010:75.

(?) Geez / Ethiopic *g<sup>w</sup>anak<sup>w</sup>a*, *g<sup>w</sup>annak<sup>w</sup>a* [ጎንከ] 'to heap up, to accumulate, to make a large amount'; Tigrinya *g<sup>w</sup>änäk<sup>w</sup>ä* 'to make a pile of mown hay or grain'. Leslau 1987:198.

- B. Egyptian *gn* 'to be big, great, mighty'. Hannig 1995:901; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:173.
- C. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Somali *gen* 'age'; Konso *kaan-* 'to be left to grow big'; Dullay *kaan-* 'to grow', *kaan-a* 'big'; Burji *gann-an-ee* 'big, great, mighty', *gaan-* 'to be or become big', (causative) *gaan-is-* 'to make big, to enlarge'. Sasse 1982:73 and 78.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**g<sup>w</sup>an-* (~ \**g<sup>w</sup>ən-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:559, no. 505):  
 (vb.) \**g<sup>w</sup>an-* 'to swell, to abound';  
 (n.) \**g<sup>w</sup>an-a* 'swelling, abundance, large quantity, prosperity'

- 245. Proto-Afrasian \**g<sup>w</sup>ar-* '(vb.) to roll, to revolve; (n.) rolling, revolving; any round or circular object' (Ehret 1995:192, no. 302, *g<sup>w</sup>ar-* 'to turn (intr.)'; Militarëv 2012:90—91 Proto-Afrasian \**gVr(gVr)-*; Diakonoff 1992:25 \**g<sup>w</sup>Vr*, \**gVr* 'rolling, round, bent'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) \**gar-gar-* 'to roll, to revolve' > Ugaritic *t-grgr* 'to bustle about, to make haste'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔangargara* [አንገርገር] 'to wallow, to revolve, to roll, to roll oneself, to make roll about, to spin, to drive around, to flop around, to wriggle', *nagargār* [ነገርጋር] 'rolling, spinning, epilepsy, palsy, possession by an evil spirit, evil spirit'; Amharic *nägärgar* 'epilepsy'; Tigre *ʔangärgära* 'to roll, to wallow'; Tigrinya *ʔangärgärä* 'to roll, to wallow'. Leslau 1987:202; D. Cohen 1970— :181.

Proto-Semitic \**gar-ar-* 'to turn, to roll' > Akkadian *garāru* 'to turn or roll over (intr.); to roll', *garru* 'round'. D. Cohen 1970— :191—192.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *ɣərɪru* 'to roll'; Wargla *grurəb*, *grirrəb* 'to roll, to tumble'; Kabyle *grirəb* 'to roll, to tumble, to be let down'; Zenaga *taməgrət* 'ebb, backward surge'.
- C. Cushitic: Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift \**g<sup>w</sup>ar-* 'to turn (intr.)' > Iraqw (reduplicated) *gwangwara?* 'to roll (downhill)'; K'wadza *golat-* 'to bend (intr.)'. Ehret 1980:372. Somali *girāngir* 'wheel'; Saho *gur-* 'to roll', *gargar-* 'to roll'; Bilin *gargar-* 'to move, to stir; to sway back and forth', *ʔengirgír* 'epilepsy'. Reinisch 1887:161.
- D. Omotic: Bench / Gimira *gart-* 'to roll (intr.)', *gars-* 'to roll (tr.)'.
- E. Chadic: Hausa *gaṛaa* 'to roll a circular object along the ground', *gaṛe* 'any circular object used by children to roll along the ground'.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**g<sup>w</sup>ar-* (~ \**g<sup>w</sup>ər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:559—560, no. 506):

- (vb.) \**g<sup>w</sup>ar-* ‘to turn, to twist, to wind, to wrap, to roll’;  
 (n.) \**g<sup>w</sup>ar-a* ‘any round or circular object’; (adj.) ‘rolling, round, bent, twisted, turned’
246. Proto-Afrasian \**g<sup>w</sup>ir-* ‘(vb.) to be or become hot, to warm; (n.) fire’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:210, no. 930, \**g<sup>w</sup>ir-* ‘fire’ and 210, no. 931, \**g<sup>w</sup>ir-* ‘to be hot’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**gar-ar-* ‘(vb.) to be or become hot, to warm; (n.) fire’ > Akkadian *girru* ‘fire’, (adv.) *girrāniš* ‘like fire’; Amharic *gärrärä* ‘to be scorching (sun)’; Gurage (Chaha) *g’irg’ir* \**balä*, (Endegeñ) *gərgər barä* ‘to blaze, to flicker, to burn in a bright and wavy way, \*to burn easily (dry wood)’. D. Cohen 1970— :191—192; Leslau 1979:310.
  - B. Egyptian (\**g<sup>w</sup>ir-* > \**g<sup>w</sup>ir-* > \**d<sup>w</sup>ir-* >) *dʒ* ‘fire-drill’, *dʒf* (Demotic *df*) ‘to heat, to cook, to burn’, *dʒf* ‘scorched meat’; Coptic *guf* [xoyq] ‘to burn, to scorch’, (reduplicated) *gofgof* [xoqxq] ‘to burn, to cook’. Hannig 1995:992 and 993—994; Faulkner 1962:318 and 319; Erman—Grapow 1921:218 and 1926—1963.5:511, 5:522; Gardiner 1957:603; Vycichl 1983:333; Černý 1976:322.
  - C. Cushitic: Saho-Afar \**g<sup>w</sup>ir-* ‘fire’ > Saho *gira* ‘fire’; Afar *giraa* ‘fire’. Highland East Cushitic \**g<sup>w</sup>ir-* ‘fire’ > Burji *jiir-a* ‘fire’, *jiiranta arraaba* ‘flame’; Sidamo *giir-a* ‘fire’, *giir-* ‘to burn (tr.)’, *girr-am-* ‘to burn (intr.)’; Hadiyya *giir-a* ‘fire’, *giir-* ‘to burn (tr.)’, *girr-am-* ‘to burn (intr.)’; Kambata *giira(ta)* ‘fire’, *giir k’as-aancu* ‘torch’; Gedeo / Darasa *giir-a* ‘fire’. Sasse 1982:110; Hudson 1989:64.
  - D. Chadic: Proto-Chadic (reduplicated) \**g<sup>w</sup>ir-g<sup>w</sup>ir-* ‘hot’ > Maha *girgir* ‘hot’; Dera *gərgət* (< \**gərgər*) ‘hot’; Tera *gərgər* ‘hot’; Bura *gərgər* ‘hot’. Hausa *guura* ‘to set fire’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**g<sup>w</sup>ir-* (~ \**g<sup>w</sup>er-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:561—563, no. 507):  
 (vb.) \**g<sup>w</sup>ir-* ‘to be or become hot, to warm’;  
 (n.) \**g<sup>w</sup>ir-a* ‘heat, fire’
247. Proto-Afrasian \**g<sup>w</sup>al-* ‘(vb.) to curve, to bend; to roll; to be round; (n.) round object: circle, globe, sphere, ball, etc.’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:214, no. 948, \**gol-* ‘to be round, to go round’, 221, no. 980, \**gulul-* ‘ball’; Ehret 1995:191, no. 301, \**g<sup>w</sup>il-* ‘to bend, to turn (intr.)’; Militarëv 2012:91 Proto-Afrasian \**g<sup>w</sup>VIV-*):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**gal-al-* ‘to roll’ > Akkadian *galālu* ‘to roll’, *gallu* ‘rolling’; Hebrew *gālāl* [גָּלַל] ‘to roll, to roll away (especially large stones)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gallēl* ‘to roll, to turn over (and over)’; Aramaic *gālāl* ‘to roll, to roll away’; Arabic *ḡulla* ‘(cannon) ball; bomb’. D. Cohen 1970— :125—129; Murtonen 1989:134; Klein 1987:101.

Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*gal-gal-* ‘round object: wheel, sphere, globe, circle’ > Hebrew *galgal* [גָּלְגָּל] ‘wheel, whirl, whirlwind’, *gilgāl* [גִּלְגָּל] ‘wheel’; Imperial Aramaic *glgl* ‘wheel’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gilglā* ‘wheel’, *galgal* ‘belt’, *galgēl* ‘to roll, to turn’; Syriac *gīgālā* ‘wheel’; Phoenician *glgl* ‘wrapper’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʾangallaga* [አጎገለገ] (‘to roll together’ >) ‘to assemble (intr.), to come together, to keep company, to band together, to gather in crowds’; Tigre *gālgāla* ‘to gather’. D. Cohen 1970— :118; Klein 1987:99; Tombback 1978:65; Leslau 1987:190.

Proto-Semitic *\*gal-am-* ‘to wrap up, to roll up’ > Hebrew *\*gālam* [גָּלַם] ‘to wrap up, to fold, to fold together’; Mandaic *\*glm* ‘to roll up, to wrap up’. D. Cohen 1970— :129; Klein 1987:101.

Proto-Semitic *\*gal-az-* ‘to wrap up, to twist together, to tie round’ > Arabic *ḡalaza* ‘to fold and wrap up; to twist firmly together; to tie round with the sinew of a camel’s neck; to extend, to stretch’, *ḡalz* ‘sinew of a camel’s neck for tying’. D. Cohen 1970— :122.

Proto-Semitic *\*gal-al-* ‘heap, pile, or circle of stones’ > Akkadian *galālu* ‘pebble’; Hebrew *gal* [גָּל] ‘heap or pile of stones’, *gālilōθ* [גִּלְלִית] ‘circles of stones’, *gilgāl* [גִּלְגָּל] ‘(sacred) circle (of stones)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gālālā* ‘stone’; Syriac *gālā* ‘mound’; Palmyrene *gllʿ* ‘stone pillar, stele’. D. Cohen 1970— :126; Murtonen 1989:134; Klein 1987:99.

- B. Egyptian *d3d3w* (‘round object’ >) ‘pot’; Coptic *ḡō* [Ⲭⲱ] ‘cup’. Hannig 1995:997; Faulkner 1962:320; Erman—Grapow 1921:219 and 1926—1963.5:532; Gardiner 1957:603 Vycichl 1983:324; Černý 1976:311.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *ḡalallat* ‘to be round’.
- D. Chadic: Central Chadic: Logone *ngolō* ‘round’ (prefix *\*nV-*).

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ḡwal-* (~ *\*ḡwəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:643—645, no. 579):  
 (vb.) *\*ḡwal-* ‘to curve, to bend, to roll; to be round’;  
 (n.) *\*ḡwal-a* ‘round object: circle, globe, sphere, ball, etc.’  
 Derivative:  
 (n.) *\*ḡwal-a* ‘head, skull’

248. Proto-Afrasian *\*ḡwal-* ‘head, skull’, (reduplicated) *\*ḡwal-ḡwal-* (Takács 2011: 42):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*gul-gul-* ‘skull’ > Akkadian *gulgullu*, *gulgullatu* ‘skull; container shaped like a human skull’; Biblical Hebrew *gulḡoleθ* [גִּלְגֻּלִּית] ‘skull, head, poll (person)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gōgaltā*, *gūlgūltā* ‘skull’. D. Cohen 1970— :118; Murtonen 1989:134; Klein 1987:99.
- B. Egyptian (reduplicated) *d3d3* [*\*da3da3*] (< *\*gal-gal*) ‘head’; Coptic *ḡōḡ* [ⲬⲱⲬ] ‘head’. Faulkner 1962:319; Erman—Grapow 1921:218 and 1926—

1963.5:530—531; Gardiner 1957:603; Hannig 1995:997; Vycichl 1983:334 — according to Vycichl, Egyptian *dʒdʒ* ‘head’ may ultimately be related to *dʒdʒw* ‘pot’ (see above); Černý 1976:310—311.

- C. Chadic: East Chadic: Kwang *gólò*, *góló* ‘head’. Central Chadic: Muktele *gəl* ‘head’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:183.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*Gʷal-a* ‘head, skull’ (Bomhard 2014.3:645, no. 580):

Derivative of:

(vb.) *\*Gʷal-* ‘to curve, to bend, to roll; to be round’;

(n.) *\*Gʷal-a* ‘round object: circle, globe, sphere, ball, etc.’

### 6.3. PROTO-AFRASIAN *\*kʷ*

249. Proto-Afrasian *\*kʷaħ-* ‘(vb.) to hit, to strike, to beat, to pound; to push or press in; (n.) club, cudgel; (adj.) hit, beaten, pounded, pushed or pressed together, crammed, filled’ (Ehret 1995:244, no. 441, *\*kʷaħ-* ‘to pound’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kʷaħ-* (with various extensions: *\*kʷaħ-am-*, *\*kʷaħ-at-*, *\*kʷaħ-ap-*, *\*kʷaħ-aʒ-*, etc.) ‘to hit, to strike, to beat, to pound; to push or press in’ > Arabic *kaḥama* ‘to push, to drag (someone into something), to involve; to introduce forcibly, to cram (something into); to plunge, to rush, to hurtle (into something); to jump, leap, or dive into something’, *kaḥaṭa* ‘to beat violently’, *kaḥafa* ‘to beat on the skull, to break one’s skull, to wound at the head’, *kaḥaza* ‘to cudgel’, *kaḥzala* ‘to throw down and cudgel’, *kaḥzana* ‘to cudgel one so as to make him drop down’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kaḥám* ‘to jump’. Zammit 2002:333—334.

- B. Egyptian *qhḳḥw* ‘metal workers’, *qhḳḥ* ‘to hew stones, to beat metal, to drive’; Coptic *kahkh* [ⲕⲁⲭⲕⲭ] ‘to hew out, to smooth’. Hannig 1995:865; Faulkner 1962:281; Erman—Grapow 1921:192 and 1926—1963.5:67; Vycichl 1983:92; Černý 1976:68.

- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*kʷaaħ-* or *\*kʷooħ-* ‘to throw down and club’ > Iraqw *kwaħ-* ‘to throw’; Burunge *kwaħ-* ‘to throw’; Alagwa *kwaħ-* ‘to throw’; Dahalo *kʷookʷoħ-* ‘to club’. Ehret 1980:269 *\*kʷaaħ-* or *\*kʷooħ-* ‘to wield, to swing’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*kʷaħ-* (~ *\*kʷəħ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:591, no. 530):

(vb.) *\*kʷaħ-* ‘to hit, to strike, to beat, to pound; to push or press in’;

(n.) *\*kʷaħ-a* ‘club, cudgel’; (adj.) ‘hit, beaten, pounded, pushed or pressed together, crammed, filled’

250. Proto-Afrasian *\*kʷan-* ‘(vb.) to suckle, to nurse; to suck; (n.) udder, bosom, breast’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k'an-aw/y-* 'to suckle, to nurse; to rear, to bring up' > Mehri *kənū* 'to rear, to look after; to suckle'; Soqotri *káne* 'to suckle, to bring up', *kánhoh* 'baby animal'; Šheri / Jibbāli *kéni* 'to rear, to look after, to bring up; to suckle', *məḵəni* 'baby'; Harsūsi *kenō* 'to bring up, to rear', *meknáyw* 'baby boy'.
- B. (?) Egyptian *qni* '(vb.) to embrace; (n.) bosom, embrace', *qniw* 'embrace, bosom', *qnqn* 'to eat, to feed'; Demotic *qn* 'breast'; Coptic *kun(t)-[KOYN(τ)-]* 'bosom, breast', also sometimes 'genitals'. Hannig 1995:859 and 862; Faulkner 1962:280; Erman—Grapow 1921:190 and 1926—1963.5:50—51, 5:56; Gardiner 1957:596; Vycichl 1983:82; Černý 1976:59.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*k'and/-* 'udder' > Burji *k'án?-i*, *k'ánd-i* 'clitoris'; Somali *qanj-id* 'lymphatic gland'; Dasenech *ḡan-* 'udder'; Konso *qand-itta* 'udder; swollen or abnormally big "gland"'; Hadiyya *gan-ce* 'udder'; Gollango *ḡan-te* 'udder'. East Cushitic: Kambata *k'an-* 'to suck (tr.), to nurse (intr.)', *k'an-s-* 'to nurse (tr.)'; Sidamo *k'an-* 'to suck (tr.), to nurse (intr.)', *k'an-s-* 'to nurse (tr.)'. Sasse 1982:124; Hudson 1989:106 and 146.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k'wan-* (~ *\*k'wən-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:594, no. 534):

(vb.) *\*k'wan-* 'to suckle, to nurse; to suck';

(n.) *\*k'wan-a* 'udder, bosom, breast'

Derivative:

(n.) *\*k'wan-a* 'woman, wife'

251. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'war-* (~ *\*k'wor-*) '(vb.) to be cold; (n.) cold, coldness' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:338, no. 1554, *\*kar-* '[to be] cold', 346, no. 1591, *\*kor-* (n.) 'cold' [derived from *\*kar-* 'to be cold'], and 353, no. 1627, *\*kVrVs-* 'to freeze'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k'ar-ar-* 'to be cold' > Hebrew *kārar* [כָּרַר] 'to be cold', *kar* [כָּר] 'cool', *kōr* [כָּר] 'cold', *kerer* [כָּרַר] 'cold'; Aramaic *kārar* 'to be cold', *kārīrā* 'cold'; Syriac *karīr* 'cold'; Arabic *karra* 'to be cold, chilly, cool', *kurr* 'cold, coldness, chilliness, coldness', *kirra* 'cold, coldness, chilliness, coldness'; Mandaic *karir(a)* 'cold'; Geez / Ethiopic *k'arra* [ቀረ], *k'arara* [ቀረረ] 'to be cold, cool; to cool down (anger), to subside (fire)', *k'ərr* [ቀረ] 'cold, coldness', *k'arir* [ቀረር] 'cold, cool', *korar* [ቀረር] 'ice'; Tigre *kārra* 'to become cool'; Tigrinya *k'wärrärä* 'to become cool' (Geez loan), *k'wərri*, *kurri* 'cold'; Amharic *k'wärrärä* 'to be cold', *k'wərr* 'cold'; Gurage *korra* 'morning frost'. Murtonen 1989:384; Klein 1987:597; Leslau 1979:495 and 1987:443—444; Militarev 2010:59 Proto-Semitic *\*k'wrr*; Zammit 2002:337.

Proto-Semitic *\*k'ar-ax-* 'vb.) to freeze; (n.) frost, ice' > Akkadian *karḫu* 'ice', *karāḫu* 'to become iced up'; Hebrew *kerah* [כֶּרֶחַ] 'frost, ice'; Syriac *karḥā* 'frost, ice'. Murtonen 1989:386—387; Klein 1987:593.

Proto-Semitic *\*k'ar-asʷ-* 'to be bitter, freezing, or numbing cold' > Arabic *karisa* 'to be severe, fierce, biting, grim (the cold); to freeze, to make torpid; to (be)numb; to nip (someone, something; of cold)', *kāris* 'severe, fierce, biting, grim (of the cold), very cold, bitterly cold, freezing, frozen'. Militarev 2010:59 Proto-Semitic *\*krš-*.

- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic *\*k'or(r)-* 'cold' > Sidamo *k'orra* 'frost'. Hudson 1989:381. Lowland East Cushitic *\*k'or(r)-* 'intense cold' > Galla / Oromo *k'orro* 'intense cold'.
- C. West Chadic *\*k'arar-* 'cold (of water, weather)' > Hausa *kararaa* 'cold (of water, weather)'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k'war-* (~ *\*k'wər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:596—597, no. 536):  
 (vb.) *\*k'war-* 'to be cold';  
 (n.) *\*k'war-a* 'cold, coldness'

252. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'war-* 'vb.) to stay, to remain, to rest, to settle down: (n.) stillness, quietude, repose, rest; resting place, settlement; (adj.) still, quiet, at rest':

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k'ar-ar-* 'to stay, to remain, to rest, to settle down' > Arabic *karra* 'to settle down, to establish oneself, to become settled or sedentary, to take up one's residence, to rest, to abide, to dwell, to reside, to remain, to stay, to linger', *maḳarr* 'abode, dwelling, habitation; residence; storage place; seat, center; site, place; station; position (at sea)', *karār* 'sedentariness, settledness, stationariness, sedentation; fixedness, firmness, solidity; steadiness, constancy, continuance, permanency, stability; repose, rest, stillness, quietude; duration; abode, dwelling, habitation; residence, resting place'; Sabaeen *krr* 'settlement'; Moabite *kr* 'town'. Zammit 2002:337.

Proto-Semitic *\*k'ar-ay-* 'vb.) to stay, to remain, to settle down; (n.) town, village, settled area' > Arabic *qarya* 'village, hamlet, small town, rural community'; Hebrew *qiryāh* [קִרְיָה] 'town, city'; Palmyrene *qry* 'settled area'; Ugaritic *kryt* 'city'; Tigrinya *qārāyā* 'to remain'; Amharic *qārrä* 'to be left, to remain, to be missing, to be absent; to stay away, to absent oneself'; Gurage (Muher) *qārrä*, (Gogot) *qerrä*, (Soddo) *qirrä* 'to be absent, to stay away, to remain behind, to disappear, to vanish, to be lost'. Murtonen 1989:385; Klein 1987:593—594; Leslau 1979:494.

(?) Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *k'wark'wara* [ቅርቅር] 'to make a foundation, to begin to settle a country, to build a city'; Amharic *k'wārākk'wārä* 'to found a town or a city'. Leslau 1987:443. Note: If these forms belong here, then they are ultimately not related to Arabic *kāra* (*kwr*)

‘to make a round hole (in something); to gouge, to scoop out, to hollow out (something)’.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *ayrām* ‘town, village’, *tayrāmt* ‘a small village, small castle’; Mzab *ayrām* ‘city, town, village, town surrounded by ramparts’; Nefusa *ayrām* ‘town’; Tamazight *iyrām* ‘village, fortified village, granary’, *tiyrāmt* ‘fortified house’; Zenaga *irmi* ‘village, settlement’.
- C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *k’arar-* ‘to settle (out)’; Kambata *k’arar-* ‘to settle (out)’. Hudson 1989:288 and 328.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k’war-* (~ *\*k’wər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:597—598, no. 537):  
 (vb.) *\*k’war-* ‘to rest, to stay, to remain’;  
 (n.) *\*k’war-a* ‘stillness, quietude, repose, rest, resting place’; (adj.) ‘still, quiet, at rest’

253. Proto-Afrasian *\*k’warb-* (n.) ‘the inside, the middle, interior, inward part’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k’irb-* (< *\*k’wərb-*) ‘midst, inward part’ > Hebrew *ḵereḇ* [כֶּרֶב] ‘inward part, midst’; Ugaritic *ḵrb* ‘midst, female genitalia’; Akkadian *ḵerbu* ‘midst’. Murtonen 1989:386; Klein 1987:591.
- B. Egyptian *q3b* ‘intestines, interior of the body, middle of anything’. Hannig 1995:849; Faulkner 1962:275; Erman—Grapow 1921:188 and 1926—1963.5:9; Gardiner 1957:596.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*k’war-b-a* ‘the inside, the middle, interior, inward part’ (Bomhard 2014.3:599—600, no. 539)

254. Proto-Afrasian *\*k’war-* (n.) ‘rain, storm’:

- A. Egyptian *qrī* ‘storm, storm-cloud; thunder’. Hannig 1995:862; Faulkner 1962:280; Gardiner 1957:596; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:58.
- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Burji *k’āraar-i* ‘rainy season’. Sasse 1982:124—125; Hudson 1989:207.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k’warʷ-* (~ *\*k’wərʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:600—601, no. 540):  
 (vb.) *\*k’warʷ-* ‘to thunder, to rumble’;  
 (n.) *\*k’warʷ-a* ‘rain, storm, stormy weather, thunderstorm’

255. Proto-Afrasian *\*k’was-* ‘(vb.) to sigh, to moan, to groan; to whisper, to murmur, to mumble; (n.) sigh, moan, groan, whisper, murmur, mumble’:

- A. Semitic: Gurage *ḵesätä* ‘to groan, to moan, to sigh’; Amharic (*ak*)*ḵassätä* ‘to sigh, to moan’. Leslau 1979:505.



- B. Egyptian (reduplicated) *qsqs* ‘to whisper’; Coptic *kaskes* [ⲕⲁⲥⲕⲉⲥ] ‘to whisper’. Vycichl 1983:88—89; Černý 1976:64 (Černý considers the Egyptian and Coptic forms to be loans from Semitic).

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*kʷas-* (~ *\*kʷəs-*) (onomatopoeic) (Bomhard 2014.3: 602, no. 542):

- (vb.) *\*kʷas-* ‘to sigh, to moan, to groan; to whisper, to murmur, to mumble’;  
(n.) *\*kʷas-a* ‘sigh, moan, groan, whisper, murmur, mumble’

256. Proto-Afrasian *\*kʷat-* (vb.) to burn, to smolder, to smoke; (n.) smoke’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*kʷatʹ-ar-* ‘to burn, to smolder, to smoke’, *\*kʷutʹ-r-* (< *\*kʷatʹ-r-*) ‘smoke, incense’ > Hebrew *kīṭōr* [קִיטֹר] ‘thick smoke’, *kaṭōreθ* [כַּטֹּרֶת] ‘smoke, odor (of burning), incense’, *mukṭār* [מִקְטָר] ‘sacrificed by burning incense’; Phoenician *kṭrt* ‘incense’; Ugaritic *kṭr* ‘smoke, incense’; Akkadian (with progressive deglottalization [Geers’ Law]) *kuṭru* ‘smoke’, *kaṭāru* ‘to rise, to billow, to roll in (said of smoke, fog)’, *kutturu* ‘to cause something to smoke, to make an incense offering, to cense, to fumigate, to fume incense’, *kaṭāru* ‘incense’; Arabic *kuṭr*, *kuṭur* ‘agalloch, aloeswood’, *miḡṭar* ‘censer’; Sabaean *kṭr* ‘to burn incense’; Geez / Ethiopic *kaṭara*, *kaṭtara* [ቀተረ] ‘to fumigate, to give off an odor’, *kaṭtāre* [ቀተረ], *kaṭtār* [ቀተር] ‘incense, fumigation, odiferous substance’; Tigre *kaṭare* ‘fragrance, spice’; Amharic *kaṭṭārä* ‘to burn incense in church’. Murtonen 1989:375; Klein 1987:576; Leslau 1987:452. Diakonoff 1992:81 *\*kʷatʹr-* ‘smoke’.

Proto-Semitic *\*kʷatʹ-am-* ‘to burn, to smolder, to smoke’, *\*kʷitʹ-am-* ‘ash(es)’ > Hebrew *kaṭām* [כַּטָּם] (denominative) ‘to cover with ashes or powder’, *kaṭam* [כַּטָּם] ‘ashes, powder’, *keṭūm* [כֶּטֹּם] ‘covered with ashes’ (the Hebrew forms are borrowed from Aramaic); Aramaic *kaṭām* ‘to cover with ashes or powder’, *kaṭmā* ‘ashes’; Syriac *keṭmā* ‘ashes’. Related to Arabic *kaṭām* (< *\*kʷatʹām-*) ‘dust’. Klein 1987:574 and 575; Militarev 2010:47 Proto-Semitic (Aramaic-Arabic) *\*kaṭām-*; Biberstein-Kazimirski 1875.3:856.

- B. (?) Berber (root *\*yḍ*, if for *\*yḍ*): Tuareg *aqqaḍ* ‘to burn, to be burnt, to be dried out’, *suyad* ‘to make burn’, *taqqit* ‘burn’; Mzab *aqqaḍ* ‘to be about to make fire’, *iyad* ‘ash(es)’; Tamazight *qqad* ‘to be about to make fire, to cauterize, to be warm, to be red-hot’, *nyad* ‘to crush, to reduce to powder; to be crushed, to be reduced to powder’, *anyud* ‘crushing, pulverization’, *iyad* ‘ash(es)’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *qad* ‘to cauterize, to be about to make fire’, *ayad* ‘cauterization’, *nyad* ‘to pulverize; to be pulverized’, *iyad* ‘ash(es)’; Riff *aqda* ‘to burn’, *iyad* ‘ash(es)’; Kabyle *aqqaḍ* ‘to be about to make fire, to cauterize, to apply a hot compress, to fire pottery; to be cauterized, to be fired (pottery)’, *uyud* ‘hole for firing pottery’, *nyad* ‘to crush, to reduce to powder; to be crushed’, *iyad* ‘ash(es)’; Chaouia *qqad* ‘to

be about to apply fire, to cauterize’, *iḃad* ‘ash(es)’, *nyad* ‘to be crushed or ground, to be powdery’; Zenaga *yad* ‘to be warm, burning’, *tassuyad* ‘droppings, manure, dung’.

- C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *k’at’abaaré*, *k’at’awaré* ‘fire-wood’. Hudson 1989:379.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k’wat’-* (~ *\*k’wət’-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:602—603, no. 543):

(vb.) *\*k’wat’-* ‘to burn, to smolder, to smoke’;

(n.) *\*k’wat’-a* ‘burning, heat, smoke’

257. Proto-Afrasian *\*k’wat’-* ‘(vb.) to cut; (n.) knife, cutting instrument; (adj.) sharp’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:339, no. 1558, *\*kaṭ-/\*kuṭ-* ‘to cut’; Ehret 1995:240, no. 431, *\*k’at’-* ‘to cut’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k’at’-at’-* ‘to cut, to carve’ > Arabic *kaṭṭa* ‘to carve, to cut, to trim, to chip, to pare; to mend the point (of a pen), to nib, to sharpen (a pen)’; Sabaean *kṭṭ* ‘to cut, to hew out’; Šheri / Jibbāli *keṭṭ* ‘to cut’; Mehri *kāttat* ‘to be cut off’; Geez / Ethiopic *k’wataṭa* [፳፻፹፻] ‘to cut (grass)’; Harari *kāṭṭu* ‘splinters of wood’; Amharic *kāṭṭātā*, *k’wāṭṭātā* ‘to cut, to shear’. Leslau 1987:455.

Proto-Semitic *\*k’at’-ab-* ‘to cut’ > Arabic *kaṭaba* ‘to cut’; Hebrew *keṭeḇ* [כֶּטֶב] ‘destruction’; Aramaic *kaṭaḇ* ‘to chop, to cleave’; Harsūsi *keṭṭebōt* ‘doll (carved from wood or bone)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kaṭbēt* ‘(carved, wooden) doll’; Mehri *kaṭabbūt* ‘doll; formerly, a doll carved from wood’; Geez / Ethiopic *kaṭaba* [፳፻፹፻] ‘to make a mark in order that woven cloth be symmetrical, to trim, to shorten’; Amharic *kāṭṭābā* ‘to trim, to shorten, to make a mark in order that woven cloth be symmetrical’. Klein 1987:574; Leslau 1987:453.

Proto-Semitic *\*k’at’-aṣ-* ‘to cut’ > Arabic *kaṭa’a* ‘to cut, to cut off, to chop off; to amputate; to cut through, to cut in two, to divide; to tear apart, to disrupt, to sunder, to disjoin, to separate; to fell; to break off, to sever; to break off one’s friendship; to snub; to cut short, to interrupt’; Modern Hebrew *kāṭa’a* [כָּטַא] ‘to cut, to fell, to lop off’; Aramaic *kaṭa’a* ‘to cut off, to shorten’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kaṭa’a* ‘to cut’; Mehri *kāwṭa* ‘to cut, to cut off, to saw off; to breach (a contract); to refuse to give’, *kāṭṭa* ‘to be cut, to be discontinued; (rain) to stop; to stop (visiting someone); to be cut off in the desert without food or drink’, *kaṭāt* ‘piece’; Tigre *kāṭ’a* ‘to cut off’; Tigrinya *kaṭ’a* ‘a cut’; Amharic *kāṭṭa* ‘to cut off’; Gurage *kāṭṭa* ‘to make incisions’. Murtonen 1989:374; Klein 1987:575; Leslau 1979:506; Zammit 2002:342.

Proto-Semitic *\*k’at’-ap-* ‘to cut, to pick, to pluck’ > Akkadian *kaṭāpu* ‘to pluck out’; Hebrew *kāṭaḥ* [כָּטַח] ‘to pluck off (twigs, etc.), to pluck out’; Aramaic *kaṭaḥ* ‘to pluck, to tear off’; Arabic *kaṭafa* ‘to pick (flowers,

fruit); to gather, to harvest (fruit); to pluck off, to pull off, to tear off (something, e.g., leaves)'; Mehri *ḳəṭāwf* 'to earmark, to take a snip out of an animal's ear as an identification mark'; Harsūsi *ḳatf* 'snip taken out of a goat's ear as a marker'; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḳəṭṭ* 'animal to eat only the best pasture; to fell, to lop, to chop off; to take a snip out of an ear'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳatafa* [ፋጠፈ] 'to pick, to cut (flowers, leaves), to pluck, to snap'; Tigrinya (with augmented *n*) *ḳäntäfä* 'to pluck off'; Amharic *ḳäṭṭäfä* 'to pick flowers'. Murtonen 1989:375; Zammit 2002:342; Klein 1987:575—576; Leslau 1987:453.

Proto-Semitic *\*k'at'-am-* 'to cut off' > Arabic *ḳatama* 'to cut off, to break off', *ḳatma* 'piece, bite, morsel'.

Proto-Semitic *\*k'at'-al-* 'to cut off' > Arabic *ḳatāla* 'to cut off'.

- B. Egyptian *qdf* 'to gather flowers' (this may be a Semitic loan); Coptic *kōtf* [ⲕⲟⲩⲣⲉ] 'to gather (grain, fruit, wood, etc.)'. Hannig 1995:869; Faulkner 1962:282; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:81; Vycichl 1983:90; Černý 1976:66.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*k'ad₁-* 'to cut' > Dullay *qatt-* 'to cut, to hoe up, to fold'; Yaaku *qat-* 'to cut'; Saho-Afar *aḳ-* 'to cut the hair'. Sasse 1979:31 and 48. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*k'wat-* 'to shape, to mold, to fashion' > Alagwa *qwatsit-* 'to shape, to mold, to fashion'; Ma'a *vukasila* 'iron'. Ehret 1980:267.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k'wat-* (~ *\*k'wəṭ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:603—605, no. 544):

(vb.) *\*k'wat-* 'to cut';

(n.) *\*k'wat-a* 'knife, cutting instrument'; (adj.) 'sharp'

258. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'wur-* '(vb.) to be heavy, weighty; (n.) heaviness, weight, solidity, thickness; (adj.) heavy, weighty, solid, bulky':

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*w/ya-k'ar-* 'to be heavy, weighty, precious' > Arabic *wakara* 'to load, to burden, to overload; to oppress, to weigh heavily upon', *wikr* 'heavy load, burden'; Akkadian *aḳāru* 'to become scarce, expensive, precious, valuable', *šukuru* 'to make rare; to value; to hold in esteem, to give honor (to gods)'; Amorite *ykr* 'to be dear, valuable'; Hebrew *yāḳar* [יָקָר] 'to be precious, prized, costly', *yāḳār* [יָקָר] 'precious, rare, splendid, weighty'; Aramaic *yəḳar* 'to be heavy, precious'; Ugaritic *ykr* 'precious, dear'. Murtonen 1989:220; Klein 1987:263—264; Zammit 2002:439.
- B. Egyptian *īqr* 'trustworthy; well-to-do; excellent, superior'. Gardiner 1957:555; Hannig 1995:107; Erman—Grapow 1921:19 and 1926—1963.1:137; Faulkner 1962:131—132.

- C. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Burji *k'urk'-aa* 'heavy', *k'urk'-eed-* 'to become heavy, to conceive, to become pregnant', *k'urk'-éed-aa* 'heavy', *k'urk'-e* 'weight'. Sasse 1982:129.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*k'wur<sup>y</sup>-* (~ *\*k'wor<sup>y</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:609—610, no. 549):  
 (vb.) *\*k'wur<sup>y</sup>-* 'to be heavy, weighty, solid, bulky';  
 (n.) *\*k'wur<sup>y</sup>-a* 'heaviness, weight, solidity, thickness'; (adj.) 'heavy, weighty, solid, bulky'
259. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'wal-* '(vb.) to call (out), to cry (out), to shout; (n.) call, cry, outcry, sound, noise, hubbub, uproar' (Diakonoff 1992:24 *\*k'wəl* (> *\*k'ul*) 'call, voice'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:335, no. 1541, *\*kal-/kawal-* 'speak'; Ehret 1995:245, no. 442, *\*k'wal-* 'to call'):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*k'a/wa/l-* 'to speak, to call, to cry' > Hebrew *kōl* [כֹּל] 'sound, voice'; Aramaic *kāl* 'voice, echo, news'; Syriac *kālā* 'to call, to cry out, to shout'; Phoenician *kl* 'voice'; Ugaritic *kl* 'voice'; Mandaic *kala* 'voice'; Akkadian *kālu* 'to speak, to call, to cry', *kūlu* 'speech'; Amorite *kwl* 'to speak'; Arabic *kāla* (*kwl*) 'to speak, to say, to tell', *kawl* 'word, speech'; Sabaean *kwl* 'speaker'; Mehri *kawl* 'speech'; Geez / Ethiopic *kāl* [ቃል] 'voice, word, saying, speech, statement, discourse, command, order, sound, noise, expression, maxim, thing'; Tigrinya *kal* 'word'; Tigre *kal* 'word'; Amharic *kal* 'word'; Gurage *kal* 'voice, thing'. Murtonen 1989:372; Klein 1987:565; Zammit 2002:348; Leslau 1979:474 and 1987:426.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*k'wala<sup>2</sup>-*, *\*k'wala<sup>a</sup>2-* 'to shout' > Iraqw *kwala<sup>2</sup>-/qwala<sup>2</sup>-* 'to be joyful, to be glad', *qwala<sup>2</sup>* 'joy'; Ma'a *-kalá/-xalá* 'to bark', *-kalá<sup>2</sup>e* 'to shout'; K'wadza *k'wa<sup>2</sup>aliko* 'voice'. Ehret 1980:268.
- C. Chadic: East Chadic *\*kawal-* 'to cry, to shout; to speak, to call' > Kabalay *ye-kuwəla<sup>2</sup>* 'to cry, to shout'; Dangla *kole* 'to speak, to call'; Lele *ya-kolo* 'to cry, to shout'; Jegu *kol* 'to speak, to call'; Birgit *kole* 'to speak, to call'; Bidiya *kol* 'to speak, to call'.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*q'wal-* (~ *\*q'wəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:647—648, no. 582):  
 (vb.) *\*q'wal-* 'to call (out), to cry (out), to shout';  
 (n.) *\*q'wal-a* 'call, cry, outcry, sound, noise, hubbub, uproar'
260. Proto-Afrasian *\*k'wal-* '(vb.) to strike, to hit, to cut, to kill, to slaughter; (n.) killing, murder, manslaughter, destruction, death':
- A. Semitic: (?) Proto-Semitic *\*k'a/ta/l-* 'to kill, to slay' > Akkadian *katālu* 'to kill, to slaughter'; Arabic *katāla* 'to kill, to slay, to murder, to assassinate', *katl* 'killing, murder, manslaughter, homicide, assassination'; Hebrew *kātal*

[ḫṭṭ] (< \**kat-al-*, with *t* < *t* through assimilation to the preceding emphatic) ‘to slay, to kill’, *keṭel* [ḫṭṭ] ‘murder, slaughter’; Syriac *kaṭal* ‘to kill’ (Ancient Aramaic *ktl*); Sabaean *ktl* ‘to kill’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳatala* [ḫṭṭ] ‘to kill, to put to death, to slay, to murder, to execute, to slaughter, to attack, to engage in battle, to combat, to fight, to wage war’; Tigrinya *ḳātälä* ‘to kill’; Tigre *ḳätla* ‘to kill’; Gurage *ḳätälä* ‘to kill’. Murtonen 1989:374; Klein 1987:575; Militarev 2011:78 Proto-Semitic \**ktl*; Leslau 1979:508 and 1987:451—452; Zammit 2002:333.

Proto-Semitic \**k'al-a3-* ‘to strike, to hit, to hew off, to cut off’ > Arabic *ḳalaza* ‘to hit, to beat’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳʷallaza* [ḫṭṭ] ‘to amputate, to hew off, to cut off, to prune’, *ḳʷälz* [ḫṭṭ] ‘pruning’, *maḳʷlaz* [ḫṭṭ], *maḳlaz* [ḫṭṭ] ‘axe’, *maḳlaza* [ḫṭṭ] ‘to hew, to carve’; Amharic *ḳʷälläzä* ‘to prune, to cut off thorns’. Leslau 1987:431.

Proto-Semitic \**k'al-am-* ‘to cut, to divide’ > Arabic *ḳalama* ‘to cut, to clip, to pare (nails, etc.), to prune, to trim, to lop (trees, etc.)’, *ḳulāma* ‘clippings, cuttings, parings, shavings, nail cuttings’; Geez / Ethiopic *maḳala* [ḫṭṭ] ‘to divide’, *maḳlamt* [ḫṭṭ] ‘knife’; Tigrinya *mäḳälä* ‘to divide’; Amharic *mäḳlämt* ‘knife’; Tigre *mäḳälmät* ‘knife’; Gurage *mäḳʷlant* ‘a kind of knife’. Leslau 1979:415 and 1987:354.

- B. Egyptian (Demotic) *qlh* ‘to knock, to strike’; Coptic *kōlh* [ḫṭṭ], *kolh* [ḫṭṭ] ‘to knock, to strike’, *klhe* [ḫṭṭ] ‘knock’; Vycichl 1983:80; Černý 1976:57.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic \**k'al-* ‘to slaughter’ > Galla / Oromo *k'al-* ‘to slaughter’; Somali *qal-* ‘to slaughter’; Hadiyya *alaleess-* ‘to slaughter’. Sasse 1979:49.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**qʷal-* (~ \**qʷäl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:648—650, no. 583):  
 (vb.) \**qʷal-* ‘to strike, to hit, to cut, to hurt, to wound, to slay, to kill’;  
 (n.) \**qʷal-a* ‘killing, murder, manslaughter, destruction, death’  
 Probably identical to:  
 (vb.) \**qʷal-* ‘to throw, to hurl’;  
 (n.) \**qʷal-a* ‘sling, club; throwing, hurling’

261. Proto-Afrasian \**kʷar-* (n.) ‘highest point, top, peak, summit, hill, mountain, horn’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:337, no. 1549, \**ḳar-* ‘horn’; Ehret 1995:238, no. 424, \**kʷar-* ‘horn; point, peak’; Militarev 2011:77 Proto-Afrasian \**ḳar(-n)-*):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**kʷarn-* ‘horn, summit, peak’ > Akkadian *ḳarnu* ‘horn’; Ugaritic *ḳrn* ‘horn’; Hebrew *ḳeren* [ḫṭṭ] ‘horn; corner, point, peak’; Phoenician *ḳrn* ‘horn’; Aramaic *ḳarnā* ‘horn’; Palmyrene *ḳrn* ‘horn, corner’; Arabic *ḳarn* ‘horn, top, summit, peak (of a mountain)’, *ḳurna* ‘salient angle, nook, corner’; Ḥarsūsi *ḳōn/ḳerōn* ‘horn, hill, top’, *ḳernēt* ‘corner’; Mehri *ḳōn/ḳarūn* ‘horn, peak, spur; tall narrow-based hill; hilt of a dagger; pod (of beans)’, *ḳarnēt* ‘corner’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḳun/ḳerūn* ‘horn,

hilt of a dagger, pod, peak'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḵarn* [፩፭፮] 'horn, trumpet, tip, point'; Tigre *ḵär*, *ḵärn* 'horn'; Tigrinya *ḵärni* 'horn'; Harari *ḵär* 'horn'; Gurage *ḵär* 'horn'; Amharic *ḵänd* (< \**k'arn-*) 'horn'; Argobba *ḵänd* 'horn'. Murtonen 1989:387; Klein 1987:595; Diakonoff 1992:85 Proto-Semitic \**q̄n-* 'horn'; Militarëv 2008:200 and 2011:77 Proto-Semitic \**ḵar-n-*; Leslau 1963:128, 1979:494, and 1987:442; Zammit 2002:338.

Geez / Ethiopic *ḵardu* [፩፭፯] 'hill'. Leslau 1987:440.

- B. Egyptian *q33* 'hill, high ground, high place', *q3q3* 'hill, high place', *q3y-t* 'high ground, arable land', *q3-t* 'high land, height', *q3y-t* 'high ground, arable land', *q3*, *q3y* 'to be high, exalted', *q3i* 'tall, high, exalted', *q3w* 'height'; Coptic (Sahidic), *koie* [ḵoie], *koeie* [ḵoie], (Bohairic) *koi* [ḵoi] (< \**qy* < \**q3y*) 'field', *kro* [ḵro] (Demotic *qr* 'shore', *qrr3* 'embankment') 'shore (of sea, river), limit or margin (of land), hill, dale'. Hannig 1995:847, 847—848, 848; Faulkner 1962:275; Erman—Grapow 1921:188 and 1926—1963.5:1—3, 5:5, 5:6; Gardiner 1957:596; Černý 1976:51 and 61; Vycichl 1983:73 and 85.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic \**k'ar-* 'point, peak, top' > Galla / Oromo *k'arree* 'peak'; Somali *qar* 'hill higher than *kur*'; Gedeo / Darasa *k'ar-* 'to sharpen', *k'ara* 'sharp (of knife)', (reduplicated) *k'ark'ará* 'edge, blade'; Burji *c'ar-i* 'point, top, peak, pointedness' (loan, probably from Oromo); Hadiyya *k'ar-ess-* 'to whet', *k'are?alla* 'edge, blade', *k'ar-eeš-aanco* 'whetstone, rasp, file'; Sidamo *k'ara* 'point, edge, blade'. Sasse 1979:48 and 1982:46; Hudson 1989:55, 114, and 131—132.
- D. Omotic: Gonga \**k'ar-* 'horn' (Mocha *qáro* 'horn'); Aari *k'ari* 'tusk', *k'armi* 'sharp'.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \**q'war-a* 'edge, point, tip, peak' (Bomhard 2014.3:651—652, no. 585)

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### DENTAL AFFRICATES

Proto-Afrasian	*c	*ɟ	*cʼ
Proto-Semitic	*c	*ɟ	*cʼ
Ancient Egyptian	s	z —	ḏ 𓂏
Proto-Berber	*s	*z	*d, *z
Proto-East Cushitic	*s	*z	*d <sub>1</sub>
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*c	*ɟ	*cʼ
Proto-Chadic	*c	*ɟ	*cʼ

#### 7.1. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*c

262. Proto-Afrasian \*cag- ‘(vb.) to prick, to pierce; (n.) prick, sting, rupture’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:90, no. 373, \*cag- ‘to break’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*cag-aſ- ‘to pierce’ > Ethiopic / Geez *sag<sup>w</sup>ʿa* [ሰጉዐ], *sagūʿa* [ሰጉዐ] ‘to perforate, to pierce through’; Tigrinya *säg<sup>w</sup>ʿe*, *šäg<sup>w</sup>ʿe* ‘to cut off, to pierce’. Leslau 1987:490.
- B. (?) Egyptian *sḏ* ‘(vb.) to break; to break into, to invade; to break open, to rupture; (n.) fracture, rupture’. Erman—Grapow 1921:176 and 1926—1963.4:373—375; Hannig 1995:790; Faulkner 1962:257.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic: Hausa *tsaagàà* ‘to split, to crack, to rip; to make a cut or incisions in something’, *tsaagaa* ‘crack, slit’.

← Proto-Nostratic root \*c<sup>h</sup>ag- (~ \*c<sup>h</sup>əg-) (Bomhard 2014.2:337, no. 299):  
 (vb.) \*c<sup>h</sup>ag- ‘to prick, to pierce’;  
 (n.) \*c<sup>h</sup>ag-a ‘prick, sting, rupture’

263. Proto-Afrasian \*caḥ- ‘(vb.) to crush, to pound, to grind, to beat; (n.) the act of crushing, beating, thrashing, pounding, grinding; (adj.) crushing, beating, thrashing, pounding, grinding’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:98, no. 408, \*cVḥak- ‘to cut, to break’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*caḥ- (extended forms: \*caḥ-ak-, \*caḥ-an-, \*caḥ-al-, \*caḥ-ag-, \*caḥ-ak-, \*caḥ-aw/y-, \*caḥ-at-) > Hebrew *sāḥāḥ* [סָחַח] (< \*caḥ-aw/y-) ‘to scrape’; Akkadian *sāku* (< \*caḥ-ak-) ‘to pound, to crush’; Arabic *saḥaḥa* ‘to crush, to pound, to bruise, to pulverize; to annihilate, to wipe out, to wear out’, *sāḥiḥ* ‘crushing’, *saḥana* ‘to crush, to pound, to bruise, to grind; to smooth by rubbing’, *saḥala* ‘to scrape off, to shave off,

to peel; to smooth, to make smooth, to plane, to file', *saḥāla* 'filings, file dust', *saḥaḡa* 'to scrape off, to shave off, to rub off; to graze, to abrade, to strip off', *saḥata* 'to extirpate, to annihilate, to root out', *saḥā* 'to shovel or sweep away, to shave off (hair)'; Sabaeen *šht* 'to destroy'; Harsūsi *seḥāk* 'to crush, to grind fine', *seḥāl* 'to grind (a knife), to scratch'; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *shak* 'to crush, to grind fine', *shal* 'to scratch, to grind (a knife)'; Mehri *səḥāk* 'to crush, to mill, to grind fine', *səḥāl* 'to scratch, to grind (a knife)'; Ethiopic / Geez *saḥala* [ሰሐለ] 'to sharpen'; Tigrinya *sāḥalä* 'to sharpen'; Tigre *sāhla* 'to sharpen'; Amharic *salä* 'to sharpen'; Gurage *sala* 'razor made locally'. The Ethiopian forms may be loans from Arabic (cf. Leslau 1979:542). Murtonen 1989:298; Klein 1987:440; Leslau 1979:542 and 1987:493; Zammit 2002:216.

- B. (?) Egyptian *shm* (Old Kingdom *zhm*) 'to crush, to pound'. Faulkner 1962:238; Erman—Grapow 1921:167 and 1926—1963.4:215; Hannig 1995:736; Gardiner 1957:591.

- C. Berber: Kabyle *cəqq* (< \**caḥ-ak*-) 'to split; to be split, cracked'.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**chah-* (~ \**chəh-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:337—338, no. 300):  
 (vb.) \**chah-* 'to crush, to pound, to grind, to beat, to bruise, to destroy';  
 (n.) \**chah-a* 'the act of crushing, beating, thrashing, pounding, grinding'; (adj.)  
 'crushing, beating, thrashing, pounding, grinding'

264. Proto-Afrasian \**cuk-* '(vb.) to close, to shut, to cover; (n.) closure, cover, stoppage' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:97, no. 407, \**cuk-* 'to close'; Takács 2011:21 \**c-k/g* 'to close'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**cak-ak-* 'to close, to shut, to cover' > Hebrew *sāḥaḥ* [סַחַח] 'to screen, to cover, to thatch; to plait, to interweave', *māsāḥ* [מַסַּח] 'covering, screen'; Aramaic *səḥaḥ* 'to interlace, to weave, to fence in'; Arabic *sakka* 'to lock, to bolt (the door)'; Akkadian *sakāku* 'to plug up, to block'; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *sekk* 'to sew, to close'; Tigrinya *sāk<sup>w</sup>e*, *sāk<sup>e</sup>e* 'string'; Tigre *sāk<sup>a</sup>* 'thread'; Gurage *sākkākä* 'to drive a peg or a pointed object into the ground or the wall', *māskāk* 'peg'; Amharic *sākkākä* 'to thread through, to drive through', *sākka* 'string, thread'; Harari *sākāka* 'to string, to put in a row'. Murtonen 1989:299; Klein 1987:446; Leslau 1963:139 and 1979:540.

Proto-Semitic \**cak-ar-* 'to shut, to close; to plug up, to block' > Hebrew *sāḥar* [סַחַר] 'to shut up, to stop up'; Syriac *səḥar* 'to shut, to obstruct'; Arabic *sakara* 'to shut, to close, to lock, to bolt'; Akkadian *sekēru* 'to dam up, to close, to clog (a watercourse, a canal); to block (parts of the body)', *sikkūru* 'bolt'. Murtonen 1989:300; Klein 1987:446.

- B. (?) Berber: Tuareg *askəm* 'to withhold, to hold back (a small quantity of something which one is giving)', *askum* 'a stick with a hook used to grab the branches of trees in order to make it easier to cut them off'; Wargla



*askəm* ‘to withhold, to hold back, to stop, to halt’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tasskimt* ‘a stick with a hook, used to break dried branches’.

- C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic *\*c’uk-* ~ *\*cuk-* ‘to close (with a lid)’ > Bambala *cuk-* ‘to close (with a lid)’; Burji *c’uk-*, *c’ukk-* ~ *cuk-* ‘to cover (a pot), to close’, *c’ukká* ‘cover, stopper’. Sasse 1982:49; Hudson 1989:184.
- D. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*ca-cVkw-* ‘to stop up’ > Mofu *sasəkw* ‘to stop up’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*chukh-* (~ *\*chokh-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:340—341, no. 303):  
 (vb.) *\*chukh-* ‘to close, to shut, to cover’;  
 (n.) *\*chukh-a* ‘closure, cover, stoppage’

265. Proto-Afrasian *\*cal-* ‘(vb.) to empty, to get rid of; (n.) freedom, leisure, emptiness; (adj.) empty, abandoned, released, freed (from), at leisure’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*cal-ay-* ‘to empty, to get rid of’ > Hebrew *sālāh* [סָלַח] ‘to make light of, to toss aside, to treat as worthless’; Aramaic *sālā* ‘to throw away, to despise, to reject’; Punic *sly* (?) ‘to depreciate’ (?); Arabic *salā*, *saliya* ‘to get rid of the memory of, to forget; to comfort, to console, to cheer up; to distract, to divert; to amuse, to entertain; to alleviate, to dispel; to take delight, to take pleasure, to have a good time, to have fun’; Šheri / Jibbāli *essōli* ‘to amuse, to entertain’, *eslé* ‘to amuse’; Mehri *sōli* ‘to amuse, to entertain’; (?) Akkadian *salū* (also *šalū*, *šalāʔu*) ‘to reject, to throw away’ (also ‘to whirl up, to kick up dust, to toss, to sprinkle, to spit blood or spittle; to shoot arrows, to hurl weapons’). Klein 1987:447.
- B. (?) Egyptian: Coptic (Sahidic, Bohairic) *sōl* [ⲥⲟⲗ], (Bohairic) *sol-* [ⲥⲟⲗⲉ], (Sahidic) *sēl* [ⲥⲏⲗ] ‘to dissipate, to pervert’. Černý 1976:151 — according to Černý (1976:160—161), *sōl* [ⲥⲟⲗ] is “probably identical with ⲥⲟⲡ”; Crum 1939:330. On the other hand, *sōl* [ⲥⲟⲗ] is not listed in Vycichl 1983.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*čhal-* (~ *\*čhəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:372—373, no. 331):  
 (vb.) *\*čhal-* ‘to leave, to leave behind, to abandon, to get rid of, to empty; to set free, to release, to let go’;  
 (n.) *\*čhal-a* ‘freedom, leisure, emptiness’; (adj.) ‘empty, abandoned, released, freed (from), at leisure’

Semantics as in Sanskrit *ric-* and its derivatives: *ric-* ‘to empty, to evacuate, to leave, to give up, to resign; to release, to set free; to leave behind; to separate, to remove from’, *riktá-h* ‘emptied, empty, void; hollow, hollowed (as the hands); poor, indigent; devoid or destitute of, free from’, *ricyáte* ‘to be emptied, to be deprived of or freed from’.

## 7.2. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*ʒ

266. Proto-Afrasian \*ʒag- ‘(vb.) to stuff, press, or squeeze tight; (n.) plug; (adj.) pressing, squeezing, cramming’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*ʒag-ag- ‘to throw, to hurl; to push, to shove; to drive’ > Arabic *zaġġa* ‘to throw, to hurl; to push, to shove, to urge, to drive; to press, to squeeze, to force, to cram’; Gurage (reduplicated) (*a*)*zgäzägä* ‘to throw in a spiral motion’; Amharic (reduplicated) (*am*)*zägäzzägä*, (*an*)*zägäzzägä* ‘to throw in a spiral motion’. Leslau 1979:705.

Proto-Semitic \*ʒag-aw- ‘to drive, to urge on; to press, to squeeze’ > Arabic *zaġā* ‘to drive, to urge on; to press, to squeeze, to force, to cram; to push, to shove’. Zammit 2002:206.

Proto-Semitic \*ʒag-ar- ‘to drive’ > Arabic *zaġara* ‘to drive back, to drive away; to hold back, to retain, to prevent; to scold, to rebuke, to upbraid’, *zaġr* ‘forcible prevention, suppression (of customs, abuses, crimes); rebuke, reprimand’, *zāġira* ‘check, curb; restriction, limitation’. Zammit 2002:206.

Proto-Semitic \*ʒag-aʕ- ‘to close up, to plug up’ > Geez / Ethiopic *zagʕa* [ḥḡḳ] ‘to close in, to seclude, to plug up’. Leslau 1987:632 — according to Leslau, *zagʕa* [ḥḡḳ] is a secondary form of *zagħa* [ḥḡḥ].

Proto-Semitic \*ʒag-aḥ- ‘to close, to shut in’ > Geez / Ethiopic *zagħa* [ḥḡḥ], *zagħa* [ḥḡḳ] ‘to close, to shut in, to enclose, to include’, *zagħat* [ḡḡḥḥḥ] ‘closing, shutting in, enclosing’; Tigrinya (*tä*)*zäḡhe* ‘to lose the voice after singing a lot’, literally, ‘to be closed (voice)’; Amharic *zägga* ‘to shut, to close up, to enclose’. Leslau 1987:633.

- B. (?) Egyptian *zg* ‘to bring to a stop (a sailing boat)’. Hannig 1995:775; Faulkner 1962:252. Assuming semantic development from ‘to press, to squeeze, to force’ as in Dravidian: Malayalam *aṭaṇṇuka* ‘to be pressed down, enclosed, contained; to submit, to yield; to be allayed, calmed’; Kota *arg-* (*arġy-*) ‘to stop, to be obedient’, *ark-* (*arġy-*) ‘to cause to stop’; Kannada *aḍaku* ‘to press, to press into a narrower compass, to pack; to subdue, to control’; etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:7, no. 63).
- C. (?) Berber: Tuareg *əzzəḡ* ‘to milk, to be milked’, *tazək* ‘the act of milking’; Nefusa *əzzəḡ* ‘to milk’; Ghadames *əzzəḡ* ‘to milk’; Wargla *əzzəḡ* ‘to milk, to be milked’; Mzab *əzzəḡ* ‘to milk’; Tamazight *zzəḡ*, *zzəy* ‘to milk’, *tamazzagt* ‘teat, udder’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əzzəḡ* ‘to milk’; Riff *əzzəḡ* ‘to milk’; Kabyle *əzzəḡ* ‘to milk’, *tuzzga* ‘milking’, *tamazzagt* ‘teat, udder’; Chaoia *əzzəḡ* ‘to milk’; Zenaga *tuzugt* ‘milking’. Assuming semantic development from ‘to press, to squeeze’ as in Dravidian: Kui *pīs-* ‘to press, to squeeze, to milk’; etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:366, no. 4135).

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʒag-* (~ *\*ʒəg-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:328, no. 288, and 2:328—329, no. 289):

(vb.) *\*ʒag-* ‘to stuff, press, or squeeze tight’;

(n.) *\*ʒag-a* ‘plug’; (adj.) ‘pressing, squeezing, cramming’

Related to:

(vb.) *\*ʒag-* ‘to push, to shove, to drive’;

(n.) *\*ʒag-a* ‘push, shove, force’

Note: Derivates of both these Proto-Nostratic stems have been combined in the above Afrasian etymology.

267. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʒar-* ‘(vb.) to run, flow, leak, or spill out; to spring forth, to issue (from); to flow or gush forth; (n.) drizzle, rain, downpour; current, stream, torrent’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:548, no. 2640, *\*ʒVrab-* ‘to flow’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʒar-am-* ‘to gush forth, to burst forth, to spurt’ > Hebrew *zāram* [זָרַם] ‘to pour forth in floods, to flood away’, *zerem* [זֶרֶם] ‘flood of rain, downpour’, *zīrmāh* [זִרְמָה] ‘issue, ejaculation (of semen)’; Aramaic *zarmīθ* ‘downpour’; Ugaritic *zrm* ‘to make rain’ (?); Akkadian *zarāmu* ‘to overwhelm’; Gurage (Gyeto) *zəram* ‘rain’; Geez / Ethiopic (with *n* for *r*) *zanma* [ጸጸ] ‘to rain’, *zənām* [ጸጽ] ‘rain, rainy season’; Tigrinya *zānāmā* ‘to rain’; Tigre *zānma* ‘to rain’; Amharic *zānnāmā* ‘to rain’. Murtonen 1989:170; Klein 1987:204; Leslau 1979:710, 715 and 1987:641.

Proto-Semitic *\*ʒar-ab-* ‘to gush forth, to flow forth, to rain’ > Arabic *zariba* ‘to flow, to run, to run out, to flow over’, *zīrb* ‘canal’; Gurage (Chaha, Eža) (n.) *zərab* ‘rain’, (Chaha, Zway) (with *n* for *r*) (vb.) *zānābā* ‘to rain’; Argobba *zānnābā* ‘to rain’. Leslau 1979:710.

- B. Egyptian *zrmt* ‘flood, torrent’; *zʒb* ‘to flow’. Hannig 1995:658 and 730; Faulkner 1962:209; Erman—Grapow 1921:142 and 1926—1963.3:420, 3:463.

- C. Berber: Touat *amazẓar* ‘artificial waterfall’; Tamazight *zrir* ‘to be or become liquid, to liquify’, *zizzar* ‘to cascade, to flow along’, *amuzzar* ‘waterfall, torrent’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *amuzzar* ‘waterfall’; Kabyle *azzar* ‘to flow, to drop to the bottom’, *zriri* ‘to flow (tears, fountain)’, *izir* ‘squirt of milk from an udder’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʒar-* (~ *\*ʒər-*) or *\*ǰar-* (~ *\*ǰər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:330—331, no. 292):

(vb.) *\*ʒar-* or *\*ǰar-* ‘to run, flow, leak, or spill out; to spring forth, to issue (from); to flow or gush forth’;

(n.) *\*ʒar-a* or *\*ǰar-a* ‘drizzle, rain, downpour; current, stream, torrent’

268. Proto-Afrasian \**zil-* ‘(vb.) to flow, to flow forth; (n.) flow; (adj.) flowing, trickling, dropping, sprinkling’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**zal-ag-* ‘to flow’ > Post-Biblical Hebrew *zālay* [זָלַי] ‘to drip, to flow’; Aramaic *zəlay* ‘to drip, to flow’; Geez / Ethiopic *zalaga* [ዘለገ] ‘to flow, to trickle, to drop’; Tigrinya *zälägg bälä*, *zäläglägg bälä* ‘to flow’; Amharic (*tä*)*zlägällägä* ‘to flow’. Klein 1987:198; Leslau 1987:637.

Proto-Semitic \**zal-ah-* ‘to drip, to sprinkle, to pour’ > Hebrew *zālah* [זָלַח] ‘to drip, to sprinkle, to spray, to be wet’; Aramaic *zəlah* ‘to sprinkle, to rain; to pour out’; Geez / Ethiopic *zalha* [ዘለሐ], *zalləha* [ዘለሐ] ‘to drain out, to empty all of the liquid from a vessel’. Klein 1987:199; Leslau 1987:637.

Proto-Semitic \**zal-ap-* ‘to drip, to pour, to spill over’ > Hebrew *zālaq* [זָלַק] ‘to pour, to sprinkle, to spray’; Aramaic *zəlaq* ‘to drop, to trickle down’; Geez / Ethiopic *zalaqa* [ዘለቂ] ‘to drip, to spill over’. Klein 1987:199; Leslau 1987:637.

Proto-Semitic \**zal-aʔ-* ‘to flow’ > Aramaic *zəlā* ‘to flow, to glide’.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *ahəl* ‘to run, to flow (water)’; Tawlemmet *azəl* ‘to run, to run away’, *azzalan* ‘course, speed, flight’; Siwa *əzzəl* ‘to run, to flow’, *zəlli* ‘act of running, course’; Nefusa *azzəl* ‘to run’; Ghadames *əzzəl* ‘to run’; Wargla *azzəl* ‘to run, to flow’, *tazla* ‘course, haste’; Tamazight *azzəl* ‘to run, to flow’, *tazzla* ‘course, flow’; Riff *azzəl*, *azzər* ‘to run’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *azzəl* ‘to run, to flow’, *tizla* ‘course’; Kabyle *azzəl* ‘to run, to flow’, *tazzla* ‘the act of coming and going, occupation, course’; Chaouia *azzəl* ‘to run’, *tazlla* ‘course’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**zil-* (~ \**zel-*) or \**žil-* (~ \**žel-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:333—334, no. 294):

(vb.) \**zil-* or \**žil-* ‘to flow, to flow forth’;

(n.) \**zil-a* or \**žil-a* ‘drip, drop, raindrop’; (adj.) ‘flowing, trickling, dropping, sprinkling’

Probably identical to:

(vb.) \**zil-* or \**žil-* ‘to glide, to slide’;

(n.) \**zil-a* or \**žil-a* ‘the act of slipping, sliding, gliding’; (adj.) ‘smooth, slippery’

269. Proto-Afrasian \**zil-* ‘(vb.) to glide, to slip, to slide; (n.) the act of slipping, sliding, gliding; (adj.) smooth, slippery’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**zal-* (\**zal-ag-*, \**zal-ak-*, \**zal-ah-*, \**zal-al-*) ‘to glide, to slip, to slide’ > Arabic *zaliqa* ‘to glide, to slide, to slip, to make slippery; to skid, to slither, to slide (into something)’, *mazlak* ‘slippery spot; slide, chute’, *zalla* ‘to slip; to make a mistake, to commit an error; to slide off something’, *zalağa* ‘to slip, to slide along, to glide along’; Harsūsi *zelōk* ‘to slip, to miss, to get lost’; Tigrinya *zālhaṭ bälä* ‘to totter, to

stagger'; Harari (*tä*)*zlāḥaṭa* 'to slip', *zilḥiç bāya* 'to slip'; Amharic (*an*)*zālaṭṭäṭä* 'to make slip'; Gurage (Wolane) (*a*)*zlaṭäṭä* 'to be slippery', (Selṭi) (*a*)*zlaṭäṭä* 'to slip, to slide', (Zway) *anzäläläṭäṭä* 'to slip, to slide'. Leslau 1963:166 and 1979:707; Zammit 2002:209.

- B. Berber: Mزاب *əzləḡ* 'to skid, to slide; to be distorted', *uzliḡ, uzlij* 'cord of twisted thread'; Wargla *aməzlag* 'twisted, smooth (rope, thread)'; Tuareg *ehleḡ* 'to have on the side, to have on one's right or on one's left, to have hanging on the side', *təhalḡə* 'left side'; Tawlemmet *əzləḡ* 'to carry, to have hanging on the side, to carry (clothing) on the side', *təzalḡə* 'left, left side', *zallag* 'to be awkward, clumsy'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *zləḡ* 'to twist thread into a rope, to be wound'; Riff *əzrəḡ* 'to turn, to roll'; Kabyle *əzləḡ* 'to be twisted, distorted, misplaced (object, clothing, shoes)'; Chaouia *əzləḡ* 'to be askew, to go wrong, to miss the mark'.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Agaw \**zələw-* 'to go round, to turn' > Bilin *jələw-* 'to go round, to turn'; Xamir *jəlw-* 'to go round, to turn'; Kemant *jəlw-* 'to go round, to turn'; Awngi / Awiya *zur-* 'to go round, to turn'. Appleyard 2006:75; Reinisch 1887:180 Bilin *jiluw-*.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**zil-* (~ \**zel-*) or \**žil-* (~ \**žel-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:334, no. 295):

(vb.) \**zil-* or \**žil-* 'to glide, to slide';

(n.) \**zil-a* or \**žil-a* 'the act of slipping, sliding, gliding'; (adj.) 'smooth, slippery'

Probably identical to:

(vb.) \**zil-* or \**žil-* 'to flow, to flow forth';

(n.) \**zil-a* or \**žil-a* 'drip, drop, raindrop'; (adj.) 'flowing, trickling, dropping, sprinkling'

270. Proto-Afrasian \**zim-* '(vb.) to blow, to play (a wind instrument); (n.) blowing, playing (a wind instrument)':

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**zam-ar-* 'to blow, to play (a wind instrument), to make music' > Hebrew *zāmar* [זָמַר] 'to sing, to praise, to play (a musical instrument)', *zimrāh* [זִמְרָה] 'melody, song'; Aramaic *zmrūrā* 'flute', *zəmār* 'music'; Old Akkadian *zamārum* 'to sing'; Arabic *zamara* 'to blow, to play (a wind instrument)'; Geez / Ethiopic *zammara* [ረዕደ] 'to sing, to recite Psalms, to play a musical instrument, to celebrate with song, to praise or glorify in song', *mazmūr* [መዝሙር] 'psalm, hymn, song, psaltery, music, chorus'; Tigrinya *zāmārā* 'to sing, to recite Psalms'; Tigre *zāmmāra* 'to sing, to chant'; Amharic *zāmmārā* 'to sing'; Gurage (Soddo) *zimmārā* 'to sing', (Chaha) *azāmārā* 'to sing a war song or an epic song, to bestow praise on someone or oneself'. Murtonen 1989:166—167; Klein 1987:200; Leslau 1979:709 and 1987:639.

- B. Egyptian *zbʾ* ‘to play the flute’, *\*zbʾiʷ* ‘flautist’. Faulkner 1962:220; Hannig 1995:684; Erman—Grapow 1921:144 and Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.3:433.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Agaw *\*zəm-* ‘to dance, to sing’ > Xamir *ġim-* ‘to dance, to sing’; Xamta *gim-* ‘to sing’; Awngi / Awiya *ġəm-* ‘to dance, to sing’. Appleyard 2006:51 and 124.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*zim-* (∼ *\*zem-*) or *\*žim-* (∼ *\*žem-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:334—335, no. 296):  
 (vb.) *\*zim-* or *\*žim-* ‘to blow, to play (a wind instrument)’;  
 (n.) *\*zim-a* or *\*žim-a* ‘blowing, playing (a wind instrument)’
271. Proto-Afrasian *\*zum-* ‘(vb.) to take, to seize; (n.) the act of taking or seizing; (adj.) taking, seizing’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:547, no. 2632, *\*zum-* ‘to rob’):
- A. Semitic: Akkadian *zummū* ‘to lack, to miss, to be deprived of; to cause to miss, to deprive of’.
- B. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*zum-* ‘to rob’ > Logone *zum* ‘to rob’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*zum-* (∼ *\*zom-*) or *\*žum-* (∼ *\*žom-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:335—336, no. 297):  
 (vb.) *\*zum-* or *\*žum-* ‘to take, to seize’;  
 (n.) *\*zum-a* or *\*žum-a* ‘the act of taking or seizing’; (adj.) ‘taking, seizing’
272. Proto-Afrasian *\*zaʔ-* ‘(vb.) to die, to fade, to wither; (n.) death’:
- A. Semitic: Arabic *zaʔama* ‘to die suddenly’.
- B. Egyptian *zʾ* ‘to become weak or feeble’, *zʾ-ʿ* ‘weak, feeble man’. Hannig 1995:657; Faulkner 1962:209.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*zaaʔ-* ‘to be extinguished’ > Alagwa *tsaʔata* ‘barren (animal, person)’; Dahalo *dzaaʔ-* ‘to die’, *dzaaʔe* ‘death’, *dzaaʔama* ‘corpse’, *dzaaʔata* ‘enemy’. Ehret 1980:197. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*zaʔes-* ‘to extinguish’ > Iraqw *tsaʔes-* ‘to extinguish’; Dahalo *dzeʔeð-* ‘to kill’. Ehret 1980:197.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*žaʔ-* (∼ *\*žəʔ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:367—368, no. 235):  
 (vb.) *\*žaʔ-* ‘to die, to fade, to wither’;  
 (n.) *\*žaʔ-a* ‘death’
273. Proto-Afrasian *\*zagʷ-* (n.) ‘a kind of tree’:
- A. Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *zagbā* [ḡḡ] possibly ‘podocarpus’ (it renders Biblical ‘cedar, cypress’); Tigrinya *zägba* ‘podocarpus’; Amharic *zägba*,

*zəgba* ‘podocarpus’; Gurage *zəgba* ‘a kind of tree’. Leslau 1979:704 and 1987:633.

B. New Egyptian *sg* (< \**zg* ?) ‘tree’. Hannig 1995:775.

C. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic \**dzagiba* ‘cedar tree’ > Hadiyya *digiba* ‘cedar tree’; Kambata *zagiba*, *zagissu* (< \**zagib-cu*) ‘cedar tree’; Sidamo *daguba*, *dagucco* (< \**dagub-co*) ‘cedar tree’. Hudson 1989:37.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \**žag<sup>w</sup>-a* ‘a small tree, a bush or shrub’ (Bomhard 2014.2: 368, no. 326)

274. Proto-Afrasian \**žah-* ‘(vb.) to call (out), to cry (out), to groan; (n.) call, cry; name’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**žah-ar-* ‘to grunt, to groan, to moan’ > Arabic *zaḥara* ‘to groan, to moan’, *zaḥīr* ‘groan, moan’; Šheri / Jibbāli *zaḥār* ‘(animal) to push out its young squealing; (woman) to push out a child grunting and groaning’; Mehri *zəḥār* ‘to squeak, to grunt, to squeal’; Ḥarsūsi *zeḥār* ‘to grunt or squeak while giving birth’.

B. Egyptian *zhzh* ‘to cry out, to shriek’. Hannig 1995:737.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**žah-* (~ \**žəh-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:368—369, no. 327):  
(vb.) \**žah-* ‘to call (out), to cry (out)’;  
(n.) \**žah-a* ‘call, cry; name’

275. Proto-Afrasian \**žaw-* ‘(vb.) to wear out, to be used up, to cease to function; (n.) cessation, end, extinction’; (adj.) ‘worn out, used up, wasted, decrepit, old’ (Ehret 1995:262, no. 477, \**jaw-* or \**dzaw-* ‘to wear out, to be used up, to cease to function’):

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**žaw-al-* ‘to wear out, to be used up, to cease to function’ > Hebrew *zūl* [זול] ‘to waste, to lavish, to squander; to be cheap’, *zūlāh* [זולה] ‘removal, cessation’; Arabic *zāla* ‘to cease to be in a place, to remove; to cease, to perish; to cause to cease, to disappear; to destroy; to abolish’, *zawāl* ‘end, passage, extinction, disappearance, vanishing, cessation, setting (of the sun); decline, change for the worse, injury, harm’, *ʔizāla* ‘removal, elimination’; Sabaeen *zwl* ‘to vanish, to complete’. Murtonen 1989:163; Klein 1987:196; Zammit 2002:211. Arabic *zawā* ‘to take away, to remove’.

B. Egyptian *zwn* ‘to perish’, *zwn* ‘affliction’. Hannig 1995:677; Faulkner 1962:217; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.3:428.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**žaw-* (~ \**žəw-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:370—371, no. 329):  
(vb.) \**žaw-* ‘to wear out, to be used up, to cease to function’;

- (n.) \**žaw-a* ‘cessation, end, extinction’; (adj.) ‘worn out, used up, wasted, decrepit, old’

### 7.3. PROTO-AFRASIAN \**c*’

276. Proto-Afrasian \**c*’*al-* ‘(vb.) to stretch out, to extend, to exceed; to be wealthy, to prosper, to do well; (n.) wealth, prosperity’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**c*’*al-aḥ-* ‘to stretch out, to extend, to exceed; to be wealthy, to prosper, to do well’ > Hebrew *šālah* [שָׁלַח] ‘to advance, to prosper’; Aramaic *šalah* ‘to prosper’; Arabic *šalahā* ‘to be in good or perfect condition’, *šilh* ‘in good condition, perfect’, *šalāḥ* ‘soundness, good or healthy condition; beautiful order; peace; good actions, justice’; Sabaeen *šlh* ‘to make successful, to prosper’; Ḥarsūsi *šāyleḥ* ‘to be fat’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šelah* ‘to be suitable, fine’, *ešlāḥ* ‘to do well’; Mehri *šāyləḥ* ‘to be fat’. Murtonen 1989:360; Klein 1987:548; Zammit 2002:256—257.

Proto-Semitic \**c*’*al-at-* ‘to stretch, to extend’ > Arabic *šaltāḥ* ‘wide, broad’, *šulātīḥ* ‘spacious, roomy, wide’.

- B. Egyptian *ḏl* ‘(arm) to stretch out, to extend’. Hannig 1995:992—993; Faulkner 1962:318; Erman—Grapow 1921:218 and 1926—1963.5:514; Gardiner 1957:603 (*ḏl*).
- C. Berber: Tuareg *əzzəl* ‘to make right, to rectify one thing, to be made right, to go right, to rectify, to be rectified, to go right, to be right, to extend, to expand’, *zənnəzzəl* ‘to stretch’; Siwa *əzzəl* ‘to extend the hand’; Ghadames *əzzəl* ‘to offer, to extend, to be extended’; Mzab *zzəl* ‘to offer, to extend, to lengthen’; Tamazight *zzəl* ‘to extend, to be extended’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əzzəl* ‘to stretch, to extend’; Riff *əzzəl*, *əzzər* ‘to stretch, to extend’; Kabyle *əzzəl* ‘to offer, to extend, to be extended’.
- D. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic \**d*’*aal-* ‘to exceed, to be long(er)’ > Saho *ḏel-* ‘to be long’; Gidole *c*’*aal-* ‘to be better, wealthier, taller’; Konso *jaal-* ‘to exceed, to be bigger, to be longer’; Galla / Oromo *c*’*aal-* ‘to exceed’. Sasse 1979:27.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**c*’*al-* (~ \**c*’*əl-*) or \**č*’*al-* (~ \**č*’*əl-*) (Bomhard 2014.2: 342—343, no. 304):

(vb.) \**c*’*al-* or \**č*’*al-* ‘to stretch out, to extend, to exceed; to be wealthy, to prosper, to do well’;

(n.) \**c*’*al-a* or \**č*’*al-a* ‘wealth, prosperity, abundance’

277. Proto-Afrasian \**c*’*ar-* ‘(vb.) to slip or slide down, to fall down, to roll down, to lean or bend down, to throw down; (n.) the act of slipping, sliding, falling, or rolling down’



- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*c'ar-aš-* 'to throw down, to fell, to bring to the ground' > Arabic *šara'a* 'to throw down, to fell, to bring to the ground; to be epileptic, to have an epileptic fit', *šarī'*, *mašrū'* 'thrown to the ground, felled; epileptic; demented, insane, mad, crazy'; Epigraphic South Arabian *šr'* 'to throw down, to humiliate'. Zammit 2002:253. According to several scholars, the following are related to the Arabic and Epigraphic South Arabian forms cited here: Hebrew *šāra'aθ* [שָׂרָאָה] 'leprosy', *šārūā'* [שָׂרִי'עַ] 'suffering from a skin eruption, struck with a skin disease'; Aramaic *šar'aθā* 'leprosy'; Geez / Ethiopic *šarnə't* [ጸርንፍት] 'scab, malignant ulcer', *šarnə?* [ጸርንጸ] (for *\*šarnə'*) 'eczema, poisonous snake' (probably rather 'ulcer' or 'disease caused by a poisonous snake'); Akkadian *šennītu*, *sennittu*, *širnittu* 'a skin disease'. Murtonen 1989:367; Klein 1987:557; Leslau 1987:564.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *ənḍər* 'to jump quickly from one's seat, to fall suddenly from one's seat; to be or become angry'; Ghadames *ənḍər* 'to throw, to shoot, to drop'; Nefusa *ənṭar* 'to fall, to drop, to abort'; Wargla *ənḍər* 'to make fall, to drop, to have a miscarriage, to abort'; Tamazight *ḍər* 'to go down, to slope down, to find', *sḍər* 'to go down, to remove, to lay (eggs)', *taḍuri* 'descent, fall'; Riff *nḍər* 'to throw'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ḍər* 'to fall'; Kabyle *ḍər* 'to fall', *ḍḍər* 'to jump, to ascend and descend suddenly'.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*c'ar-* (~ *\*c'ər-*) stem indicating downward motion (Bomhard 2014.2:343—344, no. 305):  
 (vb.) *\*c'ar-* 'to slip or slide down, to fall down, to roll down, to lean or bend down, to throw down';  
 (n.) *\*c'ar-a* 'the act of slipping, sliding, falling, or rolling down';  
 (particle) *\*c'ar-* 'down'
278. Proto-Afrasian *\*c'ar-* (vb.) to be or become visible, clear, evident; to make clear, to clarify; (n.) visibility, clarity; (adj.) visible, clear, evident':
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*c'ar-* (extended forms: *\*c'ar-aḥ-*, *\*c'ar-aw/y-*) 'to be or become clear, evident; to make clear, to clarify' > Arabic *šaraḥa* 'to make clear, to clarify, to explain', *šaruḥa* 'to become clear, evident', *šarīḥ* 'clear, distinct, obvious, plain, evident', *šarā* 'to look at, to gaze'; Geez / Ethiopic *šarya* [ጸርየ] 'to be purified, refined, cleansed, filtered'; Tigrinya *šāräyā* 'to be pure, clear'; Tigre *šāra* 'to be clear, pure, healthy'; Amharic *ṭārra* 'to be pure, to be clarified, to be clear, to brighten, to clear up (weather)', *aṭārra* 'to purify, to make clear, to clean, to elucidate'; Gurage *ṭārra* 'to be filtered, purified, clear'. Leslau 1979:629 and 1987:564.
- B. Berber: Tawlemmet *əzzəru* 'iris (pupil of the eye)'; Nefusa *zər* 'to see'; Siwa *zər* 'to see'; Wargla *zər* 'to see, to look at; to know'; Mزاب *zər* 'to see, to imagine'; Tamazight *zər* 'to see, to look at; to know; to pay a visit', *izri* 'eyesight, eyes'; Riff *zər* 'to see, to look at, to examine'; Kabyle *zər* 'to

see; to know', *izri* 'eyesight, eyes'; Chaoia *zər* 'to see, to look at; to know, to foresee'; Zenaga *zar* 'to see; to find by accident, to discover'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*c'ar-* (~ *\*c'ər-*) or *\*č'ar-* (~ *\*č'ər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2: 344—346, no. 306):

(vb.) *\*c'ar-* or *\*č'ar-* 'to be or become visible, clear, evident; to reveal, to make known, to make clear, to clarify';

(n.) *\*c'ar-a* or *\*č'ar-a* 'visibility, clarity'; (adj.) 'visible, clear, evident'

279. Proto-Afrasian *\*c'ir-* (n.) 'a kind of bird' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:105, no. 443, *\*čir-* 'bird'):

A. Semitic: Tigrinya *čəru* 'a kind of bird'; Gurage (Masqan) *čərri*, (Gogot) *čərriyä* 'a kind of bird'; Amharic *čəre* 'a kind of bird'. These forms may be borrowings from Cushitic. Leslau 1979:187.

B. Egyptian *drt*, *dryt*, *drw* 'kite' (Demotic *tr-t* 'bird of prey'); Coptic *tre* [ⲧⲣⲉ] 'kite'. Faulkner 1962:323; Hannig 1995:1011; Erman—Grapow 1921:221 and 1926—1963.5:596 and 5:601; Černý 1976:194; Vycichl 1983:220.

C. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *čirrii* 'a kind of bird'.

D. Omotic: Ome *čeraa* 'bird'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*c'irʷ-* (~ *\*c'erʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:347, no. 309):

(vb.) *\*c'irʷ-* 'to squeak, to chirp, to cheep, to peep';

(n.) *\*c'irʷ-a* 'a kind of bird'

280. Proto-Afrasian *\*c'ur-* (vb.) 'to press, tie, or bind together; to wrap up; to surround, to encircle, to enclose; (n.) that which is tied, twisted, wrapped, or bound together: coil, wrapping, binding, loop, etc.; that which surrounds, encircles, or encloses: enclosure, wall, surroundings, circle' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:107—108, no. 455, *\*čur-* 'to press together'):

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*c'a/wa/r-* 'to press, tie, or bind together; to wrap' > Hebrew *šūr* [צור] 'to confine, to bind together, to besiege; to wrap'; Aramaic *šūr* 'to wrap up, to wrap together; to besiege, to beleaguer'. Murtonen 1989:357; Klein 1987:543.

Proto-Semitic *\*c'ar-ar-* 'to press, tie, or bind together; to enclose, to wrap' > Arabic *šarra* 'to lace, to cord, to tie up, to truss up, to bind (something)', *šurra* 'bag, purse; bundle, packet, parcel'; Hebrew *šārar* [צָרַר] 'to bind, to tie up; to wrap, to enclose; to be restricted, narrow, scant, cramped', *šərōr* [צָרָר] 'bundle, package'; Aramaic *šərar* 'to tie up, to wrap, to enclose'; Mehri *šər* 'to tie the foreskin tight before circumcision', *šāttər* 'to be tied; to have retention of the urine'; Šheri / Jibbāli *šerr* 'to tie the foreskin tight before circumcision'; Harsūsi *šer* 'to tie the foreskin tight before circumcision'. Murtonen 1989:366; Klein 1987:557.

- B. Egyptian *ḏrī* ‘enclosing wall’ (?), *ḏrīt* ‘wall’ (?), *ḏrw* ‘wall’ (?), *ḏrww* ‘wall’ (?). Hannig 1995:1010, 1012, and 1012—1013; Faulkner 1962:323—324; Gardiner 1957:604; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:599.
- C. Chadic: East Chadic *\*sur-* ‘to press, to pack’ > Kabale *sər-* ‘to press, to pack’; Bidiya *surray-* ‘to press, to pack’; Migama *suura-* ‘to be heavy; to load’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*c’ur-* (~ *\*c’or-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:347—350, no. 310):
- (vb.) *\*c’ur-* ‘to twist, to turn, to revolve; to press, tie, or bind together; to wrap up; to surround, to encircle, to enclose’;
- (n.) *\*c’ur-a* ‘that which is tied, twisted, wrapped, or bound together: coil, wrapping, binding, loop, etc.; that which surrounds, encircles, or encloses: enclosure, wall, surroundings, circle’
281. Proto-Afrasian *\*c’ir-* ‘(vb.) to cut, to cut off, to cut through, to cut into; (n.) that which is cut, cut off, cut into: slice, board, plank, scratch; that which cuts: knife, axe, adze’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:105, no. 444, *\*čir-* ‘to cut’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*c’ar-am-* ‘to cut, to cut off’ > New Hebrew *šāram* [שָׂרַם] ‘to grate on the ear; to injure, to split’; Syriac *šaram* ‘to crop, to cut off (the ears), to cut grass (for cattle); to pluck, to tear up (plants); to dare’; Arabic *šarama* ‘to cut off, to sever, to break, to tear’, *šarm*, *šurm*, *šuram* ‘separation, breach, rupture’, *šarīm* ‘cut off’. Murtonen 1989:367; Klein 1987:557; Zammit 2002:254.
- Proto-Semitic *\*c’ar-ay-* ‘to cut, to cut off’ > Arabic *šarā* ‘to cut, to cut off, to lop’; Syriac *šarā* ‘to rend asunder’.
- Proto-Semitic *\*c’ar-ab-* ‘to cut, to hew, to carve’ > Arabic *šaraba* ‘to cut, to remove’; Soqotri *šerob* ‘to cut’; Mehri *məsrāb* ‘saw-edged knife used (by women) to cut grass for fodder’; Šheri / Jibbāli *məsrēb* ‘grass-cutting knife (used by women in autumn)’; Geez / Ethiopic *šaraba* [ረረብ] ‘to hew, to act as a carpenter, to do carpentry’, *mašrab* [መረብ] ‘axe’, *šarb* [ረብ] ‘plank’; Tigrinya *šārābā* ‘to hew, to carve’; Tigre *šārba* ‘to hew, to carve’; Gafat *šārrābā* ‘to hew, to carve’; Gurage *ṭārrābā* ‘to slice thin pieces of wood from a surface, to plane wood, to chip stones, to tear off a leaf of the *āsāt*, to remove leaves with a stroke, to hit the edge of a whip’; Amharic *ṭārrābā* ‘to carve, to hew (wood, stones)’, *ṭārb* ‘board, plank, lumber, beam (of wood)’, *mātrābiya* ‘hatchet, axe, adze’; Argobba *ṭārrāba* ‘to carve, to hew’. Leslau 1979:630 and 1987:563.
- B. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *c’ir-* ‘to cut’. Highland East Cushitic (perhaps loans from Oromo): Burji *c’ir-* ‘to chop, to clear forest, to gnaw’; Sidamo *c’ir-* ‘to gnaw, to shave’. Hudson 1989:71, 184, and 357; Sasse 1982:49.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*č’ir-* (~ *\*č’er-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:376—377, no. 337):

- (vb.) \*č'ir- 'to cut, to cut off, to cut through; to cut into, to scratch, to scrape';  
(n.) \*č'ir-a 'that which is cut, cut off, cut into: slice, board, plank, scratch; that  
which cuts: knife, axe, adze'

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### PALATALIZED ALVEOLARS

Proto-Afrasian	*tʲ	*dʲ	*tʲy
Proto-Semitic	*tʲ	*dʲ	*tʲy
Ancient Egyptian	𓂗	𓂗	𓂗
Proto-Berber	*s	*z	*d, *z
Proto-East Cushitic	*t	*d	*d₁
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*tʲ	*dʲ	*tʲy
Proto-Chadic	*č	*ž	*čʲ

#### 8.1. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*tʲ

282. Proto-Afrasian \**ʋa-* ‘that over there, that yonder (not very far)’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ʋa-m-* ‘that over there, that yonder (not very far)’  
> Arabic *ṭamma* ‘there, yonder’, *ṭumma* ‘then, thereupon; furthermore, moreover; and again, and once more’, *ṭammata* ‘there, there is’; Sabaean *ṭmm* ‘there’; Hebrew *šām* [שָׁם] ‘there, thither’; Imperial Aramaic *tmh* ‘there’; Biblical Aramaic *tammā* ‘there’; Phoenician *šm* ‘there’; Ugaritic *tm* ‘there’. Klein 1987:664; Zammit 2002:112—113.
- B. Chadic: Hausa *cân* (adv.) ‘yonder, over there (distant but visible)’; *cân* (demonstrative pronoun — becomes *cân* if preceded by a word with final high tone) ‘that, those’. Newman—Ma 1977:18; Robinson 1913:46.

← Proto-Nostratic deictic stem \**ʋʰa-* ‘that over there, that yonder (not very far)’ (Bomhard 2014.2:286, no. 253)

283. Proto-Afrasian \**ʋar-* ‘(vb.) to advance to or toward, to reach, to come to, to arrive at; (n.) advance, arrival, goal, attainment, end, aim; approach’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ʋa-ʋar-* ‘(vb.) to advance to or toward, to reach, to come to, to arrive at; (n.) trace, vestige’ > Hebrew *ʔāšar* [אָשַׁר] ‘to go straight on, to advance, to go on, to lead’; Ugaritic *ʔtr* ‘to march’, *ʔtr* ‘place’, *ʔtryt* ‘future, destiny’; Arabic *ʔatr* ‘track, trace, vestige; sign, mark; impression, effect, action, influence’, *ʔitr* ‘trace’; Sabaean *ʔtr* ‘after’; Akkadian *ašaru*, *ašru* ‘place, site, location, emplacement’ (semantic development as in Sanskrit *āśā* ‘space, region, quarter of heaven’ [cf. Avestan *asah-* ‘place, space’] < *aś-nó-ti* ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to get, to obtain; to master, to become master of’); Geez / Ethiopic *ʔasar*

[**ḥāḥ**], *ʔašar* [**ḥwḥ**] ‘path, trace, track, sole of foot, footprint, sign, mark’; Amharic *asār* ‘footprint’; Tigre *ʔasar* ‘trace’; Tigrinya *ʔasār* ‘trace’. Klein 1987:59; D. Cohen 1970— :37; Murtonen 1989:103; Zammit 2002:68. Diakonoff 1992:82 \**ʔačr* ‘place’.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *əsrəd* ‘to trace, to mark, to draw a line; to be traced’, *təsərriṭ* ‘line, stripe; gutter’; Ghadames *əsrəd* ‘to draw a line’, *tasarəṭ* ‘furrow’; Mzab *ssərṭəṭṭ* ‘to align, to arrange; to be aligned’, *tisrəḍt* ‘line, trace’; Wargla *əsrəd* ‘to align; to be aligned’, *tinsərḍt* ‘ruler, straightedge’; Kabyle *asriḍ* ‘stripe’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**ʔʰar-* (~ \**ʔʰər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:289—290, no. 256):  
 (vb.) \**ʔʰar-* ‘to advance to or toward an end or a goal; to attain or achieve an end or a goal, to reach, to come to, to arrive at’;  
 (n.) \**ʔʰar-a* ‘advance, arrival, goal, attainment, end, aim; approach’

284. Proto-Afrasian \**ʔin-* ‘two’ (Ehret 1995:273, no. 503, \**tsan-* or \**can-* ‘two’ and 274, no. 505, \**tsir(n)-* or \**cir(n)-* ‘two’[“vowel reconstruction uncertain; PAA \*u, \*ee, or \*oo are also possible here; contrary to earlier views, this is surely a distinct root from #503”]; Diakonoff 1988:67 \**čVn-* ‘two’ [Semitic \**čin-* > \**ṭin-*]; Militarëv 2014:174—175 Proto-Afrasian \**čin-* ‘two’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ʔin-ay* ‘two’ > Akkadian (dual) *šinā*, *šenā* ‘two’; Arabic *ʔitnāni* ‘two’; Sabaean *tny* ‘two’; Qatabanic *tnw* ‘two’; Ugaritic *tny* ‘two’; Hebrew *šəṇayim* [שְׁנַיִם] ‘two’; Phoenician *šnm*, *ʔšnm* ‘two’, *šny* ‘second’; Punic *šnm* ‘two’; Imperial Aramaic *tnyn* ‘second’; Aramaic *trēn* ‘two’; Syriac *tərēn* (< \**tənēn*) ‘two’; Neo-Aramaic (Mandaic) *tre(n)* ‘two’; Ḥarsūsi *terō* ‘two’; Šheri / Jibbāli *troh* ‘two’; Mehri *tərō*, *troh* ‘two’; Soqotri *trə* ‘two’. Brockelmann 1908.I:484—485; Lipiński 1997:284—285, §35.4; Moscati 1964:116, §§14.1—14.2; Bauer—Leander 1918—1922:622 (gen.-acc.) \**pināj*; Gray 1934:68—70, §259, \**pinaḡ*; Klein 1987:670; Tomback 1978:327; Zammit 2002:113; Militarëv 2014:174—175 Proto-Semitic \**ṭinay-*.
- B. (?) Egyptian *snw* (f. *snty*) ‘two’, *snnw* ‘second’; Coptic *snaw* [**snay**] (f. *snte* [**snṯe**]) ‘two’. Hannig 1995:713—714; Faulkner 1962:230; Erman—Grapow 1921:162 and 1926—1963.4:148—150; Gardiner 1957:590; Černý 1976:156; Vycichl 1983:192—193. Note: The Egyptian and Coptic forms may be borrowings from Semitic. The expected Egyptian form would be \**tn-*, which may be preserved in *tni* ‘to distinguish, to make a distinction between, to give preference to (another), to be different from’, *tnṯ* ‘difference’, *tnw* ‘distinction’. Hannig 1995:956; Faulkner 1962:305; Gardiner 1957:601; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:374—375 and 5:376.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *əssīn* (f. *sənāt*) ‘two’; Siwa *sən* (f. *snət*) ‘two’; Nefusa (f. *snət*) *sən* ‘two’; Ghadames *sin* (f. *sənət*) ‘two’; Wargla *sən* (f. *sənt*) ‘two’; Mzab *sən* (f. *sənt*) ‘two’; Tamazight *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Tasheliyt / Shilha

*sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Riff *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Kabyle *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Chaouia *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Zenaga *cinan* (f. *ciwat*) ‘two’.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*v<sup>h</sup>in-a* ‘the other or opposite side’; (adj.) ‘different, other’ (Bomhard 2014.2:290—291, no. 257)

285. Proto-Afrasian *\*vum-* ‘(vb.) to strike, to beat, to pound, to knock; to tire out, to weary; to be or become weak or weary, to fade, to waste away; (n.) fatigue, weariness, dullness, stupor’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*v<sup>am</sup>-am-* ‘to lay waste; to waste away; to be devastated, stunned, stupefied, dazed’ > Arabic *tamma* (inf. *ʔintimām*) ‘to fall from all sides upon, to melt and blend, to waste away, to grow old and weak’; Hebrew *šāmam* [שָׁמַם] ‘to be desolated, deserted, waste, solitary, depopulated; to be stupefied, stunned, astonished, appalled, alarmed, shocked’; Biblical Aramaic *šāmam* ‘to be dazed’; Geez / Ethiopic *samama* [ሰመመ] ‘to be silly’; Tigrinya *sāmām bālā* ‘to have the eyes closed (which indicates daze or stupor)’; Amharic *sāmmāmā* ‘to be in a daze or stupor, to be half-awake’. Murtonen 1989:427; Klein 1987:666; Leslau 1987:502.

Proto-Semitic *\*wa-t<sup>v</sup>am-* ‘to lay waste, to devastate; to be devastated, desolate, wasted’ > Arabic *waṭama* ‘to break, to pound, to grind, to crush’, *waṭima* ‘to produce little grass or food’; Sabaean *wṭm* ‘open country’; Hebrew *yāšam* [יָשַׁם] ‘to be desolate’, *yāšimōn* [יַשִּׁמֹן] ‘waste, wilderness, desolation, wasteland’; Old Aramaic (abs. sg.) *yšmn* ‘desert’. Murtonen 1989:223; Klein 1987:266.

Arabic *tamila* ‘to be or become drunk’, *tamal* ‘drunkenness’.

B. Egyptian *tmsw* ‘injury, harm’. Faulkner 1962:305; Hannig 1995:954; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.I:370; Gardiner 1957:601.

C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*tum-* ‘to strike, to forge’ > Burji *tum-áano* ‘to churn, to thresh, to hit’; Galla / Oromo *tum-* ‘to forge’; Somali *tum-* ‘hammer’, *tumaal* ‘blacksmith’. Sasse 1979:10, 24 and 1982:179.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*v<sup>h</sup>um-* (~ *\*v<sup>h</sup>om-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:292—293, no. 260):  
(vb.) *\*v<sup>h</sup>um-* ‘to strike, to beat, to pound, to knock; to tire out, to weary; to be or become weak or weary, to fade, to waste away’;  
(n.) *\*v<sup>h</sup>um-a* ‘fatigue, weariness, dullness, stupor’

For the semantic developments in the various Nostratic daughter languages, cf. Greek *κοπιάω* ‘to be tired, to grow weary’ < *κόπος* ‘toil, trouble, weariness, suffering’, originally ‘striking, beating’ < *κόπτω* ‘to strike, to beat, to smite, to slaughter, to cut off, to chop off, to hammer, to forge, to pound, to knock; (metaphorical) to tire out, to weary’.

## 8.2. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*dʷ

286. Proto-Afrasian \**dʷab-* ‘(vb.) to beat, to hit, to strike, to harm, to injure; (n.) stroke, blow, harm, injury; slaughter, killing’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:549—550, no. 2646, \**ʒabah*/\**ʒibih* ‘to make sacrifice’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**dʷab-ah-* ‘to kill, to slaughter’ > Hebrew *zābaḥ* [זָבַח] ‘to slaughter’; Phoenician *zbḥ* ‘to slaughter, to sacrifice’; Ugaritic *dbḥ* ‘to sacrifice’, *dbḥ(m)* ‘sacrifice(s)’; Arabic *dabaḥa* ‘to kill, to slaughter’; Akkadian *zibū* ‘offering’, *zebū* ‘to slaughter, to sacrifice’; Proto-Sinaitic *ḏbḥ* ‘to sacrifice, to kill, to murder’; Sabaean *ḏbḥ* ‘to sacrifice, to kill, to murder’; Geez / Ethiopic *zabḥa* [ዘብሐ] ‘to slaughter, to sacrifice, to offer sacrifices’; Tigre *zābḥa* ‘to skin an animal’. D. Cohen 1970— :326—327; Murtonen 1989:161; Klein 1987:193; Leslau 1987:631; Zammit 2002:181—182.
- B. Egyptian (reduplicated) *ḏbḏb* ‘to destroy, to demolish’. Hannig 1995:1005.
- C. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic: Somali *dabaah-* ‘to slaughter’.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**dʷab-* (~ \**dʷəb-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:279—280, no. 245):  
 (vb.) \**dʷab-* ‘to beat, to hit, to strike, to harm, to injure’;  
 (n.) \**dʷab-a* ‘stroke, blow, harm, injury; slaughter, killing’

287. Proto-Afrasian \**dʷan-w-* (n.) ‘a kind of tree’:

- A. Egyptian *ḏnw* ‘plant, a kind of bush’. Hannig 1995:1007; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:575.
- B. Cushitic: Kambata *dana* ‘a kind of tree’; Gallinya *dāna* ‘a kind of tree’.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \**dʷan-w-a* ‘a kind of tree or bush’ (Bomhard 2014.2:281, no. 247)

288. Proto-Afrasian \**dʷar-* ‘(vb.) to hold firmly; (n.) hand, arm’ (Takács 2011: 161):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**dʷirāf-* ‘arm’ > Arabic *dirāʿ* ‘arm, forearm’; Hebrew *ʿezrōaʿ* [עֶזְרֹאʿ], *zərōaʿ* [זֶרְעֹאʿ] ‘arm, shoulder’; Aramaic *dərāʿā* ‘arm’; Ugaritic *ḏrʿ* ‘upper arm’; Akkadian *zuruḥ* ‘arm’, *duraʿu* ‘arm, foreleg’ (West Semitic loans); Soqotri *derāʿ* ‘forearm’; Harsūsi *ḏerā* ‘forearm’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḏēraʿ* ‘forearm’; Mehri *ḏarʿ* ‘forearm’; Geez / Ethiopic *mazrāʿt* [መዘራዕት] ‘arm, shoulder (of an animal), sleeve (of a garment), strength’; Tigrinya *māzraʿt* ‘arm, forearm’; Tigre *zāraʿ*, *māzaraʿt* ‘arm, forearm’. Murtonen 1989:171; Klein 1987:16 and 203; D. Cohen 1970— :341; Leslau 1987:379; Zammit 2002:182.



- B. Egyptian *ḏr-t* ‘hand’; Coptic *tōre* [ṮṮṮ] ‘(hand); handle; spade, pick, oar’. Hannig 1995:1009; Faulkner 1962:323; Gardiner 1957:604; Erman—Grapow 1921:221 and 1926—1963.5:580—585; Vycichl 1983:219—220; Černý 1976:193.
- C. West Chadic: Mupun *ǰár* ‘to take, to pick up’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ḏʷar-* (~ *\*ḏʷər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:281—282, no. 248):  
 (vb.) *\*ḏʷar-* ‘to hold firmly’;  
 (n.) *\*ḏʷar-a* ‘firm grip; hand, arm’
289. Proto-Afrasian *\*ḏi-* ‘this one, that one’ (Ehret 1995:260, no. 470, *\*ji* or *\*dzi* ‘one, someone, somebody’ [indefinite pronoun]):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ḏā, \*ḏī* ‘this one, that one’ > Arabic (m.) *ḏā*, (f.) *ḏī* ‘this one, this’; Hebrew (m.) *zeh* [זֶה], (f.) *zōh* [זֹה], (poetical) *zū* [זֹּ] ‘this’; Biblical Aramaic *dā* ‘this’; Sabaeen *ḏ* ‘(he) who, (that) which’; Mehri *ḏ(ə)-* ‘who, which, what’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḏ-* ‘one who, whoever’; Ḥarsūsi *ḏ(e)-* ‘who, which, that’; Geez / Ethiopic *za-* [ዘ-] ‘who, that, which’ (*ziʷa-* [ዘኡ-] with possessive suffix pronouns), (m. sg.) *zə-* [ዘ-], (f. sg.) *zā-* [ዘ-] ‘this’ (adj. and pronoun); Tigrinya *zə* ‘he who, that’, *ʷəzu* ‘this’; Gurage *za* ‘that, that one, that one here’, *zə* ‘this’; Harari *zi* ‘he, who, that’, *-zo* ‘the’. D. Cohen 1970— :324; Klein 1987:194; Leslau 1979:701 and 1987:629—630; Zammit 2002:181.
- B. Perhaps also New Egyptian (adv.) *dy* ‘here, over here; there, over there’ (if from *\*ḏy*); Coptic *tai* [ṮṮ] ‘here, in this place’, *tē* [ṮṮ] ‘there, in that place’. Hannig 1995:970; Faulkner 1962:309; Erman—Grapow 1921:211 and 1926—1963.5:420; Vycichl 1983:208 and 212; Černý 1976:177 and 178.
- ← Proto-Nostratic indefinite pronoun stem *\*ḏi-* (~ *\*ḏe-*) ‘this one, that one’ (Bomhard 2014.2:283—284, no. 250):

8.3. PROTO-AFRASIAN *\*tʷy*

290. Proto-Afrasian *\*tʷyal-* ~ *\*tʷyil-* ‘(vb.) to overshadow, to cover over, to make dark; (n.) shade, shadow; covering; darkness’ (Diakonoff 1992:19 *\*čVI* ‘dark’, 86 *\*čəll-* ‘shade, shadow’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:117—118, no. 503, *\*čal-* / *\*čil-* ‘shadow’ and 119, no. 511, *\*čilam-* ‘to be dark’; Ehret 1995:293, no. 555, *\*cʷil-* ‘to darken, to become dark colored’, and 293, no. 556, *\*cʷilm-* / *\*cʷalm-* ‘black’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tʷyal-al-* ‘to overshadow, to cover over’, *\*tʷyill-* ‘shade, shadow’ > Hebrew *šālal* [שָׁלַל] ‘to be or grow dark’, *šēl* [שֵׁל]

‘shade, shadow’; Aramaic *ṭalal* ‘to overshadow’; Akkadian *ṣullulu* ‘to provide shade, to roof’, *ṣillu* ‘shade, shadow’; Arabic *ṣalla* ‘to shade, to overshadow, to screen, to shelter, to protect’, *ṣill* ‘shadow, shade; shelter, protection’, *ṣulla* ‘awning, marquee, canopy, sheltering hut or tent, shelter’; Ugaritic *ṭll* ‘shade’; Sabaean *ṣll* ‘to roof over’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḏell* ‘to give shade’; Mehri *aḏlāl* ‘to make shade (by erecting a sunshade)’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṣallala*, *ṣalala* [ṣḏḏ] ‘to shade, to make shade, to overshadow, to be shady, to darken, to conceal, to cover, to screen from view, to blind (an eye), to deafen, to protect’, *maṣallat* [ṣḏḏḏ] ‘sunshade, shady place, tent, booth, tabernacle’; Tigre (*ʿa*)*ṣlāla* ‘to give shade’, *ṣəlal* ‘shadow, darkness’; Tigrinya *ʿaṣlālā* ‘to shelter oneself’, *ṣəlal* ‘shade, shadow’; Amharic *ṭällälä* ‘to shade, to curtain off’, *ṭəla* ‘shade, shadow’; Gafat *čəläya* ‘shade, shadow’; Argobba *ṭəla* ‘shade, shadow’; Gurage (*at*)*ṭillälä* ‘to curtain off’; Harari *čāya* ‘shade, shadow, luxury’ (Galla / Oromo loan). Murtonen 1989:359; Klein 1987:548; Leslau 1963:52, 1979:618, and 1987:555; Zammit 2002:276—277.

Proto-Semitic \**tʿal-am-* ‘to be or become dark’ > Arabic *ṣalima* ‘to be or grow dark’, *ṣulma*, *ṣalām* ‘darkness, duskiness, gloom, murkiness’, *muṣlim* ‘dark, dusky, gloomy, tenebrous, murky’; Akkadian *ṣalāmu* ‘to become dark, to turn black’; Ḥarsūsi *médlem* ‘dark’; Šheri / Jibbāli *eḏlīm* ‘to become dark’; Mehri *həḏlāwm* ‘to go dark’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṣalma* [ṣḏḏ], *ṣalama* [ṣḏḏ] ‘to grow dark, to be darkened, to be black, to be enveloped in mist, to grow blind (eyes), to be obscured (face)’, *ṣalmata* [ṣḏḏḏ] ‘to be dark, to grow dark’ (denominative form *ṣəlmat* [ṣḏḏḏ] ‘darkness, darkening, eclipse’); Tigre *ṣalma* ‘to be dark’, *čälma* ‘to be dark-colored’; Tigrinya *šällämä* ‘to be dark’; Amharic *čällämä* ‘to be dark’; Gurage *čällämä* ‘to be dark’, (Muher, Soddo) *čälläma* ‘darkness’, (Selti) *čilma* ‘darkness’; Gafat *šillämä* ‘to be dark’; Harari *čäläma* ‘to be dark’, *čilma* ‘darkness; dark’. Leslau 1963:51, 1979:180, and 1987:556; Zammit 2002:277.

- B. Cushitic: Bilin *čaläl-* ‘to give shade’, *čalälä* ‘shade’, *čaläm-* ‘to be dark’, *čalämä*, *čilmä* ‘darkness’; Galla / Oromo *č’āya* (with palatalization of the *l*) ‘shade, shadow’. (According to Leslau 1987:555 and 556, the preceding Cushitic forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic.) Appleyard 2006:52; Reinisch 1887:171. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *c’aal-*: *c’aal-šiiš-* ‘to throw a shadow’, *c’aale* ‘shade, shadow’. Hudson 1989:356. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḏawye *dūhuma* ‘darkness’. Reinisch 1895:66.
- C. Omotic: Aari *č’elmi* ‘black’.
- D. Chadic: North Bauchi Chadic \**dīm* ‘darkness’ > Siryanci *dən-dələmi* ‘darkness’; Miyanci *dən-dələm* ‘darkness’; Jimbinanci *dan-dilam* ‘darkness’. Skinner 1977:17. Central Chadic \**čilVm-* ‘dark, black’ > Buduma *čilim* ‘dark’; Gulfey *selem* ‘black’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*tʷal-* (~ *\*tʷəl-*) and/or *\*tʷil-* (~ *\*tʷel-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:295—297, no. 263):  
 (vb.) *\*tʷal-* and/or *\*tʷil-* ‘to overshadow, to cover over, to make dark’;  
 (n.) *\*tʷal-a* and/or *\*tʷil-a* ‘shade, shadow; covering; darkness’
291. Proto-Afrasian *\*tʷar-* ‘(vb.) to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached; (n.) firmness, solidity, strength; (adj.) firm, solid, strong, steadfast’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tʷar-ab-* ‘to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached’ > Arabic *zarība* ‘to stick, to adhere’, *zurība* ‘to become hard, strong; to be firm, solid’; Akkadian *šarbatu* ‘tree’; Ḥarsūsi *ḍarb* ‘wood, piece of wood, peg’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḍarb* ‘wood, piece of wood’; Mehri *ḍarb* ‘small piece of wood’.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*tʷar-* ‘to be strong, firm, powerful’ > Gurage (Selṭi) *ṭirāññe* ‘to be strong, powerful, vigorous, firm, resistant, courageous, brave’, (Chaha) *ṭārānā* ‘strong, powerful, vigorous’; Amharic *ṭāṭṭārā* ‘to be strong’; Gafāt *šāwwārā* ‘to be strong, rigid’; Argobba *ṭeṭṭārā* ‘to be strong’. Leslau 1979:631—632.
- B. Egyptian *ḍrī* ‘hard, firm’; Coptic *gro* [xpo], *čro* [ɕpo] ‘to become strong, firm, victorious’, *ḡōōre* [xwɔpɛ] ‘strength; to be strong’. Hannig 1995:1012; Faulkner 1962:323; Erman—Grapow 1921:221; Crum 1939:783—785; Vycichl 1983:330; Černý 1976:319.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*tʷar-* (~ *\*tʷər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:298—300, no. 265):  
 (vb.) *\*tʷar-* ‘to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached’;  
 (n.) *\*tʷar-a* ‘firmness, solidity, strength’; (adj.) ‘firm, solid, strong, steadfast’  
 Derivative:  
 (vb.) *\*tʷar-* ‘to be rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard’;  
 (n.) *\*tʷar-a* ‘that which is rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard’; (adj.) ‘rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard’
292. Proto-Afrasian *\*tʷiŋ-* ‘(vb.) to think; (n.) thought, consideration, idea’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tʷan-an-* ‘to think’ > Arabic *zanna* ‘to think, to believe, to assume, to deem, to consider’, *zann* ‘opinion, idea, belief’; Ḥarsūsi *ḍen* ‘to think, to imagine’; Mehri *həḍnāwn* ‘to imagine; to have doubts, to be suspicious of’, *ḍān* ‘thought’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḍinn* ‘to have an idea, to think’. Zammit 2002:277—278.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-North Agaw *\*ziŋ-* ‘(vb.) to tell, to relate; (n.) story, tale, conversation’ > Xamir *ḡiŋa* ‘gossip, news, story’, *ḡiŋ-* ‘to tell, to relate’; Quara *ḡəŋa* ‘story, tale’; Bilin *ḡiŋā* ‘conversation’, (denominative) *ḡiŋ-ist-* ‘to talk, to converse’. Appleyard 2006:76 and 132; Reinisch 1887:182.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*t'yij-* ( $\sim$  *\*t'yej-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:303—304, no. 270):  
 (vb.) *\*t'yij-* ‘to think, to consider’;  
 (n.) *\*t'yij-a* ‘thought, consideration, idea’
293. Proto-Afrasian *\*t'yif-ar-* (n.) ‘fingernail, claw’ (M. Cohen 1947:160, no. 351; Takács 2011:31 Proto-Afrasian *\*čVrVf-/ \*čVfVr-* ‘fingernail’; Militarëv 2010:57—58 Proto-Afrasian *\*čipar-*  $\sim$  *\*čarap-* ‘fingernail’ [not quite reliable]; Orël—Stolbova 1995:120, no. 513, *\*čupar-* ‘fingernail’. Note: The Highland East Cushitic and Omotic forms cited by Orël—Stolbova may be loanwords):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*t'yipr-*, *\*t'yupr-* ‘fingernail, toenail, claw’ > Hebrew *šippōren* [שִׁפּוֹרֵן] ‘fingernail’; Syriac *teprā* ‘fingernail’; Akkadian *šupru* ‘fingernail, toenail; claw, hoof’; Arabic *zufur*, *zufīr*, *zifīr* ‘nail, fingernail; toenail; claw, talon’; Ḥarsūsi *deḥīr* ‘fingernail, toenail’; Šheri / Jibbāli *difēr* ‘fingernail, toenail’; Mehri *dḥēr* ‘fingernail, toenail, claw’; Soqotri *ṭayḥar*, *ṭāḥar* ‘fingernail, toenail’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṣaḥr* [ጸፍር] ‘fingernail, claw’; Tigre *ṣaḥar* ‘fingernail’; Tigrinya *ṣaḥri* ‘fingernail’; Gafat *ṣaḥrā* ‘fingernail’; Amharic *ṭaḥar* ‘fingernail’; Gurage *ṭaḥar* ‘fingernail’; Argobba *čaffar* ‘fingernail’; Harari *ṭifir* ‘fingernail, claw’. Murtonen 1989:366; Militarëv 2010:57 Proto-Semitic *\*tṭip(V)r-*; Klein 1987:555; Leslau 1963:152, 1979:614, and 1987:549; Zammit 2002:276.
- B. Cushitic: Bilin *čiffer* ‘fingernail, claw’; Quara *garfā* ‘fingernail’; Xamir *sefir*, *sefir* ‘fingernail’ (these may be loans from Ethiopian Semitic). Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*t'yafar-* (assimilated from *\*t'yifar-* ?) > (with metathesis) *\*t'yaraf-* ‘nail, claw’ > Burunge *carafu* ‘nail, claw’; Alagwa *carafu* ‘nail, claw’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*t'yiph-* ( $\sim$  *\*t'yeph-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:304—305, no. 271):  
 (vb.) *\*t'yiph-* ‘to pinch, to nip’;  
 (n.) *\*t'yiph-a* ‘fingernail, claw’

## CHAPTER NINE

### SIBILANTS

Proto-Afrasian	*s	*z	*s'	*sy
Proto-Semitic	*s	*z	*s'	*sy
Ancient Egyptian	s	z —	?	š ≡ s
Proto-Berber	*s	*z	*z	*s
Proto-East Cushitic	*s	*z	?	*s
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*s	*z	*c'	*š
Proto-Chadic	*s	?	*s'	*s

Note: There are no examples of \*z and \*s' in the Nostratic data that I have gathered to date. Consequently, they are not included here.

#### 9.1. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*s

294. Proto-Afrasian \*saʔ-y- '(vb.) to sift; (n.) sieve':

- A. (?) Semitic: Hebrew *saʔāh* [סֵאָה] 'a measure of grain'; Nabatean (pl. abs.) *sʔyn* 'a measure of grain'; Imperial Aramaic (sg. abs.) *sʔh* 'a measure of grain'; Aramaic *saʔā*, *sāθā* 'a measure of grain'; Syriac *saθā* 'a measure of grain'. Murtonen 1989:295; Klein 1987:432. These forms are usually considered to have been borrowed from Akkadian *sūtu(m)* 'a capacity measure, a measuring container, rent' (cf. Von Soden 1965—1981.II: 1064). However, this interpretation is by no means certain (cf. Brown—Driver—Briggs 1907:684; Hoftijzer—Jongeling 1995:772).
- B. Egyptian *sʔi*, *siʔ* 'to sift (flour)'. Hannig 1995:657 and 664; Faulkner 1962:209; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.4:16.

← Proto-Nostratic root \*saʔ- (~ \*səʔ-) (Bomhard 2014.2:351, no. 311):

Extended form:

(vb.) \*saʔ-V-y- 'to sift';

(n.) \*saʔ-y-a 'sieve'

295. Proto-Afrasian \*sag- '(vb.) to get, to obtain; (n.) acquisition, attainment, victory':

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*sag-al- 'to get, to obtain, to possess' > Hebrew *saḡullāh* [סִגְּלָה] 'possession, property'; Akkadian *sugullāte* 'herds';

Ugaritic *sgl* ‘treasure’; Aramaic *siggēl*, *sīḡēl* ‘to acquire’; Arabic *saḡala* ‘to possess many goods’. Murtonen 1989:296; Klein 1987:434.

- B. (?) Egyptian *sd3wt* (?) ‘precious things, treasure’, *sd3wtjw* (?) ‘treasurers’, *sd3w* (?) ‘precious’. Faulkner 1962:258.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*sag-* (~ *\*səg-*) or *\*šag-* (~ *\*šəg-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:352—353, no. 313):

(vb.) *\*sag-* or *\*šag-* ‘to reach, to arrive at, to attain, to achieve, to get, to obtain’;

(n.) *\*sag-a* or *\*šag-a* ‘acquisition, attainment, victory’

296. Proto-Afrasian *\*sam-* ‘(vb.) to resemble, to be like; (n.) appearance, likeness; form, shape; (adj.) similar, alike, same’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*sam-al-* ‘to resemble, to be like’ > Hebrew *semel* [שֶׁמֶל] ‘image, statue’; Phoenician *sml* ‘image, statue’; Geez / Ethiopic (with metathesis) *masala* [መሰለ], *masla* [መሰለ] ‘to be like, to look like, to be likened to, to resemble, to appear, to seem’, *məsl* [ሞሰለ] ‘likeness, similarity, form, figure, image, statue, parable, proverb’; Tigrinya *mäsälä* ‘to be like’; Tigre *mäsä* ‘to be similar, to resemble, to seem’; Amharic *mässälä* ‘to be like, to look like, to resemble, to liken, to simulate, to seem, to appear’, *məsəl* ‘likeness, image, effigy, figure (picture)’; Gurage *mäsälä* ‘to resemble, to be like, to look like, to appear, to seem’; Harari *mäsäla* ‘to appear, to be like, to resemble, to seem’. Murtonen 1989:302; Klein 1987:449; Leslau 1987:365—366; Tomback 1978:230.

- B. Egyptian *sm* ‘form, image’, *smṯi* ‘to assimilate, to equalize’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.4:121; Hannig 1995:705.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*sam-* (~ *\*səm-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:358—359, no. 318):

(vb.) *\*sam-* ‘to resemble, to be like’;

(n.) *\*sam-a* ‘form, shape, appearance, likeness’; (adj.) ‘similar, alike, same’

297. Proto-Afrasian *\*san-*, *\*sin-* ‘(vb.) to smell; (n.) nose’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995: 463, no. 2194, *\*san-/\*sin-* ‘nose’ and 476, no. 2251, *\*sin-* ‘to smell’; Ehret 1995:161, no. 224, *\*siijw-* ‘to smell [tr.]’):

- A. Egyptian *sn* ‘to smell, to kiss, to breathe’, *snsn* ‘to smell, to stink’. Hannig 1995:716; Faulkner 1962:230; Erman—Grapow 1921:163.

- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*san-/\*sin-/\*son-/\*sun-* ‘nose’ > Rendille *sam* ‘nose’; Somali *san* ‘nose’; Boni *saŋ* ‘nose’; Burji *sún-a* ‘nose’; Arbore *son-o* ‘nose’; Gidole *sin-a* ‘nose’; Konso *siin-a* ~ *soon-a* ‘nose’; Sidamo *san-o* ‘nose’; Kambata *san-e* ‘nose’; Hadiyya *san-e* ‘nose’; Gedeo / Darasa *san-o* ‘nose’. Sasse 1979:5, 24 and 1982:169; Hudson 1989:106. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *sina* ‘nose’.

- C. Omotic: Ome *siŋan* ‘nose’; Gim *sən* ‘nose’; Nao *sin-us* ‘nose’; Maji *sinu* ‘nose’.
- D. Chadic: Proto-Chadic *\*sunə* ‘to smell’ > Hausa *sansànaa* ‘to smell, to sniff’; Warji *səsən-* ‘to smell’; Tumak *hunən* ‘to smell’. Newman 1977:31.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*san-* (~ *\*sən-*) or *\*šan-* (~ *\*šən-*), *\*sin-* (~ *\*sen-*) or *\*šin-* (~ *\*šen-*), *\*sun-* (~ *\*son-*) or *\*šun-* (~ *\*šon-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:359—360, no. 319):
- (vb.) *\*san-* or *\*šan-*, *\*sin-* or *\*šin-*, *\*sun-* or *\*šun-* ‘to sense, to perceive’;
- (n.) *\*san-a* or *\*šan-a*, *\*sin-a* or *\*šin-a*, *\*sun-a* or *\*šun-a* ‘(a) that which senses or perceives: mind, nose; (b) that which is sensed or perceived: perception, sense, feeling’

298. Proto-Afrasian *\*si-* 3rd person pronoun stem, *\*-s(i)* 3rd person suffix:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic independent pronouns: (3rd sg. m.) *\*suʔa* ‘he’, (3rd sg. f.) *\*siʔa* ‘she’; (3rd pl. m.) *\*sum* ‘they’, (3rd pl. f.) *\*sin* ‘they’ (cf. Rubin 2010:29—32 — Rubin notes that these were originally anaphoric pronouns).
- B. Egyptian *-s*, *-sy* third person singular suffix; dependent pronouns: *sw* ‘he, him, it’, *sy* ‘she, her, it’, *sn* ‘they, them’, *st* old form of the dependent pronoun 3rd singular f., which has been specialized for certain particular uses, mainly in place of the 3rd plural ‘they, them’ or of the neuter ‘it’; Coptic *s-* [-c-] prefix of 3rd person singular feminine: ‘she’, *-s* [-c-] suffix of 3rd singular feminine: ‘her’, *-se* [-cə] dependent pronoun of 3rd person plural, as object of a verb: ‘them’. Gardiner 1957:45, §43, 46, §44, and 98, §124; Hannig 1995:647, 674, 712, and 777; Faulkner 1962:205, 211, 215, 230, and 252; Černý 1976:144—145; Vycichl 1983:180—181 and 182.
- C. Berber: Tamazight 3rd person indirect pronouns: (singular after preposition and possessive with kinship) *s*, *as*, (poss. sg.) *-nnəs* or *ns*; (m. pl.) *sən*, *-sən*, *asən*, (f. pl.) *sənt*, *-sənt*, *asənt*, (poss. m. pl.) *-nsən*, (poss. f. pl.) *-nsənt*. Penchoen 1973:26—27. Tuareg (after prepositions) (m. and f. sg.) *-s*, *-əs*, *-ās*, *-is*, (m. pl.) *-sən*, *-əsən*, *-isən*, (f. pl.) *-sənət*, *-əsənət*, *-isənət*; (after kinship terms) (m. and f. sg.) *-s*, *-əs*, *-is*, (m. pl.) *-sən*, *-ssən*, *-əsən*, *-isən*, (f. pl.) *-sənət*, *-isənət*; (after nouns) (m. pl.) *-(n)əsən*, (f. pl.) *-(n)əsənət*; Kabyle (after prepositions) (m. and f. sg.) *-s*, (m. pl.) *-sən*, (f. pl.) *-sənt*; (after kinship terms) (m. and f. sg.) *-s*, (m. pl.) *-(t)sən*, (f. pl.) *-(t)sənt*; (after nouns) (m. and f. sg.) *-as*, (m. pl.) *-asən*, (f. pl.) *-asənt*; Ghadames (after prepositions) (m. and f. sg.) *-əs*, (m. pl.) *-sən*, (f. pl.) *-əsənət*; (after kinship terms) (m. and f. sg.) *-is*, (m. pl.) *(it)-sən*, (f. pl.) *(it)-əsənət*; (after nouns) (m. and f. sg.) *-(ənn)əs*, (m. pl.) *-(ənn)asən*, (f. pl.) *-(ənn)əsənət*.
- D. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*ʔu-s-uu* ‘he’ > Burji *is-i* 3rd singular m. personal pronoun abs. (= obj.) ‘him’; Gedeo / Darasa *isi* 3rd singular m. nom. pronoun ‘he’; Kambata *isi* 3rd singular m. nom. pronoun ‘he’;

Sidamo *isi* 3rd singular m. nom. pronoun ‘he’. Proto-East Cushitic *\*ʔi-š-ii* ‘she’ > Burji *iš-ée* 3rd singular f. personal pronoun abs. (= obj.) ‘her’; Gedeo / Darasa *ise* 3rd singular f. nom. pronoun ‘she’; Hadiyya *isi* 3rd singular f. nom. pronoun ‘she’; Kambata *ise* 3rd singular f. nom. pronoun ‘she’; Sidamo *ise* 3rd singular f. nom. pronoun ‘she’. Sasse 1982:106 and 107; Hudson 1989:77 and 132. Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *-si* 3rd singular possessive pronoun (m.): ‘his’, *-se* 3rd singular possessive pronoun (f.): ‘her’; Sidamo *-si* 3rd singular possessive pronoun (m.): ‘his’, *-se* 3rd singular possessive pronoun (f.): ‘her’. Hudson 1989:80. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ʔi-si-* ‘she’ > Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa *-s* in *-os* ‘his, her, its’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*-si* (bound) ‘her’ > Dahalo *ʔiði* ‘she’, *-ði* ‘her’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ʔu-su-* ‘he’ > Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa *-s* in *-os* ‘his, her, its’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*-su* (bound) ‘his’ > Ma’a *-ʔu* in *ku-ʔu* ‘his, her, its’; Dahalo *ʔúðu* ‘he’, *-ðu* ‘his’. Ehret 1980:290 and 295.

- E. Omotic: Gamo *sekki* ‘that, those’; 3rd person singular subject markers (affirmative): (m.) *-es*, (f.) *-us*; Zayse bound 3rd person singular subject pronouns: (m.) *-s*, (f.) *-is*; 3rd person singular independent pronouns: (subject m.) *ʔé-s-i*, (subject f.) *ʔi-s-i*, (direct object complement m.) *ʔé-s-a*, (direct object complement f.) *ʔi-s-a*, (postpositional complement m.) *ʔé-s-u(-ro)*, (postpositional complement f.) *ʔi-s-u(-ro)*, (copular complement m.) *ʔé-s-te*, (copular complement f.) *ʔi-s-te*.
- F. Chadic: Ngizim demonstratives (previous reference): (deictic predicator) *sónà* ‘here/there (it) is, here/there they are (pointing out or offering)’, (pronoun) *sónú* ‘this one, that one; this, that (thing or event being pointed out or in question)’; Hausa *šii* ‘he’, (direct object) *ši* ‘him’.

← Proto-Nostratic 3rd person pronoun stem *\*si-* (~ *\*se-*) ‘he, she, it; him, her; they, them’; 3rd person possessive suffix *\*-si* (~ *\*-se*) ‘his, her, its; their’ (Bomhard 2014.2:362—364, no. 322); this was originally an anaphoric stem distinct from Proto-Nostratic *\*ša-* (~ *\*šə-*) ‘this one here, that one there’ (> ‘this, that’) (cf. Bomhard 2014.1:321—323, §16.17).

299. Proto-Afrasian demonstrative pronoun stem *\*sa-* ‘this, that’:

- A. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*sa* ‘in place of’, *\*ʔasa* ‘there’ > Iraqw *sa-* verb prefix meaning ‘on behalf of’, *siŋ* ‘that particular’, *-s-* in *asma* ‘why?; because’; Alagwa *sa-* verb prefix meaning ‘on behalf of’; Asa *ʔasta* ‘country’; Dahalo *-ða* in *keeða* ‘where’. Ehret 1980:178.
- B. Chadic: Hausa *sà* ‘his, him’; independent pronouns: (m. sg.) *šii* ‘he’, (m. pl.) *suu* ‘they’; direct objects: (m. sg.) *ši* ‘him’, (m. pl.) *su* ‘them’; Ngizim demonstrative pronoun *sónú* ‘this one, that one; this, that’; near demonstrative pronoun *sáu* ‘this one’, *sáu ... sáu* ‘this one ... that one’; demonstrative pronoun *síyú* ‘that one’.



- ← Proto-Nostratic demonstrative pronoun stem *\*ša-* (~ *\*šə-*) ‘this, that’ (Bomhard 2014.2:378—379, no. 338); this was originally a deictic particle meaning ‘this one here, that one there’ (cf. Bomhard 2014.1:320—321, §16.16).

Note: Some of the forms cited above under Proto-Afrasian *\*si-* may belong here instead.

300. Proto-Afrasian *\*sar-* ‘(vb.) to split, to rip apart, to tear asunder; (n.) that which splits: knife’:

- A. Berber: Tuareg *surət* ‘to split, to crack, to be split’, *səssurət* ‘to make split’, *tasārit* ‘split, crack, fissure’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ssər* ‘to pierce, to drill, to make a hole in’; Tamazight *tisirit* ‘plot of land to be plowed’.  
 B. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Burji *ser-óo* ‘knife’; Hadiyya *seer-e* ‘knife’; Dobase *seer-e* ‘knife’; Koyra *soro* ‘knife’ (probably a loan from Burji). Sasse 1982:164 and 168; Hudson 1989:87. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*sar-* ‘to cut with repeated knife strokes’ > Burunge *sar-* ‘to scarify’; Dahalo *sar-* ‘to cut’. Ehret 1980:178.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*šar-* (~ *\*šər-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:379—380, no. 339):  
 (vb.) *\*šar-* ‘to split, to rip apart, to tear asunder’;  
 (n.) *\*šar-a* ‘that which splits: knife’

301. Proto-Afrasian *\*saw-* ‘(vb.) to sigh, to pant, to breathe deeply; (n.) breath, sigh’:

- A. Egyptian *swḥ* ‘wind, air, breath’. Hannig 1995:679; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.4:72; Faulkner 1962:217.  
 B. Berber: Tuareg *usu* ‘to cough’, *təsut* ‘cough’; Tawlemmet *əsəw* ‘to cough’, *təsuwt* ‘cough’; Tamazight *asu*, *usu* ‘to cough’, *tasutt*, *tusutt* ‘cough’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ttusu* ‘to cough strongly’, *tusut* ‘cough’; Riff *usu* ‘to cough’, *tusut* ‘cough’; Kabyle *usu* ‘to cough’, *tusut* ‘cough’; Chaouia *ussi* ‘to cough’, *tussit* ‘cough’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*šaw-* (~ *\*šəw-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:381—382, no. 341):  
 (vb.) *\*šaw-* ‘to sigh, to pant, to gasp, to breathe deeply’;  
 (n.) *\*šaw-a* ‘breath, sigh’  
 Related to:  
 (vb.) *\*šaw-* ‘to sleep, to rest’;  
 (n.) *\*šaw-a* ‘sleep, slumber, rest’

## 9.2. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*sʷ

302. Proto-Afrasian \*sʷam- ‘(vb.) to be hot, sunny; (n.) summer’ (Militarëv 2014: 168 Proto-Afrasian \*šam- ‘burning heat’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*sʷamsʷ- ‘sun’ > Akkadian *šamšu* ‘sun’; Hebrew *šemeš* [שֶׁמֶשׁ] ‘sun’; Aramaic *šimšā* ‘sun’; Phoenician *šmš* ‘sun’; Palmyrene *šmš* ‘sun’; Arabic *šams* (< \*sams) ‘sun’; Sabaean *šms* ‘sun’; Soqotri *šam* ‘sun, day’. Murtonen 1989:429; Klein 1987:668; Zammit 2002:243–244.
- B. Egyptian *šmm* ‘to be hot’, *šmmt* ‘heat, fever’, *šmw* ‘summer’; Coptic *šōm* [ϣⲟⲙ] ‘summer’. Hannig 1995:821 and 822; Faulkner 1962:267; Erman—Grapow 1921:182 and 1926—1963.4:468, 4:469; Gardiner 1957:594; Vycichl 1983:263–264; Černý 1976:243; Crum 1939:564.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \*sʷam- (~ \*sʷəm-) (Bomhard 2014.2:307, no. 273):  
(vb.) \*sʷam- ‘to be hot, sunny’;  
(n.) \*sʷam-a ‘summer’

303. Proto-Afrasian \*sʷaw- ‘(vb.) to be or become dry; (n.) dryness, dry place; (adj.) dry, arid, withered’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:469 \*sew-/ \*šew- ‘to be dry’):

- A. Egyptian *šwī* ‘to be dry, arid, hot’, *šwt* ‘dryness’, *šwyt* ‘dry place’; Coptic *šowe* [ϣⲟⲟⲩⲉ] ‘to dry up, to be or become dry, desiccated, or stale’, *šow* [ϣⲟⲟⲩ] ‘dry’. Hannig 1995:809; Faulkner 1962:263; Erman—Grapow 1921:179 and 1926—1963.4:429, 4:430; Gardiner 1957:594; Vycichl 1983:274; Černý 1976:258.
- B. Chadic: West Chadic \*syaH(a)- ‘to become dry’ > Bolewa *saa* ‘to become dry’; Karekare *saa* ‘to become dry’; Dera *sēe* ‘to become dry’; Ngamo *sa* ‘to become dry’. East Chadic \*sʷw- ‘to dry up’ > Mobu *sāwe* ‘to dry up’. Central Chadic \*sway- ‘to become dry’ > Zime Batua *soia* ‘to become dry’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \*sʷaw- (~ \*sʷəw-) (Bomhard 2014.2:307—308, no. 274):  
(vb.) \*sʷaw- ‘to be dry, arid, withered’;  
(n.) \*sʷaw-a ‘dryness, dry place’; (adj.) ‘dry, arid, withered’

304. Proto-Afrasian \*sʷaxw- ‘(vb.) to be or become hot, warm; to heat up, to make hot, to warm, to burn; (n.) warmth, heat; sun’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:459, no. 2172, \*saḥan- ‘to burn, to be warm’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*sʷax-an- ‘to be or become warm; to heat up, to warm’ > Akkadian *šaḥānu* ‘to become warm; to warm, to heat; to warm oneself (in the sun’s heat)’, \**šaḥnu* (f. *šaḥuntu*) ‘warm’, *šuḥnu* ‘heat’; Arabic *saḥana*, *saḥina*, *saḥuna* ‘to be or become warm; to warm (up); to be

feverish; to make hot, to heat, to warm (something)', *saḥn* 'hot, warm', *saḥāna*, *saḥūna* 'heat, warmth', *sāḥin* 'hot, warm'; Šheri / Jibbāli *šxan* 'to warm oneself at the fire', *šxanūn* 'warm'; Hebrew \**šḥn* \**[חש]* 'to be hot'; Post-Biblical Hebrew *šāḥēn* \**[חש]* 'hot, warm'; Aramaic *šāḥēn* 'to become hot', *šāḥēn* 'warm, hot'; Ugaritic *šḥn* 'feverish'; Geez / Ethiopic *səḥna* \**[ሰከ]*, *saḥana* \**[ሰከ]*, *saḥana* \**[ሰከ]* 'to warm oneself, to become warm', *səḥin* 'incense, frankincense'; Tigrinya *sāḥanā* 'to be hot'; Tigre *sāḥana* 'to be hot'; Amharic *səḥin* 'incense' (Geez loanword). Murtonen 1989:417; Klein 1987:650; Leslau 1989:495; Militarëv 2014:176—177 Common Semitic \**šḥn* 'to become warm, to warm oneself'.

- B. Chadic: West Chadic \**saHan-* 'to warm, to be hot' > Boko *san* 'to warm, to be hot'; Dafo-Butura *san* 'to warm, to be hot'; Pero *čeno* 'to warm, to be hot'.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**sʷaxw-* (~ \**sʷəxw-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:311—314, no. 277):  
(vb.) \**sʷaxw-* 'to be or become hot, warm; to heat up, to make hot, to warm, to burn';  
(n.) \**sʷaxw-a* 'warmth, heat; sun'

305. Proto-Afrasian \**sʷil-* '(vb.) to take, to seize, to plunder; (n.) removal, robbery, plunder' (Ehret 1995:158, no. 217, \**sil-* 'to pull off, to draw off'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**sʷal-al-* 'to take, to seize, to plunder' > Hebrew *šālāl* \**[שלל]* 'to spoil, to plunder'; Akkadian *šālālu* 'to spoil, to plunder, to carry away'; Arabic *salla* 'to draw or pull out slowly, to draw a sword'; Mehri *səl* '(wolf) to drag away (its prey)', *slūl* 'to let (a wolf) take an animal from you', *sāttəl* 'to steal away unobserved'; Šheri / Jibbāli *sell* '(wolf) to drag away its prey'. Murtonen 1989:423; Klein 1987:662; Zammit 2002:226.

Proto-Semitic \**sʷal-ab-* 'to rob, to plunder, to take away' > Arabic *salaba* 'to take away, to steal, to rob, to plunder'; Šheri / Jibbāli *sólób* 'to take (someone's gun) by force'; Ḥarsūsi *selōb* 'to disarm'; Mehri *səlūb* 'to disarm someone'; Geez / Ethiopic *salaba* \**[ሰለበ]* 'to take off, to strip off, to take away, to remove, to deprive, to take spoils, to plunder, to despoil'; Tigrinya *sālābā* 'to rob someone of his clothes'; Tigre *salāba* 'to rob, to snatch away'; Amharic *sällābā* 'to cheat, to rob by magical means'; Gurage (Soddo) *sālābi* 'cheater'. Leslau 1987:498—499.

Proto-Semitic \**sʷal-ap-* 'to draw out, to pull out' > Hebrew *šālaq* \**[שלך]* 'to draw out'; Aramaic *šəlaq* 'to draw a sword, to pull off (shoes)'; Akkadian *šalāpu* 'to draw (a sword, a dagger) from a sheath, to tear out, to pull out, to extricate, to rescue'. Murtonen 1989:426; Klein 1987:663; Zammit 2002:225.

- B. Egyptian: Coptic *sōlp* [ϣⲟⲗⲡ] ‘to break off, to cut off’, *sloplep* [ϣⲟⲡⲓⲗⲉⲡ], *sleplōp* [ϣⲓⲗⲉⲡⲓⲟⲡ] ‘to tear apart’ (Semitic loans). Vycichl 1983:188; Černý 1976:151.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*sil-* ‘to strip bare, to make empty’ > K’wadza *sil-* ‘to pluck (a bird)’; Ma’a *-silo* ‘bare, naked, empty’. Ehret 1980:180.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*sylv-* (~ *\*svel-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:315—316, no. 280):  
 (vb.) *\*sylv-* ‘to take (away), to seize, to snatch’;  
 (n.) *\*sylv-a* ‘removal, robbery, plunder’
306. Proto-Afrasian *\*svir-* (n.) ‘root’ (Ehret 1995:164, no. 230, *\*sar-/sir-* ‘root’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*svirsy-/svursy-* (< *\*svarsy-*) ‘root’ > Akkadian *šuršu* ‘root’; Hebrew *šōreš* [שֹׁרֶשׁ] ‘root (of plant)’; Syriac *šeršā* ‘root’; Phoenician *šrš* ‘root’; Ugaritic *šrš* ‘root’; Arabic *širs* (< *\*sirs*) ‘root’. Murtonen 1989:439; Klein 1987:684. Proto-Semitic *\*svirr-/svurr-* (< *\*svarr-*) ‘root’ > Arabic *sirr* ‘root, origin, source’; Geez / Ethiopic *šarw* [ሥርወ], *šūr* [ሥር], *šar* [ሥር] ‘basis, root, origin, stock, tribe’ (also ‘sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle’); Tigrinya *sar*, *sur* ‘root’; Tigre *sar* ‘root’; Amharic *sar* ‘root, bottom; under, beneath, at the foot of’ (also ‘vein, artery, nerve, tendon’); Gafat *sar* ‘root’; Harari *sar* ‘root, bottom; near’; Gurage *sar* ‘root, bottom of a thing’. Leslau 1963:142, 1979:558, and 1987:535—536.
- B. Cushitic: Central Cushitic: Awnji / Awiya *sar* ‘root’; Kemant *sar* ‘root’; Quara *sar* ‘root’; Bilin *zir* ‘root’. Reinisch 1887:309; Appleyard 2006: 116—117.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*svir-a* ‘root (of tree or plant)’ (Bomhard 2014.2:319—320, no. 282):  
 Perhaps related to:  
 (vb.) *\*svir-* ‘to twist, turn, tie, or bind together’;  
 (n.) *\*svir-a* ‘band, cord, any cord-like object: sinew, tendon, nerve, vein’
307. Proto-Afrasian *\*svol-* ‘(vb.) to be safe, well, sound; (n.) safety; health, welfare’; (adj.) ‘safe, well, sound’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*sval-am-* ‘to be safe, well, sound’ > Hebrew *šālēm* [שָׁלֵם] ‘to be complete, sound’, *šālōm* [שָׁלוֹם] ‘peace’; Syriac *šalēm* ‘to be complete, to be safe’; Phoenician *šlm* ‘to be complete’; Ugaritic *šlm* ‘(vb.) to be complete; (n.) peace’; Arabic *salima* ‘to be safe and sound, unharmed, unimpaired, intact, safe, secure’, *salām* ‘soundness, unimpairedness, intactness, well-being; peace, peacefulness; safety, security’, *salim* ‘peace’, *salīm* ‘safe, secure; free (from); unimpaired, undamaged, unhurt, sound, intact, complete, perfect, whole, integral,

faultless, flawless; well; safe and sound; healthy; sane', *sālim* 'safe, secure; free (from); unimpaired, unblemished, faultless, flawless, undamaged, unhurt, safe and sound, safe; sound, healthy; whole, perfect, complete, integral'; Akkadian *šalāmu* 'to be well', *šulmu* 'health, welfare'; Sabaeen *slm* 'peace, soundness, health'; Ḥarsūsi *sēlem* 'to be safe', *selōm*, *selām* 'peace', *selōmet* 'peace, safety'; Šheri / Jibbāli *sēlm* 'to be safe', *sélum* 'peace, safety'; Mehri *sīlām* 'to be safe, saved', *sālōm* 'peace', *sēlom*, *sōlām* 'safe'; Geez / Ethiopic *salām* [ሰላም] 'peace, salutation, safety'; Tigrinya *sālam* 'peace'; Tigre *sālma* 'to greet'; Amharic *sālam* 'peace, tranquility', *sällāma* 'to pacify'. Arabic loan in Gurage (Soddo) *sālam* 'peace'. Murtonen 1989:425—426; Klein 1987:662—663; Leslau 1979:643 and 1987:499—500; Zammit 2002:227.

- B. Egyptian *snb* (< \**snb* /šlm/) 'to be sound, healthy'. Hannig 1995:717—718; Erman—Grapow 1921:164 and 1926—1963.4:158—159; Faulkner 1962:231.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**svol-* (Bomhard 2014.2:320—321, no. 283):

(vb.) \**svol-* 'to be safe, well, sound';

(n.) \**svol-a* 'safety; health, welfare'; (adj.) 'safe, well, sound'

308. Proto-Afrasian \**svor-* '(vb.) to surge, gush, flow, spring, or spread forth; (n.) surge, gush, flow':

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**svar-ac-* 'to surge, gush, flow, spring, or spread forth' > Hebrew *šāraṣ* [שָׂרַשׁ] 'to swarm, to team', *šereṣ* [שֶׁרֶשׁ] 'creeping things, reptiles'; Syriac *šaraṣ* 'to creep, to crawl'; Geez / Ethiopic *šaraša* [ሠረሰ], *šarša* [ሠርሰ], *šaraḍa* [ሠረፀ] 'to germinate, to blossom, to shoot forth, to sprout, to burgeon, to bud, to proceed, to arise'; Tigrinya *sārāšā* 'to sprout'; Amharic *sārrāṭā* 'to suffuse'. Murtonen 1989:438; Klein 1987:683; Leslau 1987:535.

Proto-Semitic \**svar-ab-* 'to flow (forth)' > Arabic *sariba* 'to flow, to run out, to leak; to creep', *sirb* 'herd, flock, bevy, covey, swarm'; Akkadian *šarbu*, *šurbu* 'shower (of rain)'; Geez / Ethiopic *saraba* [ሰረበ] 'to flood', *ʾasrāb* [አሰረብ] (pl.) 'torrents, showers'; Tigrinya *sārābā* 'to begin to rain'; Amharic *asrab* 'cataract, flood' (Geez loan). Leslau 1987:511; Zammit 2002:218—219.

Proto-Semitic \**svar-af-* 'to move quickly, to surge forth' > Arabic *saruʿa* 'to be quick, fast, prompt, rapid; to urge (on); to speed up, to accelerate, to expedite; to hasten, to hurry, to rush, to dash'; Ugaritic *šrʿ* 'surging'; Akkadian *šerū* 'to well up'. Zammit 2002:219—220.

- B. Egyptian *šrr* 'fluid, liquid', *šrš* '(of horses) to be quick, swift'. Faulkner 1962:270; Hannig 1995:833.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *asri* 'to run, to let a horse gallop', *sasri* 'to make run'; Wargla *amsari* 'horse race, horse riding'; Tamazight *srirray* 'to move

quickly, to be fast and efficient’, *asrirrəy* ‘the act of moving quickly, a quick and happy ending’; Kabyle *isrir* ‘to be clear (sky), to be free (local)’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*sʷor-* (Bomhard 2014.2:321—324, no. 284):

(vb.) *\*sʷor-* ‘to surge, gush, flow, spring, or spread forth’;

(n.) *\*sʷor-a* ‘surge, gush, flow’

309. Proto-Afrasian *\*sʷuw-* ‘(vb.) to be proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate, good, worthy, equal, equivalent; (n.) propriety, suitability, appropriateness; (adj.) proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*sʷaw-ay-* ‘to be equal, even’ > Arabic *sawiya* ‘to be equivalent, to be equal (to something); to even, level, flatten, straighten (something); to smooth (something); to equalize, to make equal (something to something else); to put (something) on the same level (with something); to put two persons on an equal footing, to treat two persons as equal, to reconcile two persons; to make regular, to make good (something); to regulate, to arrange, to make up, to smooth over, to settle, to put in order (a dispute, controversy, etc.)’, *siwan*, *suwan* ‘equality, sameness’, *sawāʾ* ‘equal; equality, sameness’, *sawīy* ‘straight, right, correct, proper; unimpaired, intact, sound; even, regular, well-proportioned, shapely, harmonious’, *mustawin* ‘straight, upright, erect; even, smooth, regular; well done (cooking); ripe, mature’; Hebrew *šāwāh* [שָׁוָה] ‘to be like, equal, equivalent’, *šāwēh* [שָׁוְהָ] ‘level, plain’, *šāweh* [שָׁוֶה] ‘equal, fitting, appropriate’; Syriac *šawā* ‘to be even, like, equal’; Ḥarsūsi *sewō* ‘to be equal to’, *sewē* ‘together; even’; Mehri *sōwi* ‘to level’; Šheri / Jibbāli *essōi* ‘to act, justly’, *siéʔ* ‘equal’; Soqotri *seʔ* ‘to balance, to offset’, *suwa* ‘good, convenient, suitable’. Murtonen 1989:414; Klein 1987:644; Zammit 2002:232.

B. Egyptian *š3w* ‘worth, value’, *ir š3w* ‘to be profitable’, *šw* ‘suitable, useful, worthy’, *šw-mr* ‘worthy of love’; Coptic *šaw* [ϣⲁϣ] ‘(n.) use, value; (adj.) useful, suitable, fitting, virtuous’, *m(p)ša* [ⲙ(ⲡ)ϣⲁ] ‘(vb.) to be worthy, deserving (of); (n.) worth, deserts, fate’, *atmpša* [ⲁⲧⲙⲡϣⲁ] ‘worthless, undeserving’, *r šaw* [ⲣ ϣⲁϣ] ‘to be useful, suitable (for); to become prosperous, virtuous’, *mntšaw* [ⲙⲛⲧϣⲁϣ] ‘usefulness; propriety, modesty’, *šumerit* [ϣⲟϣⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ] ‘lovable’, (prefix) *šu-* [ϣⲟϣ-] ‘worthy of, fit for’. Hannig 1995:801; Erman—Grapow 1921:178 and 1926—1963.4:404; Faulkner 1962:261; Vycichl 1983:255 and 274; Černý 1976:87 and 257.

C. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *šō* ‘good, beautiful’. Reinisch 1895:208.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*sʷuw-* (~ *\*sʷow-*) (Bomhard 2014.2:325—327, no. 287):

(vb.) *\*sʷuw-* ‘to be proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate, good, well, fine, beautiful’;

- (n.) \**sʷuw-a* ‘propriety, suitability, appropriateness’; (adj.) ‘proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate’

Semantics as in Geez / Ethiopic *šannaya* [ሠንዖ] ‘to be beautiful, to be good, to seem good, to be well, to be fine, to be excellent, to be fitting, to be appropriate’ and its derivatives (cf. Leslau 1987:531—532).





## CHAPTER TEN

### FRICATIVE LATERALS / LATERALIZED AFFICATES

Orël—Stolbova (1995:xix) give the following correspondences (their transcription has been changed to conform with the transcription used in this book):

Proto-Afrasian	*ɬ	*ɬ̥	*ɬ̥ʼ
Proto-Semitic	*ɬ	*ɬ̥	*ɬ̥ʼ
Ancient Egyptian	š 𓂏	š 𓂏	ḏ 𓂏
Proto-Berber	*s	*c	*ç
Proto-East Cushitic	*s	*s *š	*cʼ
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*ɬ	*ɬ̥ (?)	*ɬ̥ʼ
Proto-Chadic	*ɬ	*ɬ̥	*ɬ̥ʼ

Note: Ehret (1980:37) reconstructs \*ɬ and \*ɬ̥ʼ, which he writes \*ɬ and \*tl, for Proto-Southern Cushitic.

Ehret (1995:394) gives the following correspondences (as in the preceding table, Ehret's transcription has been changed):

Proto-Afrasian	*ɬ	*ɬ̥	*ɬ̥ʼ
Proto-Semitic	*ɬ	*ɬ̥	*ɬ̥ʼ
Ancient Egyptian	š 𓂏	ḏ 𓂏	ṯ 𓂏
Proto-Cushitic	*ɬ	*ɬ̥	*ɬ̥ʼ
Proto-Chadic	*ɬ	*ɬ̥	*ɬ̥ʼ
Proto-Omoti	*l	*ɬ̥	*ɬ̥ʼ

Note: In this chapter, we will only consider Proto-Afrasian \*ɬ̥ and \*ɬ̥ʼ.

#### 10.1. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*ɬ̥

310. Proto-Afrasian \*ɬ̥ah- (n.) '(young) sheep or goat' (Orël—Stolbova 1995: 121—122, no. 517, \*ča2- 'meat' and 489, no. 2323, \*šaš- 'cow, bull'; Ehret 1995:428, no. 888, \*ɬo2- 'cattle'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*ɬ̥a(h)- '(young) sheep' > Arabic šāʾ (coll.; n. un. šāh; pl. šiwāh, šiyāh) 'sheep, ewe'; Hebrew šeḥ [שֶׁח] '(young) sheep, lamb'; Phoenician š 'sheep'; Ugaritic š, šh 'sheep'; Akkadian šuʾu 'ram'. Klein 1987:642; Murtonen 1989:412—413.

- B. Cushitic: Proto-Sam *\*laḥ-* ‘ewe’ > Rendille *laḥ* ‘ewe’; Somali *laḥ* ‘ewe’. Heine 1978:67. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ṭaḥ-* ‘goat’ (?) > Ma’a *hlane* ‘he-goat’. Ehret 1980:328.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ṭ<sup>h</sup>ah-a* ‘(young) sheep or goat’ (Bomhard 2014.3:657, no. 590)
311. Proto-Afrasian *\*ṭak<sup>w</sup>-* ‘(vb.) to prick, to pierce, to stab; stab, thrust, jab; thorn, spike, prong, barb’ (Ehret 1995:422, no. 874, *\*ṭaak<sup>w</sup>-* ‘to pierce’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:132, no. 569, *\*ĉuk-* ‘to cut, to pierce’ and 132, no. 570, *\*ĉuk-* ‘sharp weapon’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ṭak-ak-* ‘to pierce, to prick, to stab’ > Arabic *šakka* ‘to pierce, to transfix; to prick, to stab’, *šakka* ‘stab, thrust, jab’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šekk* ‘to skewer meat’, *miškót* ‘spit, and the meat skewered on it’; Mehri *māškik* ‘wooden spit, skewer’; Ḥarsūsi *meškēk* ‘bar, skewer, (wooden) spit’; Hebrew *šēḥ* [שֶׁחַ] (pl. *šikkīm* [שִׁקִּיִּם]) ‘thorn’, *šukkāh* [שֻׁכָּה] ‘barb, spear’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Aramaic *sikkā* ‘thorn’. Murtonen 1989:421—422; Klein 1987:655 and 656; Leslau 1987:529.
- Proto-Semitic *\*ṭa/wa/k-* ‘thorn’ > Arabic *šawk* ‘thorn(s)’, *šawkī* ‘thorny, spiky, prickly’; Aramaic *šawkā* ‘thorn’; Geez / Ethiopic *šok* [ሥክ] ‘thorn, thorn bush, spine (of hedgehog), sting’; Tigre *šokāt* ‘thorn’; Tigrinya *ʾəšok* ‘thorn’; Gafat *əsih<sup>wä</sup>* ‘thorn’; Amharic *əšoh* ‘thorn’; Argobba *əšoh* ‘thorn’; Harari *usux* ‘thorn’; Gurage *sox* ‘thorn’. Leslau 1963:33, 1979:541, and 1987:529; Zammit 2002:246.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *āskər* ‘nail (person or animal), hoof’, *tāskərt* ‘blade, tip; stinger (of scorpion, wasp, bee); garlic’; Nefusa *accar* ‘nail’; Ghadames *acker* ‘nail’; Tamazight *iskər* ‘nail, claw, talon, tip’, *abaccər* ‘paw, hoof’; Wargla *accar* ‘nail, talon, hoof’; Mzab *accar* ‘nail’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *iskər* ‘nail’, *baskar* ‘claw’, *tiskərt* ‘garlic’; Riff *iccər* ‘nail, claw’; Kabyle *iccər* ‘nail, claw, point’; Chaouia *iccər* ‘nail, talon’; Zenaga *askər* ‘nail, claw’, *təskərt* ‘anything with a sharp claw’.
- C. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ṭaak<sup>w</sup>-* ‘to stab, to pierce’ > Iraqw *hlaq<sup>w</sup>-* ‘to shoot (arrow)’, *hlakat-* ‘to hunt’; Burunge *hlak<sup>w</sup>-* ‘to shoot (arrow)’, *hlagad-* ‘to hunt’; Alagwa *hlakat-* ‘to hunt’; Ma’a *-hla* ‘to stab, to pierce’, *mhlaʔé* ‘thorn’; Asa *hlakat-* ‘to hunt’; K’wadza *hlakataʔiko* ‘hunter’. Ehret 1980:209.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ṭ<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>wh</sup>-* (~ *\*ṭ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>kwh</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:657—658, no. 591):
- (vb.) *\*ṭ<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>wh</sup>-* ‘to prick, to pierce, to stab’;
- (n.) *\*ṭ<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>wh</sup>-a* ‘stab, thrust, jab; thorn, spike, prong, barb’

312. Proto-Afrasian *\*tɬar-* ‘(vb.) to cut, to slice; (n.) cut, slit, slice, slash; that which cuts: saw, knife, axe’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:126, no. 541, *\*ĉar-* ‘to cut, to saw’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tɬar-ah-* ‘to slice, to cut up’ > Arabic *šaraḥa* ‘to cut in slices, to slice, to cut up’; Ḥarsūsi *šereḥ* ‘to disjoint, to separate the parts of a carcass’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šeraḥ* ‘to cut up (meat, etc.)’; Mehri *šōraḥ* ‘to dismember a carcass’.

Proto-Semitic *\*tɬar-ay-* ‘to skin’ > Šheri / Jibbāli *šéré* ‘to skin (a cow, a camel) with a knife’; Mehri *šarū* ‘to skin (a cow, a camel)’. Arabic *šarama* ‘to split, to slit, to slash’, *šarmaṭa* ‘to shred, to tear to shreds’. Šheri / Jibbāli *šérōs* ‘to cut a slit in the ear, to tear skin off’.

Proto-Semitic *\*wa-tɬar-* ‘to saw’ > Arabic *wašara* ‘to saw, to saw apart’; Hebrew *maššōr* [מַשְׁשׁוֹר] ‘saw’; Geez / Ethiopic *wašara*, *waššara* [ወሠረ] ‘to saw, to cut with a saw, to split with a saw’, *mošar* [ሞሠር], *mošart* [ሞሠርት] ‘saw’; Tigre *šāršāra* ‘to saw’, *māsar* ‘axe’; Tigrinya *šāršārä* ‘to saw’, *məssar* ‘axe’; Amharic *šāraššārä* ‘to saw’, *məssar* ‘axe’; Gurage *məsər* ‘horn-handle knife, knife for cutting and eating raw meat’. Leslau 1979:430 and 1987:621.

Proto-Semitic *\*tɬarat-* ‘to cut into, to make incisions’ > Hebrew *šarat* [שָׂרַט] ‘to incise, to scratch’, *šeret* [שֶׁרֶט] ‘incision’; Akkadian *šarātu* ‘to slit up, to slice’; Arabic *šaraṭa* ‘to tear, to make incisions (in), to scratch, to slit open, to rip open’, *šarṭ* ‘incision (in the skin), cut, rip, slash, slit; provision, condition’; Gurage *särrätä* ‘to make decorative incisions on a pot, to brand cattle’. Murtonen 1989:438; Klein 1987:682; Leslau 1979:562; Zammit 2002:237.

- B. Chadic: West Chadic *\*tɬar-* ‘to cut (trees)’ > Hausa *saaraa* ‘to cut (trees)’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*tɬhar-* (~ *\*tɬhar-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:660—661, no. 594, and 3:661, no. 595):

(vb.) *\*tɬhar-* ‘to cut, to cut into’;

(n.) *\*tɬhar-a* ‘cut, slit, slice, slash; that which cuts: saw, knife, axe’

Extended form:

(vb.) *\*tɬhar-V-t-* ‘to make incisions, to cut into’;

(n.) *\*tɬhar-t-a* ‘scratch, incision’

313. Proto-Afrasian *\*tɬ[e]r-* ‘(vb.) to burn, to roast; (n.) warmth, scorching heat; (adj.) burned, roasted, parched’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tɬar-ap-* ‘to burn’ > Hebrew *šaraḥ* [שָׂרַח] ‘to burn’; Ugaritic *šrp* ‘to burn’; Akkadian *šarāpu* ‘to burn’; Mehri *šarūf* ‘to build up sticks for a fire’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šérōf* ‘to build a fire to heat milk-heating stones’; Ḥarsūsi *šerōf* ‘to roast meat with hot stones’. Murtonen 1989:438; Klein 1987:683.

Proto-Semitic *\*tḏar-ab-* ‘to burn, to parch’ > Hebrew *šārāḇ* [שָׂרַב] ‘burning heat, parched ground’ (this may be a loan from Aramaic); Aramaic *šaraḇ* ‘to be parched’, *šaraḇ* ‘heat, drought’. Murtonen 1989:437; Klein 1987:680; Militarev 2010:56 Proto-Semitic *\*šrp*.

- B. Egyptian *srf* (< *\*srf*) ‘(vb.) to warm; (n.) warmth’. Hannig 1995:729; Faulkner 1962:236; Erman—Grapow 1921:166 and 1926—1963.4:195—196; Gardiner 1957:591.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*tḏher-* (Bomhard 2014.3:662—664, no. 597):  
 (vb.) *\*tḏher-* ‘to burn, to roast’;  
 (n.) *\*tḏher-a* ‘ash(es), charcoal, burnt wood; firewood’; (adj.) ‘burned, heated, roasted, charred, parched’

314. Proto-Afrasian *\*tḏiṣ(a)r-* (n.) ‘hair’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:123—124, no. 538, *\*čaṣar-* ‘hair’; Militarev 2011:73 Proto-Afrasian *\*čVṣar-*); Ehret 1995:429, no. 889, *\*t-ḏr-* or *\*t-rḏ-* ‘hair’: Proto-Semitic *\*tḏr-*):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tḏaṣr-/tḏiṣr-* ‘hair; hairy’ > Hebrew *šē’ār* [שֵׁעָר] ‘hair’; Syriac *sa’rā* ‘hair’; Mandaic *sara* ‘hair’; Arabic *ša’r* ‘hair; bristles; fur, pelt’, *ša’rānī* ‘hairy’; Akkadian *šārtu* ‘hairy skin’; Ugaritic *š’rt* ‘hair’; Ḥarsūsi *sōr* ‘hair, wool’; Mehri *šēr* ‘straw’; Šheri / Jibbāli *śá’ar* ‘dry grass, straw’; Soqotri *śá’ar* ‘straw’; Geez / Ethiopic *šə’art* [ሥዕርት] ‘hair of body or head’, *maš’art* [መሥዕርት] ‘comb, wooden headrest’. Diakonoff 1992:18 *\*čaṣar-* ‘hair’; Murtonen 1989:433; Klein 1987:673; Leslau 1987:525; Zammit 2002:239—240; Militarev 2008:199 and 2011:73 Proto-Semitic *\*šaṣar(-t)-*.
- B. Egyptian (Demotic) *s’rt* ‘wool’, Coptic *sort* [COPT] ‘wool’ are Semitic loans (cf. Černý 1976:162; Vycichl 1983:197).
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Cushitic *\*tḏaṣf-/tḏiṣf-* or *\*laṣf-/liṣf-* ‘to claw, to scratch’ (cf. Ehret 1995:429, no. 891).
- D. Omotic (*\*tḏiṣar-* >) *\*šaHar-* ‘hair’ > Maji *saaru* ‘hair’. Assimilation of vowels in West Chadic and Omotic.
- E. Chadic: West Chadic (*\*tḏiṣar-* >) *\*tḏaHar-* ‘hair’ > Hausa *šaari* ‘hair on the chest of a ram’; Bokkos *syah-* ‘hair’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*tḏhiṣ-* (~ *\*tḏheṣ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:664—665, no. 598):  
 Extended form:  
 (vb.) *\*tḏhiṣ-V-r-* ‘to comb’;  
 (n) *\*tḏhiṣ-r-a* ‘hair’:

Note: The original meaning of this stem may have been ‘to scratch, to scrape’ (> ‘to comb’ > ‘hair’), as shown by Proto-Cushitic *\*tḏaṣf-/tḏiṣf-* or *\*laṣf-/liṣf-* ‘to claw, to scratch’ cited above. For derivation of the word for ‘hair’ from a stem with the meaning ‘to scratch, to scrape’, cf. Old

Church Slavic *kosa* ‘hair’, Serbo-Croatian *kōsa* ‘hair, wool’, etc., *o*-grade of the root found in Common Slavic *\*česati* ‘to scratch, to comb’ > Russian *česát’* [чесать] ‘to scratch, to comb’.

315. Proto-Afrasian *\*tɬut*- ‘(vb.) to cut, to split; (n.) cut, split’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tɬat*-*ar*- ‘to cut, to split’ > Arabic *šaṭara* ‘to halve, to divide into equal parts, to bisect, to cut through, to cut off, to sever’, *šaṭr* ‘partition, division, separation, halving, bisecting’; Mehri *šaṭráyr* ‘rag, strip of cloth’; Soqotri *šeṭar* ‘to tear’; Ḥarsūsi *šeṭeráyr* ‘bundle of rags or cloth’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šaṭréer* ‘rag, strip of cloth’; Gurage (Chaha) *šaṭārā* ‘to split wood into half or into big pieces, to plow a field for the first time’, (Endegeñ) (*a*)*šaṭṭārā* ‘to split wood into small pieces’, (Muher) *šaṭṭārā* ‘to cut, to split’; Tigre *sātra* ‘to split, to crack’; Harari *sētāra* ‘to split along the grain into splinters’, *sātra* ‘crack, split’, *sāčīr* ‘splinter’. Leslau 1963:137, 144 and 1979:588; Zammit 2002:238—239.

Proto-Semitic *\*tɬat*-*ak*- ‘to cut, to split’ > Akkadian *šaṭāku* ‘to cut, to separate’; Geez / Ethiopic *šaṭaka* [ʰmɸ] ‘to cut, to split, to tear asunder, to break through, to open a way’; Tigre *šaṭṭāka* ‘to split’; Gurage *šaṭṭākā* ‘to split wood in half, to plow a field for the first time’. Leslau 1979:567 and 1987:537—538.

Proto-Semitic *\*tɬat*-*at*- ‘to cut, to split, to tear’ > Arabic (Daḡina) *šaṭṭa* ‘to cut, to split, to tear’; Geez / Ethiopic *šaṭaṭa* [ʰmm] ‘to tear (apart), to rend, to rip up’; Tigre *sāṭṭa* ‘to rend’, *šaṭṭa* ‘to tear’; Tigrinya *šaṭṭāṭā*, *sāṭṭāṭā* ‘to break’; Amharic *šaṭṭāṭā* ‘to tear noisily or quickly’. Leslau 1987:538.

Arabic *šaṭaba* ‘to cut in slices or strips; to make an incision, a longitudinal cut, a slit, a slash’, *šaṭb* ‘cut, slash, incision, scratch’.

Geez / Ethiopic *šaṭaya* [ʰmɸ] ‘to tear, to lacerate, to rend, to be terror-stricken, to be dismayed’. Leslau 1987:538.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *tasəṭṭa* ‘branch cut from a thorny tree’; Tamazight *asəṭṭa* ‘branch, limb’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tasəṭṭat* ‘branch’; Riff *tasəṭṭa* ‘branch’; Kabyle *tasəṭṭa* ‘branch, limb’; Chaouia *ciḍuw* ‘branch, limb’; Zenaga *cəd* ‘to split (wood)’, *əccad* ‘stick’, *tacodda* ‘branch, cut tree’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*tɬhut*- (~ *\*tɬhot*-) (Bomhard 2014.3:668—669, no. 602):  
(vb.) *\*tɬhut*- ‘to cut, to split’;  
(n.) *\*tɬhut*-*a* ‘cut, split’

## 10.2. PROTO-AFRASIAN *\*tɬ*

316. Proto-Afrasian *\*tɬil-aɕ*- (vb.) ‘to be bent, curved, round’, *\*tɬil*-(*a*)ɕ- (n.) ‘rib’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tḏ'alaṣ-* ‘to be bent, curved, round’, *\*tḏ'ilṣ-* ‘rib’ > Akkadian *ṣēlu* ‘rib, side’; Hebrew *ṣēlāʿ* [עֲלָא] ‘rib’; Ugaritic *ṣlʿt* ‘ribs’; Arabic *ḍaliʿa* ‘to be crooked, bent, curved; to curve; to bend’, *ḍilʿ* ‘rib’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḏalʿ* ‘rib’; Mehri *ḏālaʿ* ‘rib’; Soqotri *ḏalʿ* ‘rib’. Murtonen 1989:361; Klein 1987:549.
- B. Proto-East Cushitic *\*dḏin(a)ṣ-* (< *\*dḏil(a)ṣ-*) ‘rib’ > Burji *dīn-āa* ‘rib, ribs, side of body’; Somali *dīnaʿ* ‘side’; Gidole *dīnaʿ-itt* ‘rib’; Galla / Oromo *c'ina-a* ‘rib, side of body’; Gedeo / Darasa *c'inaacca* ‘ribs, side’. Sasse 1982:64; Hudson 1989:123.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*tḏ'il-* (~ *\*tḏ'el-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:67—671, no. 604):  
 (vb.) *\*tḏ'il-* ‘to be bent, curved, round’;  
 (n.) *\*tḏ'il-a* ‘bent, curved, round thing or object’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, round’
317. Proto-Afrasian *\*tḏ'im-* ‘(vb.) to join, bind, or unite together; (n.) bond, tie, union, connection; (adj.) joined, bound, pressed, or united together; tied, harnessed, etc.’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*tḏ'am-ad-* ‘to join together, to yoke, to harness’ > Akkadian *ṣamādu* ‘to yoke, to harness’; Hebrew *ṣāmaḏ* [צָמַד] ‘to press together; to join, to couple’, *ṣemeḏ* [צֶמֶד] ‘couple, pair’; Aramaic *ṣamaḏ* ‘to bind together, to yoke’; Mandaic *ṣmd* ‘to bind, to join, to couple’; Ugaritic *ṣmd* ‘to harness’; Arabic *ḍamada* ‘to dress a wound, to twist a bandage around the head’; Sabaeen *ḍmd* ‘to yoke, to unite’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḍamada* [ፈመደ], *ṣamada* [ረመደ] ‘to yoke, to harness, to bind together, to join, to link, to subjugate’; Tigre *ṣāmda* ‘to yoke’; Tigrinya *ṣāmādā* ‘to yoke’; Gurage *ṭāmādā* ‘to join, to unite, to put together, to bring together’; Amharic *ṭāmmādā* ‘to yoke oxen’; Argobba *ṭāmmāda* ‘to yoke oxen’. Murtonen 1989:361—362; Klein 1987:550; Leslau 1979:621 and 1987:149—150.
- Proto-Semitic *\*tḏ'am-am-* ‘to join together’ > Arabic *ḍamma* ‘to bring together, to join, to draw together, to contract; to gather, to collect, to reap, to harvest; to unite; to embrace; to combine, to close, to compress; to grasp, to grip, to grab, to seize’; Hebrew *ṣāmam* [צָמַם] ‘to be pressed together, restrained; (hif.) to restrain, to tie up’, *ṣammāh* [צָמַח] ‘woman’s veil’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḏimm* ‘to enlist; to be reunited’; Mehri *ḏam* ‘to join up, to enlist’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḍamama* [ፈመመ] ‘to bind, to tie around, to patch up, to restrain (appetite)’; Amharic *ḥāmāḥḥāmā* ‘to bind’, *ṭāmāṭṭāmā* ‘to wrap (a scarf around the head or neck), to wind (a bandage, turban, etc.), to tie a package with a string, to coil up (tr.)’; Tigre *ṣāmma* ‘to squeeze together’. Murtonen 1989:361; Klein 1987:550; Leslau 1987:150; Zammit 2002:265.
- B. Egyptian *dmm* ‘to unite with’, *dmṣ* ‘to bind together’, *dmi* ‘to join, to bring together’, *dmḏ* ‘to assemble, to bring together, to unite’; Coptic *tōōme*

[**ṭwɔmɛ**] ‘to join’. Gardiner 1957:602; Hannig 1995:978, 979, and 979—980; Faulkner 1962:312 and 313; Erman—Grapow 1921:214 and 1926—1963.5:451, 5:453—455, 5:457—459; Vycichl 1983:215; Černý 1976:187.

- C. Berber: Tuareg *əzmi* ‘to sew, to be sewn’, *ažamay* ‘the act of sewing, being sewn, sewing’; Siwa *əzmi* ‘to sew’, *ažamma* ‘rattan’; Ghadames *əzmək* ‘to sew’; Tamazight *azmu* ‘rattan’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tasmi* ‘small needle’, *azzmay* ‘rattan’; Zenaga *azməy* ‘to sew’, *azməy* ‘sewing’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*tɫ'im-* (~ *\*tɫ'em-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:671—673, no. 605):  
 (vb.) *\*tɫ'im-* ‘to join, bind, press, or unite together’;  
 (n.) *\*tɫ'im-a* ‘bond, tie, union, connection’; (adj.) ‘joined, bound, pressed, or united together; tied, harnessed, glued, etc.’





## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### GLIDES AND LIQUIDS

Proto-Afrasian	*w	*y	*l	*r
Proto-Semitic	*w	*y	*l	*r
Ancient Egyptian	w 𓂏	i 𓂏 y 𓂏	n 𓂏 r 𓂏 𓂏 i 𓂏	r 𓂏 𓂏
Proto-Berber	*w	*y	*l	*r
Proto-East Cushitic	*w	*y	*l	*r
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*w	*y	*l	*r
Proto-Chadic	*w	*y	*l	*r

#### 11.1. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*w

318. Proto-Afrasian \*wa- 1st person personal pronoun stem: ‘I, me; we, us’:

- A. Egyptian (1st sg. dependent pronoun) *wī* ‘I, me; my’. Hannig 1995:179; Gardiner 1957:45, §43, and 560; Faulkner 1962:56; Erman—Grapow 1921:33 and 1926—1963.1:270—271; Loprieno 1995:64.
- B. Chadic: Ngizim (1st pl. inclusive) *wà* ‘we, us; our(s)’. Schuh 1981:170.
- C. Omotic: Hamar (general, stem-form) *wo* ‘we’, (independent, *a*-form) *wosi*, *wodi*, (dependent, *no*-form) *won*; (possessive, stem-form) *wono* ‘ours’, (possessive, *a*-form) *wontia*, (possessive, *na*-form) *wonna*, (possessive *no*-form) *wonno*. Bender 2000:196; Lydall 1976:414—415.

← Proto-Nostratic 1st person personal pronoun stem \*wa- (~ \*wə-) ‘I, me; we, us’ (Bomhard 2014.3:865—866, no. 779)

319. Proto-Afrasian \*waf- ‘(vb.) to call, to cry out, to shout; (n.) cry, howl, clamor, shout, noise’ (Ehret 1995:470, no. 990, \*waf- ‘to yell’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) \*waf-waf- ‘to cry out, to shout, to howl’ > Arabic *waʿwaʿa* ‘to howl, to yelp, to bark, to bay’; Geez / Ethiopic *wawwəʿa* [wə-w], *wawwəʿa* [wə-w] ‘to clamor, to raise a shout, to shout loudly, to cry aloud, to howl, to roar, to wail’, *wəwwəʿā* [wə-w], *wawwəʿā* [wə-w] ‘clamor, shout, noise, cry, thunder’; Tigre *wāwʿa*, *wāʿa* ‘to cry loudly’; Amharic *wa*, *wawa* ‘sound of a crow’; Gurage *wawat* ‘crow’. Leslau 1987:623; D. Cohen 1970— :572—573.

- B. Egyptian *wʕ3* ‘to cry out, to conjure, to curse, to blaspheme’; Coptic *wa* [ⲱⲃ] ‘blasphemy’. Hannig 1995:182; Faulkner 1962:57; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:279; Vycichl 1983:229; Černý 1976:208.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*waʕ-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’ > Saho *waʕ-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Somali *waʕ-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Rendille *waḥ-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Dasenech *veʔ-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Elmolo *weʔ-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Galla / Oromo *waa-m-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Dullay *oʕ-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’. Sasse 1979:42; Heine 1978:76. Central Cushitic: Bilin *waʕ y-* ‘to cry, to shout’; Kemant *əw y-* ‘to cry, to shout’; Awngi / Awiya *əwáy n-* ‘to cry, to shout’. Appleyard 2006:50. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*waaʕ-* ‘to curse, to revile’ > Asa *waʔam-* ‘to curse, to revile’; Dahalo *waaʕ-* ‘to curse, to revile’. Ehret 1980:313.
- D. Chadic: Proto-Chadic *\*wa-* ‘to call’ > Bachama *wá* ‘to call’; Mubi *waa* ‘to call’; Tumak *wəg* ‘to call’. Newman 1977:23; Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:58—59.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*waʕ-* (~ *\*wəʕ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:867—868, no. 781):  
 (vb.) *\*waʕ-* ‘to call, to cry out, to shout’;  
 (n.) *\*waʕ-a* ‘cry, howl, clamor, shout, noise’
320. Proto-Afrasian *\*wad-* ‘(vb.) to take away, to lead, to carry off, to bring; (n.) the act of taking, leading, carrying, bringing’ (Ehret 1995:455, no. 954, *\*wad-* ‘to move’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*wad-ay-* ‘to take away, to carry off or away, to lead to, to bring’ > Arabic *wadā* (inf. *tawdiya-t*) ‘to carry one off; to send, to bring, to lead to’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *wudi* ‘to take away’; Ḥarsūsi *awēd* ‘to turn away’; Mehri *awōdi* ‘to take away’. D. Cohen 1970— :500.
- B. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*wad-* ‘to carry’ > Kʼwadza *walit-* ‘to wear’; Asa *wades-* ‘to lift, to carry’; Dahalo *wad-*, *wadaṭ-* ‘to carry’. Ehret 1980:311.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*wad-* (~ *\*wəd-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:868—869, no. 782):  
 (vb.) *\*wad-* ‘to take, to lead, to carry, to bring’;  
 (n.) *\*wad-a* ‘the act of taking, leading, carrying, bringing’
321. Proto-Afrasian *\*waḥ-* ‘(vb.) to strike, to stab, to wound; (n.) wound, scar; knife, sword, blade, spear(head)’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:524, no. 2509, *\*waḥ-* ‘to break’; Ehret 1995:457, no. 960, *\*waḥ-* ‘to cut’ [Proto-Cushitic *\*wahr-* or *\*warḥ-* ‘large blade’]):
- A. Egyptian *wh3* ‘to hew or cut stone, to reap (crops), to pluck (flowers, plants)’, *whs* ‘to cut off (hair), to kill (rebels), to quell (tumult)’, *whʕ* ‘to wound, to stab with a knife, to sting (of a scorpion)’, *whi-t*, *whʕ-t*

‘scorpion’; Coptic *woʔohe* [oʔoʔe] (< \**waʕha-t* < \**wahha-t*) ‘scorpion’. Hannig 1995:209, 210, and 212; Faulkner 1962:66 and 67; Erman—Grapow 1921:39 and 1926—1963.1:346, 1:347, and 1:351; Vycichl 1983:242; Černý 1976:223.

- B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic \**waḥar-* ‘large blade’ > Ma’a *kawahá* ‘knife’, *muwahá* ‘sword’; Dahalo *wáraḥa* (with metathesis of *-ḥ-* and *-r-*) ‘spear, spearhead’. Ehret 1980:312, no. 10, \**warah-* ‘large blade’.
- C. Chadic: Central Chadic: Gisiga *wah-* ‘to break’.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**waḥ-* (~ \**wəḥ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:869—870, no. 783):  
 (vb.) \**waḥ-* ‘to strike, to stab, to wound’;  
 (n.) \**waḥ-a* ‘wound, scar; knife, sword, blade, spear(head)’

322. Proto-Afrasian \**wal-* ‘(vb.) to cry out, to call out, to lament; (n.) sound, noise, cry, wail, lamentation, howl, hubbub’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:526, no. 2519, \**wal-* ‘lamentation, weep’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**wal-* (\**wal-al-*, \**wal-wal-*) ‘to lament, to wail’ > Arabic *walwala* ‘to cry “woe”, to lament, to wail, to howl, to break into loud wails’, *walwala* (pl. *walāwil*) ‘wailing, wails’; Hebrew *yelel* [לֵל] (base *yll* [לל]) ‘to wail, to howl, to lament’ [< \**wll*]) ‘wailing, howling, lamenting’; Imperial Aramaic \**yll* ‘to wail, to lament’. Klein 1987:259; D. Cohen 1970—:542—544; Murtonen 1989:215.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *awal* ‘speech, language; birdsong, croaking of frogs, hissing of snakes’, *siwəl* ‘to speak’, *əməssəwəll* ‘talkative, chatty, wordy’; Siwa *siwəl* ‘to speak’; Nefusa *awal* ‘speech’, *siwəl* ‘to speak, to call’; Ghadames *awal* ‘speech, language’; Mzab *awal* ‘speech, word’; Wargla *awal* ‘speech, word’; Tamazight *awal* ‘speech, word, expression, language, gossip, story’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *awal* ‘speech’, *sawəl* ‘to speak’; Riff *awal* ‘speech, word, discourse, conversation’, *siwəl*, *siwər* ‘to speak’; Kabyle *awal* ‘speech, word; proverb’, *siwəl* ‘to call; to say; to resonate, to resound’, *sawwal* ‘to make an echo’; Chaouia *awal* ‘word, speech’, *awəl* ‘to speak, to talk’, *ssiwəl* ‘to interpret, to call’; Zenaga *awəḡ* ‘speech, word, language’, *siwəḡ* ‘to speak’.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic \**wal-/wil-* ‘cry, sob’ > Angas *wāl* ‘cry, sob’; Chip *wil* ‘cry, sob’. East Chadic \**wal-* ‘funeral song’ > Sokoro *olu* ‘funeral song’.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**wal-* (~ \**wəl-*) (Bomhad 2014.3:874—875, no. 787):  
 (vb.) \**wal-* ‘to cry out, to call out, to shout’;  
 (n.) \**wal-a* ‘sound, noise, cry, wail, lamentation, howl, hubbub’

323. Proto-Afrasian \**wal-* ‘(vb.) to go, to go away, to depart; (n.) departure, flight, escape’:

- A. Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *walaga* [ወለገ] ‘to sneak away from a task, to slip away’; Amharic *wällägä*, *wallägä* ‘to sneak away from a task’. D. Cohen 1970— :545; Leslau 1987:613.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic \**waal-* ‘to come’ > Gedeo / Darasa *waal-* ‘to leave (something), to divorce’; Hadiyya (imptv. pl.) *waalle* ‘come!’; Kambata *waal-* ‘to come’. Hudson 1989:43.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**wal-* (~ \**wəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:875—876, no. 788):  
 (vb.) \**wal-* ‘to go, to go away, to depart’;  
 (n.) \**wal-a* ‘departure, flight, escape’
324. Proto-Afrasian \**wal-* ‘(vb.) to flow, to wet, to moisten; (n.) flow, trickle; wetness, moisture, dampness; (adj.) wet, damp’:
- A. Semitic: Arabic *waliḥa-t* ‘well-watered, rich in vegetation’. D. Cohen 1970— :550.
- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Burji *wáall-a* ‘cloud, fog’. Sasse 1982: 186—187 (Sasse notes that *wáall-a* may be a loan from Omotic). For the semantics, cf. Old High German *wolchan*, *wolkan* ‘cloud’ from the same stem found in *welh* ‘wet’, *welc*, *welch* ‘damp, wet’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**wal-* (~ \**wəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:876—877, no. 789):  
 (vb.) \**wal-* ‘to flow, to wet, to moisten’;  
 (n.) \**wal-a* ‘flow, trickle; wetness, moisture, dampness’; (adj.) ‘wet, damp’
325. Proto-Afrasian \**wal-* ‘(vb.) to revolve; (n.) circle, circumference; turn, rotation; (adj.) round’ (Ehret 1995:460, no. 968, \**wel-* or \**wal-* ‘to go round’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**wal-ay-* ‘to turn to or towards, to turn away, to turn around’ > Arabic *waliya* ‘to turn (to or towards); to turn away, to avoid, to shun; to turn around, to turn back, to wheel around, to flee’; Ḥarsūsi *wel* ‘towards’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ōli* ‘to turn towards, to guide someone towards’; Mehri *həwlū* ‘to turn back, to go back to, to come back, to direct oneself to’. D. Cohen 1970— :544 and 549—550.
- Proto-Semitic \**wal-ab-* ‘to turn’ > Tigre *wälläbä* ‘to turn’. D. Cohen 1970— :544; Littmann—Höfner 1962:428—429.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *awəl* ‘to turn, to change direction; to be turned; to leap (animal)’, *tawila* ‘bearing, deportment (way of turning physically [said of women])’, *wələnwilət* ‘to spin’, *wəliwəl* ‘to be spun around; to wobble; to spin by itself’; Nefusa *uləlli* ‘spider’; Wargla *əlli* ‘to surround, to encircle; to be surrounded’, *awnənni* ‘spider’; Mzab *twala* ‘side, direction’, *awləlli* ‘spider’, *əmlilləy* ‘to have vertigo’; Tamazight *lləy* ‘to turn, to swing; to stir up the air; to have vertigo’, *timləllay* ‘vertigo’, *illəy* ‘to move, to depart; to make room; to approach, to draw near’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *mlilli* ‘to have

vertigo', *timlillay* 'vertigo'; Riff *amlulli*, *amruḡḡi* 'to turn round, to revolve; to be overturned'; Kabyle *awləli* 'to spin, to rotate', *timləllay* 'vertigo'; Chaouia *iwləlli* 'spider'.

- C. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*wel-* or *\*wal-* 'to go round and round, to revolve' > Iraqw *harwel* 'to surround'; Dahalo *walam-* in *wálampáni* 'whirlwind'. Ehret 1980:314.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*walʷ-* (~ *\*wəʷlʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:879—881, no. 792):  
(vb.) *\*walʷ-* 'to turn, to roll, to revolve';  
(n.) *\*walʷ-a* 'circle, circumference; turn, rotation'; (adj.) 'round'

326. Proto-Afrasian *\*wan-* '(vb.) to stay, to remain; (n.) abode, dwelling':

- A. Semitic: Arabic *wanaka* 'to dwell amongst'. D. Cohen 1970— :562.  
B. Egyptian *wn*, *wnn* 'to be, to exist'; Coptic *won* [OYON] 'to be'. Hannig 1995:194; Faulkner 1962:62; Gardiner 1957:561 (supplies missing parts of *iw* 'is, are'); Erman—Grapow 1921:36 and 1926—1963.1:308—309; Vycichl 1983:233; Černý 1976:212—213.  
C. Cushitic: Central Cushitic: Bilin *wān-* 'to be', *wāntā* 'existence'; Xamir *wən-* 'to be'; Kemant *wan-* 'to be'. Reinisch 1887:357; Appleyard 1984:50 and 2006:29.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*wan-* (~ *\*wən-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:883, no. 795):  
(vb.) *\*wan-* 'to stay, to remain';  
(n.) *\*wan-a* 'abode, dwelling'

327. Proto-Afrasian *\*wan-* (n.) 'period (of time)':

- A. Egyptian *wnwt* 'hour, division of time'; Coptic *unu* [OYNOY] 'hour'. Hannig 1995:196—197; Faulkner 1962:61; Erman—Grapow 1921:36 and 1926—1963.1:316—317; Gardiner 1957:561; Vycichl 1983:233; Černý 1976:214.  
B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *wannuri* 'next year'. Hudson 1989:343.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*wan-a* 'share, portion, period (of time)' (Bomhard 2014.3: 883—884, no. 796)

328. Proto-Afrasian *\*wan-* '(vb.) to bend, to twist; to be bent, twisted, crooked; (n.) bend, curve; (adj.) crooked, bent, curved':

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*wan-aw/y-* 'to twist, to press, to deceive' > Old Akkadian *wanāʾum* 'to press, to oppress; to deceive, to trick'; Hebrew *yānāh* [נָנָה] 'to oppress, to tread down, to trample underfoot; to deceive, to

trick, to cheat, to delude, to bamboozle, to mistreat, to vex, to annoy, to irritate'; Aramaic *yənī* 'to oppress, to take advantage of'; Arabic *wanā* 'to be or become faint, weak, tired, dispirited, despondent, sapless, effete; to lose vigor, to flag, to languish'. D. Cohen 1970— :562; Murtonen 1989:216; Klein 1987:260; Zammit 2002:442.

- B. Egyptian *wn* 'to do wrong, to commit a sin or a fault', *wn* 'defect, error, fault, mistake, offense', *wnnw* 'evildoer', *wn-ty* 'transgressor, offender', *wn* 'a sinful or erring man, one who cheats', *wn-ib* 'an evil-hearted man'. Hannig 1995:196; Gardiner 1957:561; Faulkner 1962:61; Erman—Grapow 1921:36 and 1926—1963.1:314.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*wan-* (~ *\*wən-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:884—887, no. 798):  
(vb.) *\*wan-* 'to bend';  
(n.) *\*wan-a* 'bend, curve'; (adj.) 'crooked, bent, curved'

329. Proto-Afrasian *\*war-* (n.) 'man, male, male animal' (Orël—Stolbova 1995: 527, no. 2527, *\*war-* 'bull, cow' [the Semitic and Highland East Cushitic forms are not in Orël—Stolbova]):

- A. Semitic: Tigre *wär'e* 'mountain goat'. D. Cohen 1970— :616; Littmann—Höfner 1962:435.  
B. Egyptian *wr* 'a kind of cattle', (f.) *wrt* 'sacred cow', *wr* 'animal'. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:331; Hannig 1995:204 and 205; Faulkner 1962:64.  
C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *war-aamo* 'older male calf; ox, bull', *wa'r-icco* 'female calf', *warbá* 'brave, strong'; Burji (pl.) *warbanna* 'young sheep, lamb', *warbi* 'ram; young sheep, lamb'; Hadiyya *waraad-icco* (pl. *waraada*) 'young man'. Hudson 1989:225, 302, and 400.  
D. Chadic: West Chadic *\*warar-* 'vicious bull' > Hausa *waaraarii* 'vicious bull'.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*war-a* 'man, male, male animal' (Bomhard 2014.3:888—889, no. 800)

330. Proto-Afrasian *\*war-* '(vb.) to stretch, to extend, to expand; (adj.) wide, broad; (n.) width, breadth' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:528, no. 2529, *\*war-/\*ɣur-* 'to be big, to be strong'; Ehret 1995:463, no. 974, *\*war-/\*wir-* 'to grow [person, animal]'):

- A. Semitic: Arabic *warafa* 'to stretch, to extend, to become long (shadow)'; (?) Tigre *wärfä* 'to do more than necessary (for instance, drink)'. D. Cohen 1970— :632. Geez / Ethiopic *ward* [ወርድ], *warad* [ወረድ] 'breadth, length'; Tigrinya *wärdi* 'breadth, length'; Amharic *wärd* 'breadth, length'. D. Cohen 1970— :619. According to Leslau (1987:617) the Ethiopian

forms are from Arabic *ʿard* ‘breadth, length’. Leslau notes that this form is also found in Cushitic: Saho *warde* ‘breadth, length’.

- B. Egyptian *wr*, *wrr* ‘great; much, many’, *wr* ‘greatness (of size), sufficiency, excess’, *wrt* ‘greatness (of rank)’, *wr* ‘great one, magnate; chief’, *wr* ‘how much?’; Coptic *wēre* [ⲱⲛⲣⲉ] ‘great’, *wēr* [ⲱⲛⲣ] ‘how much?, how many?’. Hannig 1995:201—202 and 204; Faulkner 1962:63 and 64; Erman—Grapow 1921:37, 38 and 1926—1963.1:326—331; Gardiner 1957:561; Vycichl 1983:236; Černý 1976:214 and 215.
- C. Chadic: Angas *war-ŋ* ‘big’; Ankwe *warr* ‘strength’; Galambu *war-* ‘to surpass’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*war-* (~ *\*wər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:891—892, no. 803):

- (vb.) *\*war-* ‘to stretch, to extend, to expand’;  
 (n.) *\*war-a* ‘width, breadth, length’; (adj.) ‘wide, broad’  
 Probably identical to:  
 (vb.) *\*war-* ‘to raise, to elevate, to grow, to increase’;  
 (n.) *\*war-a* ‘uppermost, highest, or topmost part’

331. Proto-Afrasian *\*war-* ‘(vb.) to raise, to elevate, to grow, to increase; (n.) uppermost, highest, or topmost part’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*war-am-* ‘to raise, to elevate, to grow, to increase, to swell’ > Arabic *warima* ‘to be swollen; to swell, to become swollen; to cause to swell, to inflate’, *waram* ‘swelling, intumescence, tumor’, *tawarrum* ‘swelling, rising, intumescence’; Syriac *ʿawrēm* ‘to magnify, to raise to honor’; Mandaic *iwrāma* ‘high ground; strong, violent (wind)’; Tigrinya *wāram* ‘balloon’. D. Cohen 1970— :630—631.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *tawrirt* ‘cone-shaped pile (of wheat, dates, grain, sand, etc.)’; Mzab *awrir* ‘mountain, large hill’, *tawrirt* ‘hill, mound’; Tamazight *awrir* ‘high ground, hill, knoll, hillock’, *tawrirt* ‘hill’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tawrirt* ‘hill’; Kabyle *awrir* ‘high ground, knoll, hillock’, *tawrirt* ‘hill, knoll, hillock’; Chaouia *tawrirt* ‘hill’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*war-* (~ *\*wər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:892—894, no. 804):

- (vb.) *\*war-* ‘to raise, to elevate, to grow, to increase’;  
 (n.) *\*war-a* ‘uppermost, highest, or topmost part’  
 Probably identical to:  
 (vb.) *\*war-* ‘to stretch, to extend, to expand’;  
 (n.) *\*war-a* ‘width, breadth, length’; (adj.) ‘wide, broad’

332. Proto-Afrasian *\*war-* ‘(vb.) to burn, to blaze; (n.) blaze, flame, heat, warmth’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:528, no. 2528, *\*war-* ‘(vb.) to burn; (n.) flame’; Ehret 1995:462, no. 973, *\*war-* ‘light’):

- A. Semitic: Arabic *warā* (base *wry* [ورى]) ‘to kindle, to fire, to strike fire; to burn, to blaze’. Zammit 2002:431—432.
- B. Egyptian *wrt* ‘flame, fire’, (reduplicated) *wʒwʒt* ‘fire, glow’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:250 and 1:332; Faulkner 1962:53 *wʒwʒt* ‘fiery one’ (?); Hannig 1995:172.
- C. Cushitic: Southern Cushitic: Iraqw *warʔes-* ‘to flash (of lightning)’. Ehret 1980:312.
- D. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*war-* ‘to roast’ > Zime *wor-* ‘to roast’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*war-* (~ *\*wər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:894—895, no. 805):  
 (vb.) *\*war-* ‘to burn, to blaze’;  
 (n.) *\*war-a* ‘blaze, flame, heat, warmth’
333. Proto-Afrasian *\*war-/wir-* ‘(vb.) to say, to speak, to tell, to point out, to make known; (n.) news, report, gossip, speech’ (Ehret 1995:462, no. 972, *\*war-/wir-* ‘to call out’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*war-ay-* ‘to say, to speak, to tell, to point out, to make known’ > Arabic *warā* (base *wry* [ورى]) ‘to show’; Sabaean *wry* ‘to make known, to announce’; Geez / Ethiopic *waraya* [ወረዳ] ‘to tell news, to narrate’, *ware* [ወረ] ‘news’; Tigrinya *wäre* ‘notice, fame’; Tigre *wära* ‘to announce’, *wäre* ‘communication’; Amharic *wäre* ‘news’. Leslau 1987:618.  
 Arabic (reduplicated) *warwara* ‘to sharpen one’s look, to look sharply at; to speak fast’. D. Cohen 1970— :623—624.
- B. Egyptian (Demotic) *wʒh* ‘message, matter, news’; Coptic *wō* [ⲱⲟ] ‘news, report’. Vycichl 1983:230; Černý 1976:210.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*war-* ‘to make known, to tell news’ > Burji *waar-iy-* ‘to tell’; Saho-Afar *war-e* ‘news’; Somali *war* ‘news’; Sidamo *waar-* ‘to gossip, to tell (news), to talk, to speak’, *wor-e* ‘noteworthy thing’; Hadiyya *wor-e* ‘fame’; Galla / Oromo *war-ee* ‘fame’. Sasse 1979:42 and 1982:187; Hudson 1989:225 and 399. Proto-East Cushitic (caus. mid.) *\*war-s-t-* ‘to inquire about news’ > Burji *wors-ad-* ‘to ask’; Afar *war-is-*, *war-s-it-* ‘to tell news’; Somali *war-s-ad-* ‘to get news’; Rendille *war-s-ad-*, *wor-s-ad-* ‘to ask’. Hudson 1989:22; Sasse 1979:42 and 1982:181.
- D. Omotic: Mocha *wóro* ‘news’.
- E. Chadic: Ngizim *wəřdú* ‘to cry out’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*war-* (~ *\*wər-*) and/or *\*wir-* (~ *\*wer-*) (Bomhard 2014.3: 895—896, no. 806):  
 (vb.) *\*war-* and/or *\*wir-* ‘to say, to speak, to tell, to point out, to make known’;  
 (n.) *\*war-a* and/or *\*wir-a* ‘news, report, gossip, speech’



334. Proto-Afrasian *\*was<sup>y</sup>*- ‘(vb.) to be or become worn out, tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted; (n.) weariness, fatigue, exhaustion’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*was<sup>y</sup>-in-* ‘to sleep, to go to sleep, to be asleep’ (originally ‘to be tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted, sleepy’) > Hebrew *\*yāšēn* [ʔʃ̂] ‘to sleep, to go to sleep, to be asleep’, *yāšēn* [ʔʃ̂] ‘sleeping’; Ugaritic *yšn* ‘to sleep’; Arabic *wasina* ‘to sleep, to slumber’, *wasan* ‘deep sleep, slumber, nap’, *wasnān* ‘in deep sleep, slumbering, sleepy, lazy’. D. Cohen 1970— :647 (Cohen notes that Fronzaroli thought it necessary to posit two separate stems for Proto-Semitic: *\*wašin-* ‘asleep’ and *\*šin-at-* ‘sleep’); Klein 1987:266; Murtonen 1989:223—224; Zammit 2002:434.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *iwhar* ‘to be old’, *zəwhər* ‘to cause to become old, to cause to age’, *tuhere* ‘old age’; Tawlemmet *ucar* ‘to grow old’, *tucəray* ‘old age’; Nefusa *usər* ‘to be old’, *awəssar* ‘old’; Ghadames *usər* ‘to be old’, *awəssar* ‘an old man’ (f. *tawəssart*); Mzab *əwsər* ‘to be or become old’, *awəssar* ‘old’; Tamazight *wsir* ‘to be old, to grow old’, *ssəwir* ‘to cause to become old, to cause to age’, *tusər* ‘old age, decrepitude’, *awəssar* ‘old’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *iwsir* ‘to grow old’, *tawssərt* ‘old age’; Riff *usər* ‘to be old, to grow old’, *tussər* ‘old age’, *awəssar* ‘old; old man’ (f. *tawəssart*); Kabyle *iwsir* ‘to be old, to be very old, to be decrepit’, *awəssar* ‘old, decrepit’; Chaouia *usər* ‘to be old’, *tuser* ‘old age, senility’, *awəssar* ‘old, old man’ (f. *tawəssart*).

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*was<sup>y</sup>*- (~ *\*wəs<sup>y</sup>*-) (Bomhard 2014.3:896—897, no. 807):  
 (vb.) *\*was<sup>y</sup>*- ‘to be or become worn out, tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted’;  
 (n.) *\*was<sup>y</sup>-a* ‘weariness, fatigue, exhaustion’  
 Identical to:  
 (vb.) *\*was<sup>y</sup>*- ‘to crush, to grind, to pound, to wear out; to wither, to fade, to rot away, to waste away, to dry up, to decay’;  
 (n.) *\*was<sup>y</sup>-a* ‘the act of crushing, grinding, pounding; wasting away, decay, decomposition’

335. Proto-Afrasian *\*was<sup>y</sup>*- ‘(vb.) to crush, to grind, to pound, to wear out; to wither, to fade, to rot away, to waste away, to dry up, to decay; (n.) the act of crushing, grinding, pounding; wasting away, decay, decomposition’:

- A. Egyptian *wš* ‘to fall out (of hair), to be destroyed’, *wšr* ‘to dry up, to be barren, to be despoiled’. Erman—Grapow 1921:41 and 1926—1963.1:368, 1:374; Hannig 1995:218 and 221; Faulkner 1962:70; Gardiner 1957:562.
- B. Omotic: Yemsa / Janjero *waaša* ‘to scratch, to prepare ensete (by scraping the stem in order to separate the starchy pulp from the fiber)’. Also found in Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *waasa* ‘ensete food’; Hadiyya *waasa* ‘ensete food’; Kambata *waasa* ‘ensete food’; Sidamo *waasa* ‘ensete food’. Hudson 1989:57.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*was<sup>y</sup>-* (~ *\*wəs<sup>y</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:897—898, no 808):  
 (vb.) *\*was<sup>y</sup>-* ‘to crush, to grind, to pound, to wear out; to wither, to fade, to rot away, to waste away, to dry up, to decay’;  
 (n.) *\*was<sup>y</sup>-a* ‘the act of crushing, grinding, pounding; wasting away, decay, decomposition’  
 Identical to:  
 (vb.) *\*was<sup>y</sup>-* ‘to be or become worn out, tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted’;  
 (n.) *\*was<sup>y</sup>-a* ‘weariness, fatigue, exhaustion’
336. Proto-Afrasian *\*was-* ‘(vb.) to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up; (n.) augmentation, increase, addition, increment; (adj.) increased, augmented, heaped up, filled, full’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*was-ak-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’ > Geez / Ethiopic *wassaka* [ወሰከ] ‘to add, to join to, to augment, to supplement, to increase’, *wassakot* [ወሰኩት] ‘increase, increment’, *wässāke* [ወ-ሰከ] ‘addition, increment, increase, extra amount’; Tigrinya *wässākä* ‘to add’; Tigre *wässākä* ‘to add’; Amharic *wässākä* ‘to add’; (?) Akkadian *esēhu* (Mari *esēku*) ‘to assign, to apportion (lots)’. D. Cohen 1970— :568; Leslau 1987:619—620.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*was-ak-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’ > Arabic *wasaka* ‘to store, to heap up, to load freight’. D. Cohen 1970— :571—572; Zammit 2002:433.
- B. Egyptian *wsr* ‘to be rich, wealthy; to be strong, mighty, powerful’, *wsr* ‘a wealthy man’, *wsrw* ‘strength, power, might’, *wsrw-t* ‘strength, power, might’, (causative) *swsr* ‘to make powerful’. Hannig 1995:215; Faulkner 1962:69; Gardiner 1957:562; Erman—Grapow 1921:40 and 1926—1963. 1:360—363.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*waš-* (~ *\*wəš-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:898—899, no. 809):  
 (vb.) *\*waš-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’;  
 (n.) *\*waš-a* ‘augmentation, increase, addition, increment’; (adj.) ‘increased, augmented, heaped up, filled, full’
337. Proto-Afrasian *\*wat-* ‘(vb.) to pass (of time); to grow old, to age; (n.) year, age; (adj.) old’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*wat-ar-* ‘to continue (for a long time)’ > Ugaritic *wtr-hd* ‘everlasting’; Arabic *watara*, *ʔawtara* ‘to follow in uninterrupted succession, to continue regularly’; Epigraphic South Arabian *wtr-ʔl* ‘everlasting God’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔawtara* [አውተረ] ‘to do something with attention, to direct attention to, to pursue earnestly, to fix (the eyes upon), to persevere, to continue, to be assiduous’, *watr* [ወተር] ‘uninterrupted time, continuous period of time’, *watra* [ወተረ] ‘continually, perpetually,

assiduously, frequently, always, often’, *watura* [ወተረ] ‘continuously, entirely’; Tigrinya *wātru* ‘always, continuously’; Amharic *wātro* ‘always, continually, as in the past’; Gurage (Muher) (*a*)*zwättärä* ‘to do something often’ (denominative from [Geez / Ethiopic] *za-watr* [ዘወተር] ‘often’). Leslau 1979:718 and 1987:622; D. Cohen 1970— :654; Zammit 2002: 426—427.

B. Egyptian *wti* ‘to be old’, *wtw*, *wtwī* ‘oldest son’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:377 and 1:378; Hannig 1995:223.

C. (?) Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *watara* ‘young of animals’; Kambata *watara*, (f.) *watara-t*, (f. pl.) *watarra-t* ‘young of animals’, *waataan-cu* ‘calf, young; new-born’. Hudson 1989:172—173. Assuming semantic development as in Sanskrit *vatsá-h* ‘yearling, calf, the young of any animal’ from the same stem found in Greek *ἔτος*, *ἔτος* ‘year’ and Hittite (acc. sg.) *ú-it-tan* ‘year’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*wath-* (~ *\*wath-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:899—900, no. 810):  
(vb.) *\*wath-* ‘to pass (of time); to grow old, to age’;  
(n.) *\*wath-a* ‘year, age’; (adj.) ‘old’

338. Proto-Afrasian *\*wat-* ‘(vb.) to call, to speak, to be talkative; (n.) sound, cry, chatter, babble, report’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:529, no. 2534, *\*wat-* ‘to call, to speak’):

A. Omotic: Proto-Omotic *\*wat-/yāt-* ‘to say, to speak’ > Ometo *ot*, *yot*, *iwet-* ‘to say, to speak’; Yemsa / Janjero *it-* ‘to say, to speak’; Bench / Gimira *ayt-* ‘to say, to speak’.

B. Chadic: West Chadic *\*wat-* ‘to call’ > Pero *wat-* ‘to call’. Central Chadic *\*wat-* ‘to call’ > Tera *wat-* ‘to call’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*wath-* (~ *\*wath-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:901, no. 811):  
(vb.) *\*wath-* ‘to say, to speak, to be talkative’;  
(n.) *\*wath-a* ‘sound, cry, chatter, babble, report’

339. Proto-Afrasian *\*way* exclamation: ‘woe!’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*way* exclamation: ‘woe!’ > Akkadian *ai* ‘woe!’; Syriac *wāy* ‘woe!’; Arabic *way* ‘woe!, shame!’; Soqotri *woy* ‘woe!’; Geez / Ethiopic *way* [ወይ] ‘woe!, ah!, alas!’; Tigrinya *wāy*, *way* ‘woe!’; Tigre *wāy* ‘woe!’; Harari *wāy* ‘woe!, misery’; Amharic *wāyy*, *wāyyo*, *wāyyāw*, *awāyy*, *awayy* ‘woe!’; Gurage *wa*, (Eža) *way* exclamation expressing pain: ‘woe!’. Leslau 1963:162, 1979:639, and 1987:623; D. Cohen 1970— :531; Zammit 2002:443.

B. Egyptian *wy* ‘woe!’; Coptic *woy* [ⲱⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ] ‘woe!’. Hannig 1995:179; Vycichl 1983:230; Černý 1976:209.

- C. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *way* ‘alas!’; Quara *wē* ‘alas!’. Reinisch 1895: 240.
- D. Chadic: Hausa *wāi* ‘woe!’.

← Proto-Nostratic exclamation *\*way* ‘woe!’ (Bomhard 2014.3:902—903, no. 813)

340. Proto-Afrasian *\*waṣ-* ‘(vb.) to flow; (n.) running water’:

Note: Orël—Stolbova (1995:530, no. 2543) reconstruct Proto-Afrasian *\*wuĉ-* ‘urine’ on the basis of the Egyptian forms cited above and several East Chadic forms. Jungrathmayr—Ibrizimow (1994.I:192), however, reconstruct Proto-East Chadic *\*wicē* ‘urine’, which cannot possibly be connected phonetically with the above Egyptian forms. Therefore, the Chadic forms are not included here.

- A. Semitic: Arabic *wazaba* ‘to flow (water)’, *mīzāb* ‘drain pipe, drain; gutter, sewer; roof gutter’. D. Cohen 1970— :515.  
     Arabic *wazaḡa* ‘to make water in jets (said especially of a she-camel which sprays its urine while walking along)’, *wazaḡ* ‘shower’. D. Cohen 1970— :517—518.
- B. Egyptian *wzš* ‘to urinate’, *wzšt* ‘urine’. Hannig 1995:217; Erman—Grapow 1921:40 and 1926—1963.1:357, 1:358; Faulkner 1962:69; Gardiner 1957:562.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*waṣ-* (~ *\*waṣṣ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:903—904, no. 814):  
 (vb.) *\*waṣ-* ‘to flow’;  
 (n.) *\*waṣ-a* ‘running water’

341. Proto-Afrasian *\*wed-* ‘(vb.) to strike (with a weapon); (n.) death, ruin, murder; strike, cut, wound, scar; weapon, axe’:

- A. Semitic: Arabic *wadā* (base *wḍy* [وَضَى]) ‘to kill, to destroy; to perish, to die; to cut off; to kill, to destroy’, *wadiʔ* ‘death, ruin, murder, destruction’. D. Cohen 1970— :500 (*ʔawdā(y)* ‘to perish’); Zammit 2002:430.
- B. Berber: Kabyle *wəddəc* ‘to hit, to beat, to strike’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*wed-* (Bomhard 2014.3:904—905, no. 815):  
 (vb.) *\*wed-* ‘to strike (with a weapon)’;  
 (n.) *\*wed-a* ‘death, ruin, murder; strike, cut, wound, scar; weapon, axe’

342. Proto-Afrasian *\*wet-* ‘(vb.) to wet, to moisten; (n.) water’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:534, no. 2563, *\*wVṭVf-* ‘to rain, to pour’ [Orël—Stolbova derive *\*wVṭVf-* from *\*ṭif-* ‘drop, rain’]):

- A. Semitic: Arabic *waṭafa* ‘to pour abundantly’, *waṭfāʔ* ‘raining abundantly (cloud)’. D. Cohen 1970— :530 WTP (1).
- B. (?) Egyptian *wdh* (later written *wḏh*) ‘to pour out, to pour off’, *wdḥw* (later written *wḏḥw*) ‘offering, offering-table’; Coptic *wōth* [ⲱⲮⲧⲚ] ‘to pour, to melt’. Hannig 1995:229; Faulkner 1962:73; Erman—Grapow 1921:43 and 1926—1963.1:393; Gardiner 1957:563; Vycichl 1983:239; Černý 1976:220. Note: Ehret (1995:455, no. 955) derives the Egyptian form from Proto-Afrasian *\*wadl-* ‘to flow’.
- C. Berber: Tuareg (Ahaggar) *ūdūf* ‘ritual ablution’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*wet-* (Bomhard 2014.3:908—909, no. 819):  
 (vb.) *\*wet-* ‘to wet, to moisten’;  
 (n.) *\*wet-a* ‘water’
343. Proto-Afrasian *\*wig-* ‘(vb.) to carry; (n.) burden, load’:
- A. Semitic: (Pre-Proto-Semitic *\*wig<sup>v</sup>-* > *\*wid<sup>v</sup>-* > *\*wəḏ-* [~ *\*waḏ-*] >) Proto-Semitic *\*waḏ-ar-* ‘to carry’ > Arabic *wazara* ‘to take a heavy burden upon oneself and carry it’, *wizr* ‘heavy burden, load’; Hebrew *wāzār* [וָזַר] ‘criminal, guilty’. D. Cohen 1970— :518—519; Murtonen 1989:213; Klein 1987:190; Zammit 2002:431—432.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*waḏ-an-* ‘to weigh’ > Arabic *wazana* ‘to weigh’, *wazn* ‘weight, measure’; Ugaritic *mznm* (base *wzn*) ‘scales, balances’; Harsūsi *wezōn* ‘to weigh’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ezūn* ‘to weigh’, *mízūn* ‘balance’; Mehri *wəzūn* ‘to weigh’. D. Cohen 1970— :517 (< *\*zn-*); Zammit 2002:432—433.
- B. Egyptian (*\*wig<sup>v</sup>-* > *\*wid<sup>v</sup>-* > *\*wḏn* >) *wdn* ‘to be heavy, to weigh’, *wdnt* ‘heavy block of stone’, *wdnw* ‘load, burden, weight’. Hannig 1995:228; Faulkner 1962:73; Erman—Grapow 1921:43 and 1926—1963.1:390.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*wig-* (~ *\*weg-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:909—911, no. 820):  
 (vb.) *\*wig-* ‘to carry, to convey’;  
 (n.) *\*wig-a* ‘burden, load; conveyance, cart, vehicle’
344. Proto-Afrasian *\*wil-* ‘(vb.) to become bright, to manifest, to appear, to come into view; (n.) appearance, manifestation; light, brightness, radiance, splendor; (adj.) bright, manifest, clear’:
- A. Berber: Tuareg *awəl* ‘to keep an eye on, to watch over, to watch’, *amāwal* ‘supervisor’; Ghadames *awall* ‘eye’; Riff *wala*, *wara* ‘to see, to perceive’, *allən* ‘eyes’; Tamazight *allən* ‘eyes’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *allən* ‘eyes’; Kabyle *wali* ‘to see, to look at; to think, to consider’, *allən* ‘eyes’.
- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *will y-* (?) ‘to appear suddenly’; Sidamo *willi y-* ‘to appear suddenly’. Hudson 1989:21. Southern Cushitic:

Proto-Rift *\*welah-* ‘to appear, to emerge into view’ > Iraqw *welahat-* ‘to appear, to emerge into view’; K’wadza *wilit-* ‘to come out of hiding’. Ehret 1980:383.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*wilʷ-* (~ *\*welʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:911—912, no. 821):  
 (vb.) *\*wilʷ-* ‘to become bright, to manifest, to appear, to come into view’;  
 (n.) *\*wilʷ-a* ‘appearance, manifestation; light, brightness, radiance, splendor’;  
 (adj.) ‘bright, manifest, clear’
345. Proto-Afrasian *\*win-* ~ *\*wan-* ‘(vb.) to be pleasant, joyful: (n.) pleasure, joy; (adj.) pleasant, joyful’:
- A. Egyptian *wnf* ‘to be joyful, to rejoice’; Coptic *unof* [ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] ‘to rejoice’. Hannig 1995:198; Faulkner 1962:61—62; Erman—Grapow 1921:36 and 1926—1963.1:319; Černý 1976:214; Vycichl 1983:235.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*win-* or *\*wan-* ‘nice, pleasant, comfortable’ > Dahalo *wine* ‘good, clean’; Iraqw *wanana* ‘soft, gentle’, *wanʷes-* ‘to soften’, *wananaʷut-* ‘to be loose’. Ehret 1980:314.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*win-* (~ *\*wen-*) or *\*wiŋ-* (~ *\*weŋ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:912—914, no. 822):  
 (vb.) *\*win-* or *\*wiŋ-* ‘to strive for, to wish for, to desire’;  
 (n.) *\*win-a* or *\*wiŋ-a* ‘wish, desire’
346. Proto-Afrasian *\*wot-* ‘(vb.) to rob; to flee; (n.) fleeing, flight’:
- Semantic development probably as follows: ‘to take, to steal, to rob’ > ‘to steal something and run away with it’ > ‘to flee, to escape, etc.’, much as the English phrase *to steal away* is used colloquially to mean ‘to flee, to escape, to go away (in secret)’.
- A. Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *wataga*, *wattaga* [ወተገ] ‘to flee, to escape, to hide (by fleeing), to rob’, *watg* [ወተገ] ‘fugitive’. D. Cohen 1970— :650; Leslau 1987:622.
- B. Egyptian *wth* ‘to flee’, *wthw* ‘fugitive’. Hannig 1995:324; Gardiner 1957:562; Faulkner 1962:71 and 72; Erman—Grapow 1921:42 and 1926—1963.1:381.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*wotʰ-* (Bomhard 2014.3:915—916, no. 825):  
 (vb.) *\*wotʰ-* ‘to take hold of, to seize, to grasp, to collect, to take away’;  
 (n.) *\*wotʰ-a* ‘the act of taking, seizing, grasping’
347. Proto-Afrasian *\*wur-* ‘(vb.) to scratch, to incise, to dig up; (n.) ditch, pit, hole’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:531, no. 2548, *\*wur-* ‘pit, hole’):

- A. Semitic: Arabic *warr-at-* ‘ditch’. D. Cohen 1970— :636.
- B. Chadic: West Chadic *\*wur-* ‘pit’ > Ngizim *wúrɪyà* ‘borrow pit; any open pit where water can collect’. Central Chadic *\*wur-* ‘hole’ > Higi Nkafa *wure* ‘hole’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*wur<sup>y</sup>-* (~ *\*wor<sup>y</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:920—921, no. 830):  
 (vb.) *\*wur<sup>y</sup>-* ‘to scratch, to incise, to dig up’;  
 (n.) *\*wur<sup>y</sup>-a* ‘pit, ditch’

## 11.2. PROTO-AFRASIAN *\*y*

348. Proto-Afrasian *\*yam-* (n.) ‘sea’ (Ehret 1995:475, no. 1002, *\*yam-* ‘body of water’, *\*yam-* ‘to submerge, to go under water’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:536, no. 2575, *\*yam-* ‘water, sea’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*yam(m)-* ‘sea’ > Akkadian *yāmu* ‘sea’ (West Semitic loan); Amorite *yammum* ‘sea’; Ugaritic *ym* ‘sea’; Hebrew *yām* [יָם] ‘sea’; Phoenician *ym* ‘sea’; Aramaic *yammā* ‘sea’; Arabic *yamm* ‘open sea’. Murtonen 1989:216; Klein 1987:259.
- B. Late Egyptian *ym* ‘sea’ (Semitic loan); Coptic *yom* [ϣⲓⲟⲙ] ‘sea’. Hannig 1995:47; Faulkner 1962:18; Erman—Grapow 1921:12 and 1926—1963.1:78; Gardiner 1957:556; Vycichl 1983:63; Černý 1976:46.
- C. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *yam* ‘water’. Reinisch 1895:242.
- D. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*yami-* ‘water’ > Tera *?yim* ‘water’; Margi *?ími* ‘water’; Higi Nkafa *jiemi* ‘water’; Fali Kiria *jiami* ‘water’; Lamang *imi/limi* ‘water’; Matakam (Kaffa) *iyâm/yâm* ‘water’; Sukur *jiam sətə/yâm* ‘water’; Gisiga *yam* ‘water’; Musgoy *yim* ‘water’; Daba *jem/yim* ‘water’; Musgum-Pus *yim* ‘water’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:340—341.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*yam-a* ‘water, sea’ (Bomhard 2014.3:860, no. 774)

349. Proto-Afrasian *\*yan-* ‘(vb.) to say, to speak; (n.) saying, word, expression’:

Note: Proto-Afrasian apparently had several stems beginning with *\*y-* with similar meanings: *\*yan-* ‘to say, to speak’ (see above), *\*yo-* ‘to say’ (cf. Ehret 1995:471, no. 991), *\*yah-* ‘to respond, to speak out in response’ (cf. Ehret 1995:472, no. 996), *\*ya-* ‘to call, to speak’ (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:534, no. 2564).

- A. Egyptian *in* ‘to say’. Hannig 1995:73; Faulkner 1962:22; Erman—Grapow 1921:13 and 1926—1963.1:89; Gardiner 1957:554.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *ənn* ‘to say’, *tinawt* ‘act of speaking, speech, discourse, spoken words, comments made with the intention of causing harm’, *tənnə*

‘act of speaking, speech, discourse’; Ghadames *ən* ‘to say’; Wargla *ini* ‘to say, to ask, to call, to name’; Mzab *ini* ‘to say’; Tamazight *ini* ‘to say, to tell, to call’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ini* ‘to say, to tell’; Riff *ini* ‘to say, to speak’; Kabyle *ini* ‘to say, to ask’; Chaouia *ini* ‘to say, to ask’.

- C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *yaan-em-* ‘to talk, to speak’. Hudson 1989:265.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*yan-* (~ *\*yən-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:861, no. 775):  
 (vb.) *\*yan-* ‘to say, to speak’;  
 (n.) *\*yan-a* ‘saying, word, expression’

350. Proto-Afrasian *\*yaw-* ‘(vb.) to produce young; (n.) youth, young person, child; (adj.) young’ (Ehret 1995:476, no. 1004, *\*yaw-* ‘to produce young’):

- A. Egyptian *īwr* ‘to conceive a child, to become pregnant’; Coptic *ōō* [ⲱⲱ] ‘to conceive a child, to become pregnant’, (qualitative) *eet* [ⲉⲉⲧ] ‘to be pregnant’. Hannig 1995:36; Erman—Grapow 1921:9 and 1926—1963.1:56; Gardiner 1957:552; Faulkner 1962:13; Vycichl 1983:248; Černý 1976:227.  
 B. Cushitic: Proto-Cushitic *\*yaw-* ~ *\*yuw-* ‘child’ > Proto-Rift *\*ya-* ‘child’ > Burunge (pl.) *yaʔay* ‘children’; Kʼwadza *yoʔo* ‘child’. Ehret 1980:384 (according to Ehret, Alagwa *hati* ‘child’, *haʔay* ‘children’ are from a different root).  
 C. Chadic: Ngizim *ʔàwú* ‘to bear, to give birth (human, animal, plant)’; Hausa *yááròò* ‘boy, child’, *ʔáá* ‘daughter’; Higi Nkafa *ye* ‘to give birth’; Matakam *ya* ‘to give birth’; Musgoy *ye* ‘to give birth’; Kabalay *yàyyà* ‘to give birth’; Somray *yà* ‘to give birth’. Schuh 1981:178; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:193 *\*yw* ~ *\*wy* ‘to give birth’ and II:74—75 and II:160—161.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*yaw-* (~ *\*yəw-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:861—863, no. 775):  
 (vb.) *\*yaw-* ‘to produce young’;  
 (n.) *\*yaw-a* ‘youth, young person, child’; (adj.) ‘young’

### 11.3. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*1

351. Proto-Afrasian *\*lab-* ‘(vb.) to eat much, to suck milk; (n.) eating, sucking’ (Ehret 1995:397, no. 808, *\*lib-* ‘to lap’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*lab-an-* ‘to eat much, to suck milk’ > Arabic *labana* ‘to eat much, to suck milk; to give milk to drink; to suckle’, *laban* ‘milk’, *labān* ‘breast’, *labīn* ‘fed on milk’, *libān* ‘sucking, nursing’.



Proto-Semitic *\*lab-ay-* ‘to eat much’ > Arabic (inf.) *laby* ‘to eat much’. Zammit 2002:364—365.

- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *laaba* ‘udder’. Hudson 1989:330.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*lab-* (~ *\*lāb-*):

(vb.) *\*lab-* ‘to eat greedily, to lap (up), to suck milk’;

(n.) *\*lab-a* ‘eating, sucking’

Possibly related to or derived from:

(vb.) *\*lab-* ‘to take hold of, to grasp’;

(n.) *\*lab-a* ‘taking, grasping’

352. Proto-Afrasian *\*lag-* ‘(vb.) to put, place, lay, or set down; (n.) the act of putting, placing, laying, or setting down’:

- A. Egyptian *ʒg* (< *\*lg*) ‘to plant, to cause to grow or sprout’. Hannig 1995:16; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:22. Assuming semantic development as in Kartvelian: Proto-Kartvelian *\*lag-/lg-* ‘to put, to plant’, (past ptc.) *\*na-rg-* (< *\*na-lg-*) ‘planted’ > Georgian *lag-* ‘to put, to place, to set, to lay’, *rg-* ‘to plant’, *narg-* ‘planted’; Mingrelian *rg-* ‘to plant’, *norg-* ‘seedling, sapling’; Laz *rg-* ‘to plant’; Svan *laǰ-/lǰ-*: *li-lǰ-eni* ‘to plant something; to attach, to fasten’. Klimov 1964:118—119 *\*lag-/lg-* and 1998:106 *\*lag-* ‘to plant’ (according to Klimov, “[t]he variant *rg-* derives from the zero grade of the stem *lg-*”).

- B. (?) Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *lagaaw-* ‘to descend, to go down’. Hudson 1989:382.

- C. Chadic: Central Chadic: Bachama *laga* ‘to plant’. Carnochan 1975:465.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*lag-* (~ *\*lāg-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1060—1061, no. 932):

(vb.) *\*lag-* ‘to put, place, lay, or set down’;

(n.) *\*lag-a* ‘the act of putting, placing, laying, or setting down’

353. Proto-Afrasian *\*laḥ-* ‘(vb.) to strike, to fight; (n.) fight, battle, slaughter’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:363, no. 1672, *\*liḥum-* ‘to kill, to fight’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*laḥ-am-* ‘(vb.) to strike, to fight; (n.) fight, battle, slaughter’ > Arabic *laḥima* ‘to join in battle, to engage in mutual massacre, to kill one another, to slaughter’, *malḥama* ‘bloody fight, slaughter, massacre, fierce battle’, *ʔiltiḥām* ‘grapple, struggle, fight, close combat’; Sabaeen *lḥm* ‘fight, brawl’; Hebrew *lāḥam* [לָחַם] ‘to fight, to do battle’, *milḥāmāh* [מִלְחָמָה] ‘battle, war’; Imperial Aramaic *mlḥm* ‘battle, war’; Ugaritic *mlḥmt* ‘battle, war’. Murtonen 1989:247; Klein 1987:298 and 349.

- B. (?) Chadic: Central Chadic *\*lim-* (< *\*liHVm-*) ‘war’ > Lamang *lāmo* ‘war’; Daba *lim* ‘war’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*laḥ-* (~ *\*ləḥ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1063—1064, no. 935):  
 (vb.) *\*laḥ-* ‘to strike, to fight’;  
 (n.) *\*laḥ-a* ‘fight, battle, slaughter’
354. Proto-Afrasian *\*lak-* (~ *\*lik-* ~ *\*luk-*) ‘(vb.) to go on foot, to travel on foot; (n.) leg, foot’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:367—368 *\*IVk-/IVk-* ‘leg’):
- A. Berber: Tuareg *əlkəm* ‘to follow, to pursue, to accompany on a trip, to follow on foot’; Tamazight *əlkəm* ‘to reach, to arrive at, to reunite with, to overtake’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əlkəm* ‘to arrive at, to reunite with, to reach’.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*lak-/lik-/luk-* ‘leg, foot’ > Saho *lak* ‘leg, foot’; Somali *lug* ‘leg, foot’; Arbore *luk-a* ‘leg, foot’; Sidamo *lekk-a* ‘leg, foot’; Bayso *luk-i* ‘leg, foot’; Galla / Oromo *luk-a* ‘thigh’; Burji *lukk-a* ‘leg’; Gedeo / Darasa *lekka-* ‘leg, foot’; Hadiyya *lokko* ‘leg, foot’; Kambata *lokka-ta* ‘leg, foot’; Elmolo *luk* ‘leg, foot’; Gidole *lukk-et* ‘leg, foot’; Alaba *lokk-a* ‘leg, foot’; Tsamay *luk-te* ‘leg, foot’; Gawwada *lux-ti* ‘leg, foot’. Sasse 1979:12 and 1982:136; Hudson 1989:66.
- ← Proto-Nostratic *\*lak<sup>h</sup>-* (~ *\*lək<sup>h</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1065—1066, no. 937):  
 (vb.) *\*lak<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to go on foot, to travel on foot’;  
 (n.) *\*lak<sup>h</sup>-a* ‘leg, foot’
355. Proto-Afrasian *\*lak’-* ~ *\*lik’-* ~ *\*luk’-* ‘to lick, to lap, to gulp down, to swallow; (n.) licking’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:363, no. 1673, *\*likam-/likim-* ‘to eat, to swallow’ [derived from *\*IVk-* ‘to lick’], 368, no. 1697, *\*IVk-* ‘to lick’; Ehret 1995:403, no. 822, *\*lak’-* ‘to lap up’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*lak’-am-* ‘to gulp down, to swallow’ > Arabic *laḳima* ‘to eat, to devour, to gobble, to swallow up’, *luḳma* ‘bite; bit, mouthful; little piece, morsel’; Mehri *alōḳəm* ‘to put into someone’s mouth’, *lātḳəm* ‘to swallow’, *əwḳəmēt* ‘mouthful’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *elōḳum* ‘to put something into someone’s mouth’, *ləḳmēt* ‘mouthful’; Soqotri *əlḳam* ‘to swallow’; Ḥarsūsi *alēḳem* ‘to make someone swallow something’, *lātḳem* ‘to swallow; to put in the mouth’, *elḳemēt* ‘piece, mouthful’; Geez / Ethiopic *laḳama* [ጸፋመ] ‘to chew on food that is hard and makes noise when it is eaten’; Tigrinya *läḳämä* ‘to eat roasted grain’; Tigre *läḳma* ‘to eat’. Leslau 1987:317; Zammit 2002:371.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*lak’-ak’-* ‘to lick, to lap’ > Arabic *laḳḳa* ‘to lick, to lap’; Hebrew *lāḳaḳ* [לָקַח] ‘to lick, to lap’. Murtonen 1989:250; Klein 1987:306.
- B. Egyptian: Coptic *lōḡ* [λoux] ‘to lick’ (Semitic loan). Vycichl 1983:102.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *əlləḡ* ‘to lick’; Siwa *əlləḡ* ‘to lick’; Nefusa *əlləḡ* ‘to lick, to lap’; Ghadames *əlləḡ* ‘to lick’; Wargla *əlləḡ* ‘to lick’; Mzab *əlləḡ* ‘to lick, to lap’; Tamazight *əlləḡ* ‘to lick, to lap’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əlləḡ* ‘to lick’;

Riff *əllaɣ*, *əḡḡəɣ* ‘to lick’; Kabyle *əllaɣ* ‘to lick, to lap’; Chaoia *əllaɣ* ‘to lick, to lap’; Zenaga *əlli*, *əllaɣ* ‘to lick’.

- D. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*lik’-/\*luk’-* ‘to swallow, to lap’ > Somali *luq-* ‘to swallow’, *luqum* ‘neck’; Konso *loq-* ‘to swallow’; Gedeo / Darasa *lik’in-s-* ‘to swallow’; Galla / Oromo *lik’im-s-* (< *\*lik’m-/\*luk’m-*) ‘to swallow’, *luk’um-a* ‘esophagus’, *lukk’uum-un*, *-aa* ‘larynx’; Hadiyya *lik’icc’-*, *lic’ikk’-* ‘to swallow’, *loom-ee-* (< *\*luk’m-*) ‘Adam’s apple’; Gidole *lok’-* ‘to swallow’. Sasse 1979:49 and 1982:132; Hudson 1989:147; Heine 1978:67. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*lak’-* ‘gullet’ > Dahalo *lak’a* ‘area under the chin’. Ehret 1980:328.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*lak’-* (~ *\*lək’-*), *\*lik’-* (~ *\*lek’-*), *\*luk’-* (~ *\*lok’-*) (onomatopoeic) (Bomhard 2014.3:1067—1069, no. 939):

(vb.) *\*lak’-*, *\*lik’-*, *\*luk’-* ‘to lick’;

(n.) *\*lak’a-*, *\*lik’a-*, *\*luk’a-* ‘licking’

356. Proto-Afrasian *\*lam-* ‘(vb.) to bend down, to stoop down, to sink down, to lie down, to duck down; to be or become bent down, curved down; to be low; (n.) the act of bending down, stooping down, sinking down, lying down, ducking down, etc.’:

A. Semitic: Arabic *lamada* ‘to submit, to be obsequious’, *lamdān* ‘submissive, obsequious’.

B. Berber: Tuareg *əlməɣ* ‘to be immersed, to be dyed by immersion’, *səlməɣ* ‘to immerse, to dye by immersion’; Ghadames *əmməɣ* ‘to immerse, to clean underground wells’; Tawlemmet *əmməɣ* ‘to be soaked’, *səmməɣ* ‘to soak’; Tamazight *əmməɣ* ‘to get wet, to be soaked with water’; Kabyle *əmməɣ* ‘to pounce on, to chase someone’.

C. Cushitic: Central Cushitic: Bilin *lām y-* ‘to lie down, to bend down’. Appleyard 2006:93; Reinisch 1887:256 (*lum y-*).

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*lam-* (~ *\*ləm-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1069—1070, no. 940):

(vb.) *\*lam-* ‘to bend down, to stoop down, to sink down, to lie down, to duck down; to be or become bent down, curved down; to be low’;

(n.) *\*lam-a* ‘lowland, low-lying ground, any piece of land’; (adj.) ‘low’

Extended form:

(vb.) *\*lam-V-d-* ‘to bend down, to stoop down, to sink down, to lie down, to duck down; to be or become bent down, curved down; to be low’;

(n.) *\*lam-d-a* ‘lowland, low-lying ground, any piece of land’; (adj.) ‘low’

357. Proto-Afrasian *\*las<sup>v</sup>-* (vb.) ‘to lick, to lap (up)’, *\*lis<sup>v</sup>-* (or *\*les<sup>v</sup>-*) (n.) ‘tongue’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:361, no. 1666, *\*les-* ‘tongue’; Ehret 1995:406, no. 827, *\*lis’-* ‘to lick’ [Proto-Semitic *\*lisn-* ~ *\*lasn-* ‘tongue’]; Militarëv 2014:172—173 Proto-Afrasian *\*lis-* ‘tongue’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*las<sup>y</sup>-ān-* ~ *\*lis<sup>y</sup>-ān-* ‘tongue’ > Akkadian *lišānu* ‘tongue’ (pl. *lišānātu*); Hebrew *lašōn* [לָשׁוֹן] ‘tongue’; Aramaic *liššān*, *liššānā* ‘tongue’; Syriac *leššānā* ‘tongue’; Phoenician *lšn* ‘tongue’; Ugaritic *lšn* ‘tongue’; Mandaic *lišana* ‘tongue’; Arabic *lisān* ‘tongue, language’; Mehri *əwšēn/ləšōn* ‘tongue’; Soqotri *léšin* ‘tongue’; Šheri / Jibbāli *elšén* ‘tongue’; Ḥarsūsi *lēšen* ‘tongue, language’; Geez / Ethiopic *læssān* [ለሰን] ‘tongue, language’; Tigre *næssal* (also *łasan*) ‘tongue’; Tigrinya *łasan* ‘tongue’; Amharic *læssan* ‘tongue, language’ (cf. *læssanā nəgus* ‘Amharic [literally, the language of the king]’). Murtonen 1989:250—251; Klein 1987:306; Leslau 1987:318; Zammit 2002:368; Militarev 2014:172—173 Common Semitic *\*liš(š)ān-*.
- Proto-Semitic *\*las<sup>y</sup>-* ‘to lick, to lap (up)’ (*\*las<sup>y</sup>-ab-*, *\*las<sup>y</sup>-ad-*, *\*las<sup>y</sup>-am-*, *\*las<sup>y</sup>-aw-*, *\*las<sup>y</sup>-as<sup>y</sup>-*, *\*las<sup>y</sup>-aḥ-*) > Arabic *lasaba* ‘to lick; to bite’, *lasada* ‘to suck, to suck out the udder; to lick out’, *lasama* ‘to taste’, *lasā* (base *lsw*) ‘to eat greedily’, *lassa* ‘to eat; to lick out’; Geez / Ethiopic *lašha* [ለሰሐ] ‘to smack the lips, to chew saliva making noise’. Leslau 1987:318.
- B. Egyptian *ns* /ls/ ‘tongue’, *nsb* /lsb/ ‘to lick, to lap up’; Coptic *las* [λας] ‘tongue, language’, *lapsi* [λαπσι] (< *\*lasb-*) ‘to bite, to seize’. Hannig 1995:430 and 432; Faulkner 1962:139; Gardiner 1957:575; Erman—Grapow 1921:86, 87 and 1926—1963.2:320, 2:334; Vycichl 1983:98 and 99; Černý 1976:74.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *iləs* ‘tongue, speech, language’; Siwa *iləs* ‘tongue, speech’; Nefusa *iləs* ‘tongue’; Ghadames *iləs* ‘tongue’; Tamazight *iləs* ‘tongue, language’; Riff *ils*, *irs* ‘tongue’; Kabyle *iləs* ‘tongue, language’; Chaouia *ils* ‘tongue’.
- D. Omotic: Kaffa *milaso* ‘tongue’ (prefix *mi-*) (loan from Ethiopian Semitic [cf. Tigrinya *mālḥas* ‘tongue’; Amharic *məlas* ‘tongue’; Gafat *məlasā* ‘tongue’]).
- E. Chadic: Hausa *lààsáá* ‘to lick, to lick up’ (this may be an Arabic loan [cf. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:111]).
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*las<sup>y</sup>-* (~ *\*ləs<sup>y</sup>-*), *\*lis<sup>y</sup>-* (~ *\*les<sup>y</sup>-*), *\*lus<sup>y</sup>-* (~ *\*los<sup>y</sup>-*) (?) (onomatopoeic) (Bomhard 2014.3:1070—1071, no. 941):
- (vb.) *\*las<sup>y</sup>-*, *\*lis<sup>y</sup>-*, *\*lus<sup>y</sup>-* ‘to lick, to lap (up)’;
- (n.) *\*las<sup>y</sup>-a*, *\*lis<sup>y</sup>-a*, *\*lus<sup>y</sup>-a* ‘tongue; lip’
358. Proto-Afrasian *\*lat-* (n.) ‘skin’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:359, no. 1655, *\*lat-* ‘skin’):
- A. Egyptian (reduplicated) *ntnt* /ltlt/, *ntt* /ltt/ ‘skin’ (medical term). Hannig 1995:442; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:356 and 2:357.
- B. Chadic: West Chadic: Zaar *ləèd*, *là:t* ‘skin’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:296—297.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*lat<sup>h</sup>-a* ‘skin’ (Bomhard 2014.3:1071—1072, no. 942)

359. Proto-Afrasian *\*law-* ‘(vb.) to bend, to twist, to turn; (n.) bend, twist, turn’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:359, no. 1658, *\*lawV<sub>y</sub>-* ‘to twist, to bend’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*law-ay-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’ > Akkadian *lawū* ‘to move in a circle, to encircle, to wrap, to wrap up, to surround’; Hebrew *liwyāh* [לִיְוִיָּה] ‘wreath, garland’, *liwyāθān* [לִיְוִיָּתָן] ‘serpent, dragon’; Phoenician *lwy* ‘to writhe, to crouch’; Arabic *lawā* (base *lwy*) ‘to turn, to crook, to curve (something); to bend, to flex, to bend up, to bend down, to bend back or over; to twist, to contort, to wrench, to wrap (something); to distort, to pervert (something); to turn (the head), to turn away, to avert (the face); to turn around, to turn (to someone, something), to face (someone, something)’; Ḥarsūsi *lewō* ‘to bend, to wrap up’; Šheri / Jibbāli *lē* (base *lwy*) ‘to turn (a corner), to catch hold of’; Mehri *lawū* ‘to bend’; Geez / Ethiopic *lawaya* [ላወሃ] ‘to twist, to wind, to wrap around, to err’; Tigre *lawla* (reduplicated base *lwlw*) ‘to wind around’, *lawäyā* ‘crooked’; Tigrinya *lawäyā* ‘to twist’. Murtonen 1989:246; Klein 1987:296; Leslau 1987:322; Zammit 2002:375.

Proto-Semitic *\*law-ady-* ‘to twist, to turn’ > Hebrew *lūz* [לִז] (base *lwz* [לִז]) ‘to turn aside, to depart’, *nālōz* [נָלִז] ‘devious, crooked’; Arabic *lāda* (base *lwd*) ‘to turn aside’; Geez / Ethiopic *loza* [ላወ] (base *lwz*) ‘to twist, to wrap around, to deviate from the road’. Klein 1987:296; Leslau 1987:322; Murtonen 1989:245; Zammit 2002:374—375.

Proto-Semitic *\*law-ak-* ‘to soften, to distort, to curve’ > Arabic *lāka* (base *lwk*) ‘to soften, to distort, to curve’.

Proto-Semitic *\*law-at<sup>v</sup>-* ‘to wrap, to twist, to turn’ > Hebrew *lūs* [לוש] (base *lws* [לוש]) ‘to knead’; Aramaic *lūs* (base *lws*) ‘to knead’; Mandaic *luš* ‘to knead’; Akkadian *lāšu* ‘to knead’; Arabic *lātā* (base *lwt*) ‘to wrap the turban around one’s head; to go around; to soak in water or fat; to take refuge with; to stick always at home’; Geez / Ethiopic *losa* [ላሳ], *loša* [ላሳ] ‘to knead, to mingle, to mix’; Tigre *lōša* ‘to intermingle’; Tigrinya *lawwäsä* ‘to knead’; Amharic *lawwäsä* ‘to knead’; Argobba *lewäsa* ‘to knead’; Gafat *liwwäsä* ‘to knead’; Gurage *lawäsä* ‘to knead dough, to mix, to intermingle’. Klein 1987:297; Murtonen 1989:246; Leslau 1979:384 and 1987:321.

Proto-Semitic *\*law-ag-* ‘to turn’ > Arabic *lāga* (base *lwğ*) ‘to turn about in the mouth; to deviate, to turn aside from the road, to swerve’.

Proto-Semitic *\*law-aγ-* ‘to turn about, to roll around’ > Arabic *lāga* (base *lwğ*) ‘to roll about in the mouth and throw out’.

Proto-Semitic *\*law-ak-* ‘to turn about’ > Arabic *lāka* (base *lwk*) ‘to turn about in the mouth and chew’.

Proto-Semitic *\*law-at-* ‘to wrap up tightly’ > Hebrew *lūt* [לוט] ‘to cover, to wrap up, to envelop’; Akkadian *lātu* ‘to confine, to keep in check’.

(with a bridle), to curb, to control’, *lītu* ‘hostage’; Arabic *lāṭa* (base *lwṭ*) ‘to be in one’s mind; to bring together; to coat with clay, to plaster (a wall); to be a sodomite, pederast; to prevent, to hinder, to turn from’, *lūṭī* ‘sodomite, pederast’. Murtonen 1989:245; Klein 1987:296; Von Soden 1965—1981.I:540 and I:558.

Proto-Semitic *\*law-aw-* ‘to turn, to twist, to wrap’ > Geez / Ethiopic *lawawa* [ለወወ] ‘to wrap around, to twist, to be evil, to be impudent, to be of a threatening appearance, to observe fixedly’. Leslau 1987:321.

- B. Egyptian *īwšš* (< /lwšš/), *\*īwšm* (< /lwšm/) ‘to knead’; Coptic *wōšm* [ⲟⲩⲱⲩⲙ] ‘(vb.) to knead, to mix; (n.) dough’. Faulkner 1962:14 *īwšš* ‘gruel’; Erman—Grapow 1921:9 and 1926—1963.I:58; Hannig 1995:37; Vycichl 1983:240; Černý 1976:221. Egyptian *\*rwrw* /lwlw/ ‘to wander about’; Coptic *lele* [λελε] ‘to wander about’. Vycichl 1983:97; Černý 1976:72.
- C. Berber: Kabyle *lawəḥ* ‘to wander, to roam’; Tashelhit / Shilha *lulli* ‘to wander about, to turn’.
- D. Chadic: West Chadic *\*lawya-* ‘to bend’ > Hausa *lauyà* ‘to bend to make round; to turn (steering wheel)’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*law-* (~ *\*law-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1072—1073, no. 943):  
 (vb.) *\*law-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’;  
 (n.) *\*law-a* ‘bend, twist, turn’

360. Proto-Afrasian *\*law-* ‘(vb.) to shine, to gleam, to glow, to glimmer; (n.) light, glow; (adj.) shining, gleaming, glowing, bright’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*law-aḥ-* ‘to shine, to gleam, to glimmer’ > Ugaritic *lh* (base *lwh*) ‘to shine, to gleam, to glimmer’ (Aistleitner 1967:169); Arabic *lāḥa* (base *lwh*) ‘to shine, to gleam, to flash, to glimmer, to sparkle; to appear, to show, to come into sight’; Šheri / Jibbāli *lāḥ* (base *lwh*) ‘to appear fleetingly’.
- B. Egyptian *nwh* /lwh/ ‘to be burnt, to become warm, to heat up, to become scorched’; (?) Coptic *lōbš* [ⲗⲟⲃⲩ] ‘to be hot, to glow’. Hannig 1995:399; Faulkner 1962:128; Erman—Grapow 1921:78 and 1926—1963.2:224; Vycichl 1983:95 (Vycichl derives *lōbš* [ⲗⲟⲃⲩ] from Egyptian *ḥbh* /lbh/ ‘to burn, to scorch’); Černý 1976:70 (Černý derives *lōbš* [ⲗⲟⲃⲩ] from Egyptian *nwh* /lwh/ ‘to be burnt, to become warm’).

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*law-* (~ *\*law-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1074—1075, no. 944):  
 (vb.) *\*law-* ‘to shine’;  
 (n.) *\*law-a* ‘light, glow’; (adj.) ‘shining, gleaming, glowing, bright’

361. Proto-Afrasian *\*laaw-* ‘(vb.) to separate, to divide, to part, to sever, to detach; (n.) part cut off, separation, division’ (Ehret 1995:407, no. 830, *\*laaw-* ‘to take hold of’):
- A. Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *loka* [ሎቀ] (base *lwḵ*) ‘to let go, to release, to let loose’. Leslau 1987:321.
  - B. Egyptian *iwd* (*i-* < *\*lu-*) ‘to separate’, *iwdt* ‘separation’, *r iwd* ‘between’; Coptic *ute-*, *utō-* [ΟΥΤΕ-, ΟΥΤΩ-] ‘between, among’. Hannig 1995:38; Faulkner 1962:14; Gardiner 1957:552; Erman—Grapow 1921:9 and 1926—1963.1:58—59; Černý 1976:218; Vycichl 1983:238.
  - C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*laaw-* ‘to pick, to pluck’ > Iraqw *lot-* ‘to milk’, *lotusmo* ‘milker’; Burunge *lomid-* ‘to milk’; Alagwa *lomit-* ‘to milk’; Dahalo *laaw-*, *loom-* ‘to pick, to pluck’. Ehret 1980:204.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*law-* (~ *\*lɔw-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1075—1077, no. 945):  
 (vb.) *\*law-* ‘to separate, to divide, to part, to sever, to detach’;  
 (n.) *\*law-a* ‘part cut off, separation, division’
362. Proto-Afrasian *\*law-* ‘(vb.) to moisten, to water; to wash, to clean; (n.) the act of bathing, washing’:
- A. Egyptian *iwh* (< /lwh/) ‘to moisten, to water (field plots), to inject (a liquid)’, *iwhw* (< /lwhw/) ‘inundation’. Hannig 1995:36; Faulkner 1962:14; Erman—Grapow 1921:9 and 1926—1963.1:57; Gardiner 1957:552.
  - B. Berber: Tuareg *lalləwət* ‘to wash, to be washed’; Nefusa *llil*, *ilil* ‘ocean, sea’, *sslil* ‘to rinse’; Tamazight *lil* ‘to be rinsed’, *slil* ‘to rinse’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *slil* ‘to rinse’; Riff *slil*, *srir* ‘to rinse’; Kabyle *lil* ‘to be rinsed’, *slil* ‘to rinse’; Chaouia *slil* ‘to rinse, to gargle’; Zenaga *il* ‘sea’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*law-* (~ *\*lɔw-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1077—1078, no. 946):  
 (vb.) *\*law-* ‘to moisten, to water; to wash, to clean’;  
 (n.) *\*law-a* ‘the act of bathing, washing’
363. Proto-Afrasian *\*laxw-* ‘(vb.) to strike, to hit, to beat; (n.) the act of striking, hitting, beating; stroke, hit, blow; knife, arrow, spear’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*lax-* (*\*lax-ab-*, *\*lax-ap-*, *\*lax-am-*) ‘to strike, to hit, to beat’: Arabic *laḥaba* ‘to lie with; to box on the ear, to beat, to slap’; Sabaean *lx[b]*, *l[xb]n* ‘slaps, contentions’.  
     Arabic *laḥafa* ‘to beat violently; to enlarge the mark of an animal (by branding)’.  
     Arabic *laḥama* ‘to strike, to hit on the face’, *laḥām* ‘a slap’; Sabaean *lxm* ‘brawl’; Geez / Ethiopic *laḥma* [ላሕመ], *laḥama* [ላሐመ] ‘to be tender, soft; to be reduced to powder, to be pulverized; to be flexible, supple; to be

feeble, infirm; to be moist'; Tigrinya *lāhamā* 'to be pulverized; to be soft, tender'; Amharic *lamā* 'to be pulverized; to be tender'; Argobba *lāhim* 'soft'; Harari *lēhama* 'to become soft (skin, cloth), to be tender (meat), to be easy (test)'; Gurage *lāmā* 'to be soft, to be smooth'. Leslau 1963:99, 1979:379, and 1987:311.

Arabic *lahz* 'sharp knife'.

- B. Egyptian *rhs* /lʰs/ 'to slaughter'. Erman—Grapow 1921:96 and 1926—1963.2:448; Hannig 1995:476; Faulkner 1962:152; Gardiner 1957:578.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *allay* 'iron javelin', *tallayin* 'wooden javelin', *əlay* 'leg (from the knee to the ankle)'; Tamazight *ilay* 'calf (of leg)'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *alay* 'main branch of a tree'; Kabyle *illay* 'branch cut short, leaf stem; earring'; Chaouia *ilay* 'branch cut off, earring with a pendant'.
- D. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Harso *lax-ko* 'arrow (poison)'; Burji *law-ée* 'arrow for bleeding'; Galla / Oromo *law-aa* 'arrow'; Konso *law-itta*, *law-a* 'arrow'; Yaaku *lax* 'arrow'; Rendille *lahaw* 'children's arrow'; Gollango *laah-ko* 'arrow (poison)'; Gawwada *laax-e* 'arrow'. Sasse 1979:20—21 Proto-East Cushitic (?) *\*lawx-* 'arrow' and 1982:133—134; Hudson 1989:209. For the semantics, cf. Old Icelandic *ljóstr* 'salmon spear' from the same stem found in *ljósta* 'to strike, to smite; to strike, to hit (with a spear or arrow)'.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*lax<sup>w</sup>-* (~ *\*lax<sup>w</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1078—1079, no. 947):  
 (vb.) *\*lax<sup>w</sup>-* 'to strike, to hit, to beat';  
 (n.) *\*lax<sup>w</sup>-a* 'the act of striking, hitting, beating; stroke, hit, blow'

364. Proto-Afrasian *\*li<sup>2</sup>-* (vb.) to come into being, to arise, to grow, to become;  
 (n.) being, becoming';

- A. Berber: Ghadames *lal* 'to be born'; Nefusa *lal* 'to be born'; Wargla *llal* 'to appear at the crack of dawn, to be born', *tlalit* 'birth, crack of dawn'; Mzab *llal* 'to be born', *tlalit* 'birth'; Tamazight *lal* 'to be born, to appear', *talalit* 'birth', *ilili* 'new-born'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *lal* 'to be born', *talalit* 'birth'; Riff *lal*, *rar* 'to be born', *talalit*, *tararit* 'birth'; Kabyle *lal* 'to be born, to lay (eggs), to break (day)', *talalit* 'birth'; Chaouia *lal* 'to be born, to break (day)', *talalit* 'birth'; Tuareg *tallit* 'new moon'.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*le<sup>2</sup>-* 'to grow (up)' > Burji *le-* 'to sprout'; Hadiyya *li<sup>2</sup>-* 'to grow (up)'; Kambata *le<sup>2</sup>-* 'to grow (up)'; Sidamo *le<sup>2</sup>-* 'to ripen (of coffee, berries)'. Hudson 1989:74. Southern Cushitic: Ma'a *-lí* 'to grow (of plants)'. Ehret 1980:205.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*li<sup>2</sup>-* (~ *\*le<sup>2</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1079—1080, no. 948):  
 (vb.) *\*li<sup>2</sup>-* 'to come into being, to arise, to grow, to become';  
 (n.) *\*li<sup>2</sup>-a* 'being, becoming'



## 11.4. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*r

365. Proto-Afrasian \**raʔ(-y)-* ‘(vb.) to see, to perceive; (n.) sight, observation, perception; vision, eyesight; eye; (adj.) seeing, perceiving’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:447, no. 2104, \**reʔ-* ‘to see’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**raʔ-ay-* ‘to see, to perceive’ > Hebrew *rāʔāh* [רָאָה] ‘to see, to perceive, to look at, to observe, to watch, to consider, to discern, to reflect, to gaze at, to behold’; Jewish Aramaic *rēwā* ‘appearance’; Phoenician *rʔy* ‘eyesight’; Arabic *raʔā* ‘to see, to behold, to perceive, to notice, to observe, to discern, to look (at), to regard, to consider, to deem, to think’; Sabaeen *rʔy* ‘to experience, to see’; Šheri / Jibbāli *riʔ* ‘opinion’; Mehri *rāy* ‘opinion’; Geez / Ethiopic *raʔya* [ርአየ] ‘to see, to observe, to look, to look at, to look on, to regard, to contemplate, to consider, to watch, to have a vision, to take notice of, to notice, to behold, to perceive, to explore’; Tigre *rāʔa* ‘to see’; Tigrinya *rāʔayä* ‘to see’; Harari *riʔa* ‘to see’; Gurage (Zway) *arī* ‘to see, to look’; Amharic *raʔay* ‘vision’ (from Geez / Ethiopic). Murtonen 1989:390—391; Klein 1987:600; Leslau 1963:132, 1979:83, and 1987:458—459; Militarëv 2012:95 Proto-Semitic \**rʔy*; Zammit 2002:187.
- B. Egyptian \**iry* (< \**riy*) ‘to see’ (imptv. *ir tm* ‘pay attention!’), *ir-t* ‘eye, sight’; Coptic *ya* [ϣⲓⲁ] ‘eye’. Hannig 1995:87—88; Faulkner 1962:25; Gardiner 1957:554; Erman—Grapow 1921:16 and 1926—1963.1:106—108, 1:108; Vycichl 1983:60; Černý 1976:44—45.
- C. Cushitic: North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *ʔerh-* ‘to see’. Reinisch 1895:29.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**raʔ-* (~ \**rəʔ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1081—1082, no. 950):  
 (vb.) \**raʔ-* ‘to see, to perceive’;  
 (n.) \**raʔ-a* ‘sight, observation, perception’; (adj.) ‘seeing, perceiving’  
 Extended form:  
 (vb.) \**raʔ-V-y-* ‘to see, to perceive’;  
 (n.) \**raʔ-y-a* ‘sight, observation, perception’; (adj.) ‘seeing, perceiving’

366. Proto-Afrasian \**rag-* ‘(vb.) to stir, to move, to shake; (n.) trembling, quaking, shaking, rocking; movement; collapse (from shaking)’ (Ehret 1995:446, no. 935, \**rig-/rag-* ‘to move; to walk (intr.)’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:444, no. 2087, \**rag-/rug-* ‘to tremble’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**rag-ap-* ‘to stir, to shake; to shake off, to make fall; to fall down’ > Aramaic *raḡaḡ* ‘to stir, to shake’; Arabic *raḡafa* ‘to agitate, to convulse, to shake; to tremble, to quake, to be shaken’; Mehri *hərgūf* ‘to shiver, to shiver with fever’, *rātḡaf* ‘to shake, to quiver (in fear)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ergōf* ‘to shiver’; Ḥarsūsi *argōf* ‘to shake (with fever)’; Geez / Ethiopic *ragafa* [ረገፈ] ‘to fall to the ground (fruit, leaves)’;

Tigrinya *rägäfä* ‘to fall down (fruit, leaves)’; Gurage *rägäfä* ‘to fall down (fruit, leaves)’; *arägäfä* ‘to shake to make fall down, to make fall down’; Harari *rägäfa* ‘to fall to the ground (fruit, leaves)’; *arägäfa* ‘to make fall down (fruit, leaves), to remove’; Amharic *räggäfä* ‘to fall to the ground (fruit, leaves)’; Argobba (*ar*)*raggäfa* ‘to shake’. Zammit 2002:189–190; Leslau 1963:133, 1979:523, and 1987:464–465.

Proto-Semitic *\*rag-a3-* ‘to shake, to quake, to tremble’ > Arabic *rağaza* (inf. *rağz*) ‘to thunder, to roar, to surge (sea); to get angry’, *rağaza* (inf. *tārağğuz*) ‘to roll; to grow angry’, *rağaz* ‘trembling disease of a camel’; Hebrew *rāyaz* [רַיַז] ‘to be agitated, to quake, to quiver; to be excited, perturbed’; Aramaic *rəyaz* ‘to tremble, to rage’; Phoenician *rgz* ‘to disturb’. Murtonen 1989:393; Klein 1987:605.

Proto-Semitic *\*rag-ag-* ‘to quiver, to shake’ > Arabic *rağğa* ‘to convulse, to shake, to rock, to tremble’, *rağğ* ‘shaking, rocking, convulsion’, *rağğāğ* ‘trembling, quaking, shaking, rocking’; Mehri *ræg* ‘to be loose (as, for example, a tooth)’, *rättæg* ‘(ground) to quiver, to shake’; Šheri / Jibbāli *regg* ‘to be or become loose; to become unpopular; (water) to run under the topsoil; (man, animal) to run under the cover of the bushes, undergrowth’, *röttæg* ‘to be loose; to change for the worse; (ground) to shake, to quiver’; Ḥarsūsi *reg* ‘to be loose’. Zammit 2002:189.

Proto-Semitic *\*rag-ad-* ‘to tremble’ > Arabic *rağada* ‘to tremble’.

Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *\*rag-rag-* ‘to tremble, to quake, to sway’ > Arabic *rağrağa* ‘to tremble, to quake, to sway’.

Proto-Semitic *\*rag-ac-* ‘to thunder; to shake’ > Arabic *rağasa* (inf. *rağs*) ‘to roar, to thunder’, *rağasa* (inf. *ʔirtirağ*) ‘to be shaken, to shake’, *rağğās* ‘roaring, surging (sea); thundering’.

- B. Berber: Nefusa *ərijj* ‘to tremble, to shake’, *tirzəzt* ‘hare’; Siwa *tirzəzt* ‘hare’; Wargla *ərijji* ‘to tremble, to shake’, *tarjijt* ‘trembling, shaking, shivering’; Mزاب *ərijji* ‘to tremble, to shake’; Tamazight *rgigi* ‘to tremble, to shake, to quake’, *targagit* ‘trembling, shaking, shivering’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *rgigi* ‘to tremble, to shake’; Kabyle *rgigi* ‘to tremble, to shake, to quiver’, *targagayt* ‘trembling, shaking, shivering’; Chaouia *rjiji* ‘to tremble, to shake, to shiver’, *tarjajatt* ‘trembling, shaking, quivering’; Zenaga *ərgəg* ‘to tremble, to shake’, *ərgəgi*, *ərgigi* ‘trembling, shaking’, *tayərzuzut* ‘hare’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*rag-* (~ *\*rəg-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1082–1083, no. 951):  
 (vb.) *\*rag-* ‘to stir, to move, to shake’;  
 (n.) *\*rag-a* ‘trembling, quaking, shaking, rocking; movement; collapse (from shaking)’

367. Proto-Afrasian *\*rak-* ‘(vb.) to twist, to turn, to bend; (n.) twist, turn, bend; tie, bond, cord’ (Ehret 1995:447, no. 938, *\*ruk-* ‘to bend [intr.]’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*rak-as-* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend; to tie, to bind, to fasten’ > Akkadian *rakāsu* ‘to bind’; Hebrew *rāḥas* [רָחַס] ‘to bind, to fasten, to button up’; Ugaritic *rks* ‘to bind’; Arabic *rakasa* ‘to overturn, to turn topsy-turvy’, *raks* ‘turning, topsy-turvy’. Murtonen 1989:400; Klein 1987:618; Zammit 2002:199.
- Proto-Semitic *\*rak-aṣ-* ‘to bend, to bow’ > Arabic *rakaʿa* ‘to bend the body, to bow (especially in prayer); to kneel down, to drop to one’s knees’, *rakʿa* ‘bending of the torso from an upright position, followed by two prostrations (in Moslem prayer ritual)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *rékaʿ* ‘to hop, to hobble; to bow in prayer’, *rótkaʿ* ‘to kneel to pray; to run here and there sniffing’, *rəkʿāt* ‘prostration (in prayer)’; Mehri *rūka* ‘to hobble, to hop’, *rekāt* ‘prostration (in prayer)’; Harsūsi *rōka* ‘to hobble’, *rekʿāt* ‘prostration (in prayer)’. Zammit 2002:200.
- Syriac *rəḫaš* ‘to bind, to tie’.
- B. Egyptian (reduplicated) *rkrk* ‘to creep’, *rkrk*, *rrk* ‘snake’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:440; Faulkner 1962:153; Hannig 1995:479.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*rak-* ‘to turn (tr.)’ > Ma’a *-re* ‘to return (something)’; Alagwa *rankus-* ‘to bend around; to bow; to curve (tr.)’. Ehret 1980:219.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*rakʰ-* (~ *\*rəkʰ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1083—1084, no. 952):  
 (vb.) *\*rakʰ-* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend; to tie, to bind, to fasten’;  
 (n.) *\*rakʰ-a* ‘twist, turn, bend; tie, bond, cord’  
 Derivative:  
 (vb.) *\*rakʰ-* ‘to put, join, fit, or fasten (together); to assemble, to prepare, to construct’;  
 (n.) *\*rakʰ-a* ‘the act of putting, joining, fitting, or fastening (together); the act of assembling, preparing, constructing’
368. Proto-Afrasian *\*rakʼ-* ‘(vb.) to observe, to watch, to regard attentively; to supervise, to control; (n.) observation, watchfulness, care, protection’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*rakʼ-ab-* ‘to observe, to watch, to regard attentively; to supervise, to control’ > Arabic *raḳaba* ‘to observe, to watch, to regard attentively; to control, to supervise’, *riḳba* ‘observation, control, attention, caution, wariness, vigilance, watchfulness’, *raḳaba* ‘slave’; Sabaean *rḳb* ‘serfs’. Zammit 2002:197—198.
- B. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*raakʼ-* ‘to graze’ > Iraqw *daqi* ‘herd’; Burunge *raqamaʷu* ‘pasture’. Ehret 1980:329. Semantic development as in Latin *pāscō* ‘to feed, to lead to pasture; to keep, to support, to give as pasture; to graze on; to feast on, to delight in’, *pāscuum* ‘a pasture’ < Proto-Indo-European *\*pʰā-* < *\*pʰeh₂-* [*\*pʰah₂-*] ‘to protect, to feed, to tend’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*rakʼ-* (~ *\*rəkʼ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1087—1088, no. 955):

- (vb.) *\*rak*- ‘to observe, to watch, to regard attentively; to supervise, to control’;  
 (n.) *\*rak*’-*a* ‘observation, watchfulness, care, protection’
369. Proto-Afrasian *\*rat*- ‘(vb.) to turn, to roll; to run; (n.) turning, rolling; running’:
- A. Semitic: Arabic *rataʿa* ‘to go away, to depart; to gallop with short steps’, *rataka* ‘to run with short steps, to trot’.  
 B. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*rat*- ‘to continue onward’ > Ma’a *iritimé/iratiné* ‘crossing, ford’; Dahalo *rat*- ‘to walk about’, *rattid*- ‘to continue (something)’. Ehret 1980:219.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*rath*- (~ *\*rəth*-) (Bomhard 2014.3:1089—1090, no. 957):  
 (vb.) *\*rath*- ‘to turn, to roll; to run’;  
 (n.) *\*rath*’-*a* ‘turning, rolling; running’
370. Proto-Afrasian *\*rek*- ‘(vb.) to sprinkle, to spray, to wet, to moisten; (n.) sprinkling, spray, rain’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:447, no. 2107, *\*rek*- ‘to pour, to soak’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*rak*- (*\*rak*’-*ah*-, *\*rak*’-*ay*-) ‘to sprinkle, to spray’ > Geez / Ethiopic *raḫḫa* [፳፻፳] ‘to sprinkle, to spray’, *raḫaya* [፳፻፶] ‘to sprinkle, to asperse, to sprinkle with holy water to drive out demons, to cleanse with holy water’; Tigrinya *rākāyā* ‘to sprinkle, to sprinkle with holy water (on a place or a person)’; Amharic *rāččä* ‘to sprinkle holy water’; Gurage *reččä* ‘to spray water, to sprinkle water’; Argobba *rāčča* ‘to sprinkle water’. Leslau 1979:521 and 1987:472 and 473.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*ra/ya/k*- ‘to pour out, to empty’ > Hebrew *rīk* [רִיק] (base *ryk* [רַיַק]) ‘to empty out, to pour out’, *rēk* [רֵיק] ‘empty, void’; Aramaic *rīk* ‘to empty, to pour’; Akkadian *rāku* ‘to be empty, void’, *rēku* ‘empty’; Arabic *rāka* (base *ryk*) ‘to flow out, to pour forth; to pour out, to shed, to spill’, *rīk* ‘saliva, spittle’. Murtonen 1989:399; Klein 1987:616—617.  
 B. Chadic: West Chadic: Dera *reke* ‘to moisten’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*rek*- (Bomhard 2014.3:1091—1092, no. 959):  
 (vb.) *\*rek*- ‘to sprinkle, to spray, to wet, to moisten’;  
 (n.) *\*rek*’-*a* ‘sprinkling, spray, rain’
371. Proto-Afrasian *\*riy*- ‘(vb.) to increase, to grow; (n.) increase, growth, wealth, prosperity’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:451, no. 2126, *\*riy*- ‘to grow’):

- A. Semitic: Arabic *rāʿa* (base *ryʿ* [رعى]) ‘to increase, to grow, to flourish, to thrive; to augment (something)’, *rayʿ* ‘yield; returns, proceeds, income (accruing from an estate), interest; profit, share, royalty; prime, choicest part’.
  - B. Chadic: West Chadic: Tangale *riy* ‘to multiply’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*riy-* (~ *\*rey-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:1092, no. 960):  
(vb.) *\*riy-* ‘to prosper, to thrive, to flourish, to increase, to grow’;  
(n.) *\*riy-a* ‘increase, growth, prosperity, wealth’



## CHAPTER TWELVE

### GLOTTAL STOP AND GLOTTAL, VELAR, AND PHARYNGEAL FRICATIVES

Proto-Afrasian	*ʔ	*h	*ḥ	*ʕ	*χ	*ɣ
Proto-Semitic	*ʔ	*h	*ḥ	*ʕ	*χ	*ɣ
Ancient Egyptian	𓆎 𓆏 𓆐 𓆑	h 𓆒	ḥ 𓆓	ʕ 𓆔	ḫ 𓆕 𓆖 𓆗	ʕ 𓆔
Proto-Berber	Ø	*h	*ḥ	*h	*ɣ	*h
Proto-East Cushitic	*ʔ	*h	*ḥ	*ʕ	*ḥ	*ʕ
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*ʔ	*h	*ḥ	*ʕ	*χ	
Proto-Chadic		*h	*ḥ			

Note: The Berber reflexes are based upon Takács 2011.

#### 12.1. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*ʔ

372. Proto-Afrasian \*ʔa- 1st singular personal pronoun prefix (Diakonoff 1988: 80—82.); \*-ʔa 1st singular personal pronoun suffix (Banti 2004:40):

Note: According to Militarëv (2011:77), this prefix is also found in Proto-Afrasian \*ʔa-na(-k/tV) ‘I’. See the Appendix to Chapter 2 of this book for thoughts on the development of the independent personal pronouns and their relationship to the personal prefixes and suffixes.

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*ʔa- 1st singular personal pronoun prefix > Classical Arabic ʔa-; Šḥeri / Jibbāli e-, ə-, Ø-; Mehri ə-; Hebrew ʔe-/ʔā- [-ʔ/-ʔ]; Aramaic ʔi-; Ugaritic ā-/ī-; Akkadian a-; Geez / Ethiopic ʔa- [ʔ-]; Amharic ə-. O’Leary 1923:244; Lipiński 1997:376—377.
- B. Egyptian i- in *ink* ‘I’; Coptic *anok* [ʔNOK] ‘I’. Erman—Grapow 1921:15 and 1926—1963.1:101; Hannig 1995:79—80; Faulkner 1962:24; Gardiner 1957:53, §64, and 554; Černý 1976:9; Vycichl 1983:12; Crum 1939:11.
- C. Berber: \*ʔanak- > \*ʔnak- > Tuareg *nək* ‘I, me’; Ghadames *nəc*, *nəccan* ‘me’; Mzab *nəc*, *nəcci*, *nəccin* ‘me’; Kabyle *nəkk*, *nəkki*, *nəkkini* ‘me’; Tamazight *nəkk*, *nəç* ‘me’.
- D. Cushitic: Proto-Cushitic \*ʔ(a)- 1st singular personal pronoun prefix > Beja / Beḏawye ʔa-; Proto-Sam \*Ø-. Heine 1978:34—36.

← Proto-Nostratic 1st singular personal pronoun stem \*ʔa- (~ \*ʔə-), \*ʔi- (~ \*ʔe-) ‘I, me’ (Bomhard 2014.3:674—675, no. 607)

No doubt originally the same as the deictic particles \*ʔa-, \*ʔi- listed below.

373. Proto-Afrasian demonstrative stems (originally deictic particles):

- Proximate: \*ʔi- ‘this’;  
Intermediate: \*ʔu- ‘that’;  
Distant: \*ʔa- ‘that yonder, that over there’

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*ʔā- used only in compositions, parallel to and with the same meaning as \*hā- (cf. Barth 1913:74—76). Tigrinya ʔə- in far demonstratives: (m. sg.) ʔətu, (f. sg.) ʔəta, (m. pl.) ʔətom, (f. pl.) ʔətäñ; ʔə- in near demonstratives: (m. sg.) ʔəzu, (f. sg.) ʔəza, (m. pl.) ʔəzom, (f. pl.) ʔəzän. Lipiński 1997:319 and 321.
- B. Egyptian i- in im (adv.) ‘there, therein, therewith, therefrom’. Faulkner 1962:17; Hannig 1995:47; Gardiner 1957:553; Erman—Grapow 1921:11 and 1926—1963.1:72.
- C. Cushitic: For Proto-Southern Cushitic, Ehret (1980:50) reconstructs the following suffixes: (a) \*-i nearness marker, (b) \*-a farness marker, (c) \*-o marker of reference (indefinite distance):
- a) Proto-Southern Cushitic \*-i nearness marker > Iraqw -i in wi/ri/ti ‘this’ (m./f.); Burunge -i in ki/ti ‘this’ (m./f.), -i- in tiʔi ‘here’; Alagwa -i in wi/ti ‘this’ (m./f.); Ma’a i- in ilaʔi ‘this direction’, iʔi ‘here’.
- b) Proto-Southern Cushitic \*-a farness marker > Iraqw -a in qa ‘that’, da ‘that aforementioned’; Burunge -a in kaʔa/taʔa ‘that’ (m./f.), taʔi ‘there’; Ma’a -a in twaʔi ‘there’.
- c) Proto-Southern Cushitic \*-o marker of reference (indefinite distance) > Iraqw -o in wo/ro/to ‘this being talked about’ (m./f./n.); Alagwa -o in qo ‘that’; K’wadza -o in -uko masculine gender marker, -eto, -ito feminine gender marker.

North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye ʔün ‘this’. Reinisch 1895:20—21.

Proto-Agaw base \*ʔə+n- ‘this’ > Bilin ʔəna ‘this’; Xamir ən/ənin/ənyän, (f.) ənčän ‘this’; Kemant ən/əndän ‘this’; Awngi / Awiya ən ‘this’. Appleyard 2006:136; Reinisch 1887:32—33 (en, in).

← Proto-Nostratic demonstrative stems (originally deictic particles) (Bomhard 2014.3:675—680, no. 608):

- Proximate: \*ʔi- (~ \*ʔe-) ‘this’;  
Intermediate: \*ʔu- (~ \*ʔo-) ‘that’;  
Distant: \*ʔa- (~ \*ʔə-) ‘that yonder, that over there’

Note: These stems regularly combined with other deictic particles: \*ʔa/i/u+na-, \*ʔa/i/u+ša-, \*ʔa/i/u+ma-, \*ʔa/i/u+thā-, \*ʔa/i/u+kha-, \*ʔa/i/u+ya-, etc.



374. Proto-Afrasian \*ʔab- (n.) ‘father, forefather, ancestor’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:1, no. 2, \*ʔab- ‘father’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*ʔab- ‘father, forefather, ancestor’ > Akkadian *abu* ‘father; (in pl.) forefathers, ancestors’; Amorite ʔabum ‘father’; Eblaite *a-bù* ‘father’, *a-bu* ‘elder’; Hebrew ʔāβ [אב] ‘father’; Phoenician ʔb ‘father’; Punic ʔb ‘father’; Nabatean ʔb ‘father’; Ugaritic ʔb ‘father’; Aramaic ʔabbā ‘my father’; Liḥyānite ʔb ‘father’; Arabic ʔab ‘father, ancestor, forefather’; Sabaeen ʔb ‘father, forefather’; Mehri ḥáyb ‘father’; Šheri / Jibbāli ʔiy ‘father’; Geez / Ethiopic ʔab [አብ] ‘father, forefather, ancestor’; Tigrinya ʔab ‘father’; Tigre ʔab ‘father’; Amharic *abbat* ‘father’, *ab* ‘elder, forefather’; Argobba *aw* ‘father’; Harari *āw* ‘father’; Gurage *ab* ‘father’; Gafat *abwā* ‘father’. D. Cohen 1970—:1; Diakonoff 1992:85 \*ʔab(b-) (?) ‘father’; Murtonen 1989:80; Klein 1987:1; Leslau 1963:37, 1979:4—5, and 1987:2; Zammit 2002:67—68.
- B. Egyptian ʔbt ‘family; relatives (on the father’s side of the family)’. Hannig 1995:6; Faulkner 1962:2; Erman—Grapow 1921:1 and 1926—1963.1:7; Gardiner 1957:549.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *aba* ‘father’; Siwa *aba* ‘father’; Tamazight *ibba* ‘father’; Mzab *aba* ‘papa’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ibba* ‘father’; Chaouia *ibba* ‘father’.
- D. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic \*ʔa(a)bb- ‘father’ > Saho-Afar *abb-a* ‘father’; Somali *aabb-e* ‘father’; Rendille *ab-a* ‘father’; Bayso *abb-o* ‘father’; Galla / Oromo *abb-aa* ‘father’; Hadiyya *aabb-a* ‘father’; Burji *aabb-óo* ‘father, father’s brother, mother’s sister’s husband’, *abi* ‘maternal uncle’; Konso *aapp-a* ‘father’; Sidamo *aabb-o* ‘father’, *abbo* ‘maternal uncle’; Gedeo / Darasa *aabbo* ‘maternal uncle’. Hudson 1989:62 and 2013:110; Sasse 1979:15 and 1982:21. Central Cushitic: Bilin (voc.) ʔabbá ‘O father!’; Kemant *aba* ‘father’. Reinisch 1887:5; Appleyard 2006:64—65. Proto-Southern Cushitic \*ʔaba or \*aba ‘father’ (term of address) > Asa *aba* ‘father’; Ma’a *aba* ‘father’.
- E. Omoto: North Omotic: Yemsa / Janjero *aba* ‘father of ...’; Bench / Gimira *abm* ‘uncle, mother’s brother’.
- F. Chadic: Central Chadic: Buduma *aba* ‘father’. Ehret 1980:281.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \*ʔab(b)a ~ \*ʔaph(p<sup>h</sup>)a ‘father, forefather’ (nursery word) (Bomhard 2014.3:681—683, no. 611)

375. Proto-Afrasian \*ʔad- ‘(vb.) to be strong, mighty, powerful, exalted; (n.) lord, master’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:6, no. 19, \*ʔader- ‘master, lord’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*ʔad-ān- ‘lord, master’ > Hebrew ʔādōn [אָדוֹן] ‘lord, master’; Phoenician ʔdn ‘lord, master’; Ugaritic ʔdn ‘lord, father’. D. Cohen 1970—:9; Klein 1987:8; Tomback 1978:5—6. Proto-Semitic \*ʔad-īr- ‘strong, mighty, powerful, exalted’ > Phoenician ʔdr ‘to be

powerful'; Hebrew *ʿaddār* [ʿḏḏ] 'great, mighty, powerful, majestic', *ʿeḏer* [ʿḏḏ] 'splendor, magnificence', *\*ʿāḏar* [ʿḏḏ] 'to be glorious, mighty, exalted'; Ugaritic *ʿadr* 'mighty'. Klein 1987:8; Murtonen 1989:83; D. Cohen 1970— :10; Tomback 1978:6.

- B. Berber: Tamazight *addur* 'good reputation, honor, glory, fame'; Zenaga *təydart* 'fatness, wealth'.
- C. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic *\*ʿader-* 'uncle' > Somali *adeer* 'uncle'; Galla / Oromo *adeeraa* 'uncle'. Appleyard 2006:97—98. Central Cushitic: Bilin *ʿadārā* 'master, lord'; Xamir *adāra*, *iederā* 'god'; Kemant *adāra* 'master, lord; god'; Quara *adarte* 'master, lord'. Appleyard 2006:97—98. Southern Cushitic: Rift *\*daʿar-* (< *\*ʿadar-* through metathesis) 'chief' > Gorowa *daari* 'chief'. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *adila* 'chief, (clan) leader, king'. Hudson 1989:268.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʿad-* (~ *\*ʿəd-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:683—684, no. 611):  
 (vb.) *\*ʿad-* 'to be strong, mighty, powerful, exalted';  
 (n.) *\*ʿad-a* 'lord, master'; (adj.) 'strong, mighty, powerful, exalted'

376. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʿah-* (n.) 'cow' (M. Cohen 1947:78, no. 11):

- A. Semitic: Ethiopic / Geez *ʿahā* [ḥḥ], *ʿahā* [ḥḥ] 'cattle, cows'; Tigre *ʿaha* 'cattle'; Tigrinya *ʿaha* 'cattle'. D. Cohen 1970— :15; Leslau 1987:12.
- B. Egyptian *iḥ* 'bull', (f.) *iḥt* 'cow'; Coptic *ehe* [eḏe] 'ox, cow'. Hannig 1995:96; Faulkner 1962:28; Gardiner 1957:554; Erman—Grapow 1921:17 and 1926—1963.1:119—120; Vycichl 1983:50; Černý 1976:41; Crum 1939:64.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ʿah-a* 'cow' (Bomhard 2014.3:684—685, no. 613)

377. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʿax-* '(n.) youth, young man, younger brother; (adj.) young, tender' (Orël—Stolbova 1995:7, no. 23, *\*ʿah-* 'brother'):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʿax-* 'brother, companion, friend' > Ugaritic *āḥ* 'brother'; Eblaite *a-ḥu-um* 'brother'; Akkadian *aḥu* 'brother, colleague, associate'; Phoenician *ʿḥ* 'brother'; Hebrew *ʿāḥ* [ʿḏḏ] 'brother, kinsman'; Syriac *ʿahā* 'brother, friend, companion, associate'; Arabic *ʿah*, *ʿahū* 'brother, companion, friend'; Sabaean *ʿḥ*, *ʿḥw* 'brother'; Mehri *gā* 'brother'; Soqotri *ʿāḥi* 'brother'; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʿagā* 'brother'; Ḥarsūsi *gā(h)* 'brother'; Ethiopic / Geez *ʿahəw* [ḥḥw], *ʿah<sup>w</sup>* [ḥḥ], *ʿah* [ḥḥ] 'brother, blood relation, kinsman'; Tigre *ḥu* 'brother'; Tigrinya *ḥaw* 'brother'; Argobba *āḥ* 'brother'; Harari *ah* 'younger brother'. D. Cohen 1970— :15; Klein 1987:16; Murtonen 1989:86—87; Zammit 2002:70; Hudson 2013:116.

- B. Chadic: West Chadic \**ʔah(ya)*- ‘uncle, brother’ > Kulere *ahy*- ‘uncle’; Warji *yahə*- ‘brother’ (according to Orël—Stolbova [1995:7], Warji initial *ya*- is due to the influence of the second syllable); Hausa *wàà/yàà/yáá* ‘elder brother’. Central Chadic \**ʔaɣ*- ‘son’ > Musgu *aḥī* ‘son’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**ʔax*- (~ \**ʔəx*-) (Bomhard 2014.3:685, no. 614):  
 (vb.) \**ʔax*- ‘to be young, youthful, tender, fresh’;  
 (n.) \**ʔax-a* ‘a youth, young man, younger brother’; (adj.) ‘young, tender’
378. Proto-Afrasian \**ʔak*- (vb.) ‘to dig’ (> ‘to plow, to till’); (n.) ‘that which is dug: digging, ditch, trench, hole; that which is used to dig: carving tool, chisel, cutter, gouge’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:8, no. 26, \**ʔakūr*- ‘to till’ and 20, no. 70, \**ʔekar*- ‘farmer’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ʔak-ar*- ‘to till’, \**ʔikkar*- ‘farmer’ > Arabic *ʔakara* ‘to plow, to till, to cultivate the land’, *ʔakkār* ‘plowman’; Akkadian *ikkaru* ‘plowman, farm worker, farmer’; Hebrew *ʔikkār* [אִכָּר] ‘plowman, farm worker’; Aramaic *ʔikkārā* ‘plowman, farm worker’; Mandaic *ʔkr* ‘to plow, to till, to cultivate’. D. Cohen 1970— :19; Klein 1987:27 (Klein considers Hebrew *ʔikkār* [אִכָּר] to be a loan from Akkadian).
- B. Egyptian *ʔkr* name of the earth-god. Hannig 1995:16; Faulkner 1962:6; Erman—Grapow 1921:4 and 1926—1963.1:22; Gardiner 1957:550.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**ʔakh*- (~ \**ʔəkh*-) (Bomhard 2014.3:687—688, no. 617):  
 (vb.) \**ʔakh*- ‘to dig’;  
 (n.) \**ʔakh-a* ‘that which is dug: digging, ditch, trench, hole; that which is used to dig: carving tool, chisel, cutter, gouge’
379. Proto-Afrasian \**ʔakw*- (vb.) ‘to be hot, to burn; (n.) fire’ (Ehret 1995:361, no. 717, \**ʔaakw*- ‘[vb.] to burn [of fire]; (n.) fire’ and 520, no. 717):
- A. Semitic: Arabic *ʔakka* ‘to be very hot; to push back; to press; to be oppressed, contracted with anxiety’, *ʔakka-t* ‘suffocating heat; plight; tumult; hatred, envy; death’; Syriac *ʔakkəθā* ‘wrath, anger’. D. Cohen 1970— :18.
- B. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Arbore *ʔoog*- ‘to burn’. Proto-Southern Cushitic \**ʔakw*- or \**ʔaakw*- ‘to be bright, to be brightly colored’ > Ma’a *ʔá*- ‘to be white’, *ʔáku* ‘white’, *ʔakúye* ‘clean’; K’wadza *kamisayo* ‘chameleon’. Ehret 1980:287, no. 43.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic: Tsagu *áàkwé* ‘fire’; Kariya *àkú* ‘fire’; Miya *àkú* ‘fire’; Jimbin *akwá* ‘fire’; Diri *áukòwà*, *akúwá* ‘fire’; Ngizim *ákā* ‘fire’; Bade *ákà* ‘fire’. East Chadic: Sokoro *óko*, *òkó* ‘fire’; Dangla *ako* ‘fire’; Migama *ókko* ‘fire’; Jegu *ʔóók* ‘fire’; Birgit *ʔàkù* ‘fire’. Jungraithmayr—

Ibriszimow 1994.II:138—139; Newman 1977:26, no. 48, *\*aku/\*ak<sup>wa</sup>* ‘fire’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔak<sup>wh</sup>-* (~ *\*ʔək<sup>wh</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:690—692, no. 620):  
 (vb.) *\*ʔak<sup>wh</sup>-* ‘to be hot, to burn; to warm oneself’;  
 (n.) *\*ʔak<sup>wh</sup>-a* ‘heat, fire’

380. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔal-*, *\*ʔul-* negative particle: ‘not’ (Militarëv 2012:80 Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔa/ul-*):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔal-/ʔul-* (< *\*ʔal-*) element of negation > Akkadian *ūl* ‘not’; Ugaritic *āl* ‘not’; Hebrew *ʔal* [לֹא] (negative particle) ‘certainly not’, (as prefix) ‘not, non-, un-’, (n.) ‘nothing’ (Job 24:25); Phoenician *ʔl* element of negation; Arabic *lā* (negative particle) ‘not’, (with apoc. expressing negative imptv.) ‘no!’, Sabaeen *ʔl* (negative particle) ‘not, no one’; Ḥarsūsi *ʔel* ‘not’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʔəl* ‘not’; Mehri *ʔal* ‘not’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔal-* [አል-] element of negation in *ʔalbə-* [አልብ-], *ʔalbo* [አልቦ]; Tigre *ʔalä-* in *ʔalä-bu* ‘there is not’; Amharic *al-* used to express a negative verb in the perfect. D. Cohen 1970— :19, no. 3, prohibitive particle; Klein 1987:28; Leslau 1987:17 and 18; Zammit 2002:363.  
 B. Berber: Kabyle *ala* ‘no’.  
 C. Cushitic: Central Cushitic: negative element *-lā* in: Bilin *ʔillā* ‘no’; Awngi / Awiya *əlla* ‘no’. Appleyard 2006:105; Reinisch 1887:26, 32, and 250.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔal-* (~ *\*ʔəl-*) (perhaps also *\*ʔel-*, *\*ʔul-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:693—695, no. 622):  
 (vb.) *\*ʔal-* ‘to be not so-and-so or such-and-such’;  
 (n.) *\*ʔal-a* ‘nothing’

Originally a negative verb stem meaning ‘to be not so-and-so or such-and-such’ — later used in some branches as a negative particle.

381. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔam-* ‘(vb.) to seize, to touch, to hold; (n.) grasp, hold, hand(ful); (adj.) seized, grasped, touched, held, obtained’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:10, no. 35, *\*ʔam-* ‘to catch, to seize’):

- A. Egyptian *ʔm*, *ʔmm* ‘to seize, to grasp’. Hannig 1995:9; Faulkner 1962:3; Erman—Grapow 1921:2 and 1926—1963.1:10; Gardiner 1957:550.  
 B. Berber: Ghadames *uməz* ‘to take a handful’, *tamməst* ‘a handful of ...’; Tamazight *aməz* ‘to take, to seize, to grasp’, *tummizt* ‘fist; punch’; Mzab *timmizt* ‘handful’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *aməz* ‘to take, to seize, to grasp’; Riff *aməz* ‘to take, to seize’; Kabyle *tummaḥ* ‘fist; punch; handful’; Chaoia *tummiḥ* ‘handful’.

- C. Cushitic: Beja / Beḡawye *ʔamit-*, *ʔamid-* ‘to seize’. Reinisch 1895:19. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *amad-* ‘to hold, to seize, to start, to begin, to touch’; Sidamo *amad-* ‘to hold, to seize, to touch’. Hudson 1989:80.
- D. Chadic: Central Chadic *\*ʔam-/ʔim-* ‘to catch, to seize’ > Tera *ōom-* (< *\*Hwa-ʔam-*) ‘to catch, to seize’; Musgu *ima-*, *ime-* ‘to catch, to seize’. East Chadic *\*ʔam-* ‘to catch’ > Lele *ōm-* ‘to catch’; Kabalay *am-* ‘to catch’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔam-* (~ *\*ʔəm-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:695—696, no. 623):  
 (vb.) *\*ʔam-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to take, to touch, to hold (closely or tightly)’;  
 (n.) *\*ʔam-a* ‘grasp, hold, hand(ful)’; (adj.) ‘seized, grasped, touched, held, obtained’
382. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔam-* (n.) ‘time, moment, point of time; (particle) now’:
- A. Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *ʔama* [**አመ**] ‘at the time of, when’, *ʔamehā* [**አሜሃ**] ‘at that time, then, next’; Gurage *-ām(m)wä* suffix expressing time, as in (Chaha) *yärbat-ām<sup>wä</sup>* ‘time of the evening meal’ (from *yärbat* ‘evening meal, dinner’), (Chaha) *zäft-ām<sup>wä</sup>*, (Eža, Muher) *zäft-āmm<sup>wä</sup>* ‘time around midnight’ (from *zäft* ‘calm’); Amharic *ama* ‘when’ (Geez loan). Leslau 1979:41 and 1987:21.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*ʔamm(-an)-* ‘time, now’ > Galla / Oromo *amm-a* ‘now’; Somali *amm-in-ka*, *imm-in-ka*, *imm-i-ka* ‘now’; Hadiyya *amm-an-i* ‘time, when’; Gidole *amm-an-n-e* ‘now’; Konso *amm-a* ‘now’. Sasse 1979:25; Hudson 2013:247. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ʔami* ‘when?’ > Iraqw *-ami* in *hami* ‘now’; K’wadza *-ami-* in *hamiso* ‘then’; Ma’a *ámi* ‘when?’. Ehret 1980:281.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ʔam-a* ‘time, moment, point of time’; (particle) ‘now’ (Bomhard 2014.3:696—697, no. 624)
383. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔam(m)a* (n.) ‘mother’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:10, no. 34, *\*ʔam-* ‘woman’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔumm-* (< *\*ʔəmm-*) ‘mother’ > Akkadian *ummu* ‘mother’; Amorite *ʔumum*, (very rare) *ʔimmum* ‘mother’; Ugaritic *úm* ‘mother’; Eblaite *ù-mu-mu* ‘mother’; Phoenician *ʔm* ‘mother’; Hebrew *ʔēm* [**אֵם**] ‘mother’; Aramaic *ʔēm*, *ʔimmā* ‘mother’; Syriac *ʔemmā* ‘mother’; Arabic *ʔumm* ‘mother’; Sabaeen *ʔmm* ‘mother’; Mehri (indef.) *ḥām*, (constr.) *ʔēm* ‘mother’; Ḥarsūsi *ḥām* ‘mother’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʔém(é)* ‘mother’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔəmm* [**አም**] ‘mother’; Tigre *ʔəm* ‘mother’; Argobba *əm* ‘mother’; Gafat *əm<sup>wit</sup>* ‘mother’; Gurage *əmm* ‘female, mother’; Amharic *əmmo*, *əmmamma*, *əmməyye* ‘mother!’. D. Cohen 1970—:22—23; Klein 1987:33; Murtonen 1989:92—93; Leslau 1979:42 and 1987:22; Diakonoff 1992:86 *\*ʔəmm-* ‘mother’; Zammit 2002:79.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *ma* ‘mother’; Nefusa *əmmi* ‘mother’; Wargla *mamma* ‘mother, mommy’; Mzab *mamma* ‘mother, mommy’; Ghadames *ma* ‘mother’, *imma* ‘mommy’; Tamazight *imma*, *mma*, *ma* ‘mother, mommy’; Kabyle *yamma* ‘mother, mommy’, *tayammaṭ* ‘mother’; Chaouia *imma*, *yamma* ‘mother, mommy’.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*ama* ‘mother’ > Gedeo / Darasa *ama* ‘mother’; Burji *am-á* ~ *aam-á* ‘adult woman, wife, mother’; Hadiyya *ama* ‘mother’; Kambata *ama-ta* ‘mother’; Sidamo *ama* ‘mother’. Sasse 1982:25—26; Hudson 1989:102. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ʔaama-* ‘female, female relative’ (term of address ?) > Burunge *ama* ‘sister, female cousin’; Asa *ʔamama* ‘grandmother’, *ʔamaʔeto* ‘older girl’; Iraqw *ameni* ‘woman’, *ama* ‘grandmother’; K’wadza *ama* ‘mother’. Ehret 1980:282.
- D. Chadic: West Chadic *\*ʔam-* ‘woman’ > Ngizim *ámá* ‘woman, wife’; Warji *ámá*, *ámái*, *ʔám-áy* ‘woman’; Tsagu *óoméy* ‘woman’; Kariya *ám* ‘woman’; Miya *ám* ‘woman’; Jimbin *ámá* ‘woman’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:346—347.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ʔam(m)a* ‘mother’ (nursery word) (Bomhard 2014.3: 697—698, no. 625):  
Note also:  
(n.) *\*ʔema* ‘older female relative; mother; (older) woman’
384. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔan-* ‘(vb.) to be quiet, still, peaceful, at rest; (n.) tranquility, peace, rest; (adj.) quiet, still, peaceful, restful’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔa/wa/n-*, *\*ʔa/ya/n-* ‘to be at rest’ > Arabic *ʔāna* ‘to be at rest’, *ʔawn* ‘calmness, serenity, gentleness’; Geez / Ethiopic *taʔayyana* [ተአየነ] ‘to live well and comfortably, to be pampered’; *Tamūdīc ʔn* ‘calmness, serenity’. D. Cohen 1970— :12—13; Leslau 1987:50.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ʔand-* ‘to be quiet, to be still’ > Asa *ʔand-* ‘to tame’; Ma’a *-ʔandú* ‘to be quiet, to be still’. Ehret (1980:284) reconstructs Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ʔand-* (or *\*ʕand-*) ‘to tame’ and notes the following concerning the Ma’a form: “Stem plus extension, probably -Vw- consecutive, added before C# → Ø.”
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔanʷ-* (~ *\*ʔənʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:699—700, no. 627):  
(vb.) *\*ʔanʷ-* ‘to be quiet, still, at peace, at rest’;  
(n.) *\*ʔanʷ-a* ‘tranquility, peace, rest’; (adj.) ‘quiet, still, peaceful, restful’
385. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔan-* ‘(vb.) to draw near to, to approach, to come (close to), to reach, to arrive; (n.) nearness, proximity’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔan-aw/y-* ‘to draw near to, to approach, to come (at the right time)’ > Arabic *ʔanā* ‘to come to maturity, to be nearly ripe; to

draw near, to come (esp. time), to approach', *ʔanan* '(span of) time'; Hebrew *ʔānāh* [אָנָה] 'to be opportune, to meet, to encounter opportunity; to bring about, to cause', *tōʔānāh* [תּוֹאָנָה] 'opportunity', *taʔānāh* [תּוֹאָנָה] 'occasion; time of copulation, mating time (of animals)' (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). Perhaps also Akkadian *īnu*, *ēnu*, *īnum*, *ēnum* 'when', *īnu* 'at the time of' (Von Soden 1965—1981.I:382—383 lists *inu*, *enu*). D. Cohen 1970— :25; Murtonen 1989:95; Klein 1987:38 and 688; Zammit 2002:71—82.

- B. Egyptian *ini*, *iny* 'to bring, to fetch; to carry off, to bring away; to bring about (an event); to remove (something bad), to overcome (trouble); to reach, to attain (a place)'; Coptic *ine* [εινε] 'to bring, to bear'. Hannig 1995:74; Faulkner 1962:22; Gardiner 1957:554; Erman—Grapow 1921:14 and 1926—1963.1:90—91; Černý 1976:47; Vycichl 1983:64.
- C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *aan-* 'to follow'. Hudson 1989:348.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔan<sup>v</sup>-* (~ *\*ʔən<sup>v</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:700—702, no. 628):  
 (vb.) *\*ʔan<sup>v</sup>-* 'to draw near to, to approach, to come (close to)';  
 (n.) *\*ʔan<sup>v</sup>-a* 'nearness, proximity'  
 Derivative:  
 (particle) *\*ʔan<sup>v</sup>-* 'to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on'

386. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔan-* 'to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on':

- A. Semitic: Akkadian *ana* 'to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on'. D. Cohen 1970— :24; Von Soden 1965—1981.I:47—48.
- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *aaná* 'on (top of)', *aana* 'over, above'. Hudson 1989:348.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (particle) *\*ʔan<sup>v</sup>-* 'to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on' (Bomhard 2014.3:702, no. 629):  
 Derivative of:  
 (vb.) *\*ʔan<sup>v</sup>-* 'to draw near to, to approach, to come (close to)';  
 (n.) *\*ʔan<sup>v</sup>-a* 'nearness, proximity'

387. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔap-* '(vb.) to be more, over, above, extra, superior; to surpass; (n.) that which is more, over, above, extra, superior; (adj.) many, more, extra, additional, numerous, teeming, superior; (particle) also, moreover, besides':

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔapa* 'also, and also' > Ugaritic *ʔp* 'also'; Hebrew *ʔaḫ* [אָח] 'also, and also, and even'; Syriac *ʔāḫ* 'also'; Phoenician *ʔp* 'also, even'; Palmyrene *ʔp* 'also, even'; Arabic *fā* 'then, and then, and so thus, thence'; Sabaean *f-* 'and, so'. Klein 1987:45; Tomback 1978:27; Zammit 2002:314. The original meaning may be preserved in Akkadian (adj. f. pl.)

*apātu* (*abātu*, *epātu*) (Old Babylonian *a/epiātum*) ‘numerous, teeming (as epithet of human beings)’.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *uf* ‘to be better, to be superior’, *suf* ‘to prefer’, *tūfūt* ‘superiority in goodness’; Ghadames *sif* ‘to prefer, to choose’; Wargla *if* ‘to surpass, to be better than’, *tifət* ‘superiority, preeminence’; Mzab *if* ‘to surpass, to exceed, to be better’; Tamazight *af*, *if* ‘to surpass, to be better than’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *af* ‘to surpass, to be better’; Riff *af* ‘to surpass, to be better’; Kabyle *if* ‘to surpass, to be better than’; Chaouia *af* ‘to be better (than)’; Zenaga *uft* ‘to be better’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔap<sup>h</sup>-* (~ *\*ʔap<sup>h</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:706—707, no. 634):  
 (vb.) *\*ʔap<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to be more, over, above, extra, superior; to surpass’;  
 (n.) *\*ʔap<sup>h</sup>-a* ‘that which is more, over, above, extra, superior’; (adj.) ‘many, more, extra, additional, numerous, teeming, superior’  
 (particle) *\*ʔap<sup>h</sup>-* ‘also, moreover, besides’

Note: The *CVC*-patterning shows that this stem could not originally have been a particle, though this is how it is preserved in Semitic and the other Nostratic daughter languages. Though the original meaning is uncertain, we may speculate that it may have been something like ‘(vb.) to be more, over, above, extra, superior; to surpass; (n.) that which is more, over, above, extra, superior; (adj.) many, more, extra, additional, numerous, teeming, superior’.

388. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔar-* (n.) ‘husband’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:14, no. 49, *\*ʔar-* ‘husband’):

- A. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*aroʔo* ‘husband’ > Sidamo *aroo*, *aró* ‘husband’; Gedeo / Darasa *aroʔo* ‘husband’; Hadiyya *aroʔo* ‘husband’. Hudson 1989:82. Central Cushitic: Awngi / Awiya (with prefix *η-*) *η-árá* ‘husband’. Appleyard 2006:86.  
 B. Omotic: Anfilla *aroo* ‘husband’ (according to Orël—Stolbova [1995:14, no. 49], this may be a loan from Sidamo).

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ʔar-a* ‘male, man, husband’ (Bomhard 2014.3:708—709, no. 636)

389. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔar-* ‘(n.) associated or related person or thing; associate, companion, friend; kinsman; (adj.) associated, related’:

- A. Semitic: Ugaritic *áry* ‘kinsman’. D. Cohen 1970— :33.  
 B. Egyptian *iry*, *iri* ‘one who belongs to someone or something, one who is in charge, keeper; friend, associate, companion’; Coptic (Bohairic) *ēr* [hp] ‘friend’. Hannig 1995:82; Faulkner 1962:25; Erman—Grapow 1921:15



and 1926—1963.1:105; Gardiner 1957:61, §79, *iry* ‘related to, connected with’, from the preposition *r* (*ir*) ‘to’, and 554; Vycichl 1983:53—54; Černý 1976:42.

- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ʔar-* ‘kind, associated or related thing’ > Iraqw *ado* ‘way, manner’; Asa *ʔarato* ‘twins’; Ma’a *mʔáro* ‘neighbor; kind, associated or related thing’. Ehret 1980:286.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ʔar-a* ‘associated or related person or thing; associate, companion, friend; kinsman, relative’; (adj.) ‘associated, related’ (Bomhard 2014.3:709, no. 637)

390. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔar-* used as the base for the designation of various horned animals: (n.) ‘ram, goat, mountain-goat, chamois, ibex, gazelle, etc.’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:15, no. 50, *\*ʔar-* ‘ram, goat’; Militarëv 2009:101):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔar-w/y-* originally used as the designation of various horned animals: ‘chamois, gazelle, mountain goat’; later used as the designation for any wild animal > Akkadian *arwū* (also *armū*) ‘gazelle’, *erū*, *arū* ‘eagle’; Amorite *ʔarwiyum* ‘gazelle’; Hebrew *ʔārī* [ʔārī], *ʔaryēh* [ʔārī] ‘lion’; Syriac *ʔaryā* ‘lion’; Arabic *ʔarwā* ‘chamois’, *ʔurwiyya* ‘mountain goat’; Sabaeen *ʔry* ‘mountain goats’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔarwe* [አርዌ] ‘animal, wild animal, beast, wild beast, reptile’; Tigrinya *ʔarawit*, *ʔarā* ‘wild animal’; Tigre *ʔarwē* ‘serpent, snake’, *ʔarwāt* ‘female elephant’; Harari *ūri* ‘wild animal, beast’. D. Cohen 1970— :32; Hudson 2013:113; Murtonen 1989:100—101; Klein 1987:55; Leslau 1963:31 and 1987:40.
- B. Berber: Guanche *ara* ‘she-goat’.
- C. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic *\*ʔar-* ‘sheep’ > Boni *eriyā* ‘sheep’; Rendille *ari* ‘sheep’. Highland East Cushitic (pl.) *\*ʔaray-* ‘sheep’ > Bambala *araay* ‘sheep’. Proto-Rift *\*ʔar-* ‘goat’ > Iraqw *ari* ‘goat’; Alagwa (pl.) *ara* ‘goats’; Burunge (pl.) *ara* ‘goats’; K’wadza *ali-to* ‘goat’. Ehret 1980:297 *\*aari* ‘goat’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔar-* (~ *\*ʔar-*) (used as the base for the designation of various horned animals) (Bomhard 2014.3:709—710, no. 638):  
(n.) *\*ʔar-a* ‘ram, goat, mountain-goat, chamois, ibex, gazelle, etc.’

391. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔas-* ‘(vb.) to gather, to collect; (n.) the act of gathering, collecting’ (Orël—Stolbova 2000:37, no. 146, *\*ʔVcup-* ‘to gather, to harvest’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔas-ap-* ‘to gather, to collect’ > Hebrew *ʔāsaq* [ʔāsaq] ‘to gather, to collect, to remove; to harvest’, *ʔāsīq* [ʔāsīq] ‘harvest’; Aramaic *ʔasaq* ‘to gather, to harvest’; Phoenician *ʔsp* ‘to be gathered in’; Punic *ʔsp* ‘to gather’; Ugaritic *ʔsp* ‘to gather’; Akkadian *esēpu* ‘to gather

up, to collect' (Assyrian *esāpu*); Eblaite *á-si-pù* 'harvest'. D. Cohen 1970— :27; Murtonen 1989:97; Klein 1971:44; Tombaek 1978:26—27.

B. Chadic: East Chadic *\*ʔVsup-* 'to harvest' > Tumak *sub-* 'to harvest'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔas-* (~ *\*ʔas-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:710—711, no. 639):  
 (vb.) *\*ʔas-* 'to gather, to collect';  
 (n.) *\*ʔas-a* 'the act of gathering, collecting'

392. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔasʷ-* '(vb.) to put, to place, to set; to sit, to be seated; (n.) place, seat; (adj.) put, placed, set, established':

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔasʷ-asʷ-* 'to set up, to establish' > Old Akkadian *uššum* 'foundation'; Hebrew *\*ʔāšāš* [ʔʕʕʕ] 'to strengthen, to fortify, to found, to establish'; Post-Biblical Hebrew *məʔuššāš* [ʔʕʕʕ] 'strong'; Biblical Aramaic (pl. det.) *ʔuššayyā* 'foundations'; Arabic *ʔassa* 'to found, to establish, to set up, to lay the foundation', *ʔuss* 'foundation, basis'; Sabaean *ʔss* 'base (of a statue or stele)'; Tigre *ʔassārā* 'to set in order'. D. Cohen 1970— :35—36; Klein 1987:59—60.
- B. Egyptian *is-t*, *s-t* 'seat, throne, place', *t-is* 'to sit, to seat oneself', *t-isʔ* 'to set, to insert, to inlay', *isb-t* 'throne, seat', (obsolete in Middle Egyptian) *isd* 'to sit'. Hannig 1995:102, 105, and 918; Faulkner 1962:30 and 206; Rössler 1981:715; Erman—Grapow 1921:19, 150 and 1926—1963.1:132, 4:1—6 *ś-t*, 5:242.
- C. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Burji *iss-* 'to do, to act, to make'; Sidamo *ass-* 'to do, to make'; Kambata *ass-*, *es-* 'to so, to make'; Hadiyya *iss-* 'to do, to make'; Gedeo / Darasa (*h*)*ass-* 'to do'; Saho *is-* ~ *iš-* 'to do, to make'; Boni *as-* 'to prepare, to make'. Sasse 1982:107; Hudson 1989:51, 405 Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*ass-* 'to do', and 2013:123.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔasʷ-* (~ *\*ʔasʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:711—712, no. 640):  
 (vb.) *\*ʔasʷ-* 'to put, to place, to set; to sit, to be seated';  
 (n.) *\*ʔasʷ-a* 'place, seat'; (adj.) 'put, placed, set, established'

393. Proto-Afrasian coordinating conjunction *\*ʔaw-* 'or':

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔaw-* 'or' > Arabic *ʔaw* 'or'; Hebrew *ʔō* [ʔō] 'or'; Syriac *ʔaw* 'or'; Ugaritic *ʔ* 'or'; Akkadian *ū* 'or'; Sabaean *ʔw* 'or'; Harsūsi *ʔaw* 'or'; Mehri *ʔaw* 'or'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔaw* [አው] 'or'; Tigre *ʔaw* 'or'; Tigrinya *wäy* 'or'; Harari *aw* 'or'; Gurage *we* 'or'; Amharic *wäy* 'or'; Gafat *wäy* 'or'. D. Cohen 1970— :11; Murtonen 1989:84—85; Klein 1987:9; Leslau 1963:37, 1979:639, and 1987:47; Zammit 2002:83.
- B. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Saho *oo* 'or'.

← Proto-Nostratic coordinating conjunction *\*ʔaw-*, *\*ʔwa-* (~ *\*ʔwə-*) ‘or’ (Bomhard 2014.3:714—715, no. 643)

394. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔay(y)-* interrogative-relative pronoun stem: ‘who, which, what; here; who?, which?, what?; where?’ (Diakonoff 1988:83, §4.4.4):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔay(y)-* interrogative stem: ‘who?, which?, what?; where?’ > Hebrew *ʔē* [ʔ̥] ‘where?’; Aramaic *ʔē* ‘what?, where?, how?’, *ʔēḫā* ‘where now?’; Syriac *ʔaynā* ‘what?’, *ʔaykā* ‘where?’; Ugaritic *īy* ‘where?’; Akkadian *ayyū* ‘who?, what?’; Arabic *ʔayy* ‘which?, what?’; Epigraphic South Arabian *ʔy* ‘whatsoever’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔayy* [ḥ] ‘which?, what?, what kind?, what sort of?’; Tigre *ʔayi* ‘which?’; Tigrinya *ʔayyān*, *ʔayyā-nay* ‘which?’, also in: *nabāy* ‘whither?’ (from *nab ʔay*) and *kāmāy* ‘how!’ (from *kāmā ʔay*); Harari *āy* ‘which?’, *āyde* ‘where?’, *āyku(t)* ‘how?’; Gurage (Chaha) *e* ‘where?’. D. Cohen 1970— :16—17; Moscati 1964:114—115; Zammit 2002:86; Klein 1987:20; Leslau 1963:38, 1979:1, and 1987:49.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*ʔay(y)-* > Saho *ay* ‘who?’; Boni *ay* ‘who?’; Somali *ayy-o* ‘who?’; Burji *áyye* ‘who?’; Hadiyya *ay*, *ayy-e* ‘who?’. Sasse 1979:46 and 1982:30; Hudson 1989:167. This stem also occurs in Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ʔayi* ‘here’, (combining form) *\*yi* ‘here’ > K’wadza *ayīye* ‘here’; Ma’a *iʔi* ‘here’; Dahalo *\*ji-* in *jiko* ‘who?’. Ehret 1980:288.
- C. Omotic: Bender (2000:209) reconstructs an interrogative stem *\*ay* ‘who?, what?, why?’ for Proto-Omotic.

← Proto-Nostratic interrogative-relative pronoun stem *\*ʔay-*, *\*ʔya-* ‘(relative) who, which, what; (interrogative) who?, which?, what?’ (Bomhard 2014.3:716—717, no. 645):

Derivative of:

(vb.) *\*ʔay-* ‘to do what?, to act in what manner?’

395. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔay-* ‘(vb.) to come, to run; (n.) journey’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:18—19, no. 65, *\*ʔay-* ‘to come, to run’):

- A. (?) Semitic: Arabic *taʔayya* ‘to remain a long time’. D. Cohen 1970— :17 (Arabic *ʔayyaya*).
- B. Berber: Tuareg *ayu-* ‘to come’; Kabyle (interjection) *ayya* ‘come!’.
- C. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *eʔ-* ‘to enter; to set (of sun)’. Hudson 1989:361.
- D. Omotic: Omoto *ai-* ‘to come’; Bench / Gimira (inf.) *yo* ‘to come’.
- E. Chadic: East Chadic *\*ʔaw-/ʔay-* ‘to go; to gallop’ > Ndam *ao* ‘to go’; Sibine *ʔaya* ‘to gallop’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔay-* (~ *\*ʔay-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:171—720, no. 646):

- (vb.) \*ʔay- ‘to go, to proceed’;  
 (n.) \*ʔay-a ‘journey’  
 Note also:  
 (vb.) \*ʔiy- ‘to come, to go’;  
 (n.) \*ʔiy-a ‘approach, arrival; path, way’

396. Proto-Afrasian \*ʔay-a (n.) ‘brain’:

- A. Egyptian *ʕis* ‘brain (of men and animals)’ (medical term). Hannig 1995:2; Faulkner 1962:1; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:2.  
 B. Berber: Tuareg *tayttə* (pl. *tiyttəwīn*) ‘intelligence, mind’; Mzab *ayətti*, *tayətti* ‘attention given to an act or deed’; Riff (Iznasen) *taytti* ‘evil eye’.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \*ʔay-a ‘brain’ (Bomhard 2014.3:720, no. 647)

397. Proto-Afrasian \*ʔay(y)- (n.) ‘mother’:

- A. Berber: Kabyle *ya* ‘woman, female’ (in composition: *ya-n-əgma* in *tiyanəgmatin* ‘sister-in-law, brother’s wife’), *yaya* ‘(my) grandmother, older member of the family’.  
 B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic \*ʔaayy- ‘mother’ > Boni *aay-o?* ‘mother’; Somali *aay-o* ‘stepmother’; Rendille *ay-o* ‘mother’; Bayso *ay-o* ‘mother’; Galla / Oromo *aayy-oo* ‘mother’; Konso *aayy-o* ‘mother’; Burji *aayy-ée* ‘mother, mother’s sister’; Hadiyya *a(a)y-y-a* ‘sister’. Sasse 1979:44 and 1982:22; Hudson 1989:102, 176, 269, and 2013:124.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \*ʔay(y)a ‘mother, female relative’ (nursery word) (Bomhard 2014.3:720—721, no. 648)

398. Proto-Afrasian \*ʔeb- ‘(vb.) to become weak, exhausted, wasted, debilitated, wiped out; to yield, to succumb; to go mad, to become insane, to lose one’s mind; to lose one’s way; (n.) weakness, exhaustion; madness, foolishness, silliness; (adj.) weakened, exhausted, debilitated, wiped out; mad, foolish, silly, half-witted’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:23—24, no. 87, \*ʔibad- ‘to lose, to be lost’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*ʔab-ad- ‘to become weak, exhausted, wasted, debilitated, wiped out; to yield, to succumb; to go mad, to become insane, to lose one’s mind; to lose one’s way’ > Arabic *ʔabada* ‘to roam in a state of wildness, to run wild, to be shy’, *ʔābid* ‘wild, untamed’; Hebrew *ʔābaḏ* [אָבַד] ‘to perish, to vanish, to be lost, to go astray’; Aramaic *ʔābaḏ* ‘to be lost’; Moabite *ʔbd* ‘to perish’; Ugaritic *ʔbd* ‘perished’; Akkadian *abātu* ‘to destroy, to lay waste, to ruin’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔabda* [አብደ], *ʔabda* [ዐብደ] ‘to be insane, to become enraged, to rage, to be mad, to be out of one’s

mind, to become a fool, to be foolish', *ʔabud* [ʕɑ·ʕ] 'foolish, stupid, mad, insane, enraged, furious'; Tigre *ʔabbäda* 'to deceive', *ʔabd* 'fool-hardy'; Tigrinya *ʔabbädä* 'to entice with promises', *ʕabädä* 'to go mad, to become insane'; Amharic *abbädä* 'to go insane, to go mad'. D. Cohen 1970— :2; Murtonen 1989:79; Klein 1971:1; Leslau 1987:2—3.

- B. Berber: Tuareg *abdəh* 'to be exhausted (after running or marching)'.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*ebelo* 'so-and-so' > Burji *ebelo* 'so-and-so'; Gedeo / Darasa *ebelo* 'so-and-so'; Hadiyya (m.) *ebaro*, (f.) *ebare* 'so-and-so'; Kambata (m.) *ebalo*, (f.) *ebale* 'so-and-so'; Sidamo *ebelo*, *eweló* 'so-and-so'. Hudson 1989:138. Semantic development as in Burji *dóof-aa* ~ *dóof-a* 'so-and-so' vs. Galla / Oromo *doofaa* 'fool'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔeb-* (Bomhard 2014.3:722—723, no. 651):

- (vb.) *\*ʔeb-* 'to become weak, exhausted, wasted, debilitated, wiped out; to yield, to succumb; to go mad, to become insane, to lose one's mind; to lose one's way';
- (n.) *\*ʔeb-a* 'weakness, exhaustion; madness, silliness, foolishness'; (adj.) 'weakened, exhausted, debilitated, wiped out; mad, foolish, silly, half-witted'

399. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔek'-* '(vb.) to diminish, to decrease, to reduce; to be insufficient, lacking, wanting; to be small, weak, lowly, ignoble, common, ordinary, plain, simple; (n.) diminishment, reduction, decrease, loss; deficiency, want, need, lack':

- A. Egyptian *ʕq* 'to perish, to come to grief', *ʕqw* 'ruin, misfortune, loss', *ʕqyt* 'loss'; Coptic *akō* [ʕkω] 'thing destroyed, destruction'. Hannig 1995:3; Faulkner 1962:6; Erman—Grapow 1921:4 and 1926—1963.1:21; Gardiner 1957:550; Černý 1976:3; Vycichl 1983:6.
- B. Berber: Kabyle *aqu* 'to be rare, to miss, to disappear', *tuqqit* 'misfortune, disappearance, annihilation'; Ghadames *əqqu* 'to be finished, used up, lost'.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔek'-* (Bomhard 2014.3:725—726, no. 653):

- (vb.) *\*ʔek'-* 'to diminish, to decrease, to reduce; to be insufficient, lacking, wanting; to be small, weak, lowly, ignoble, common, ordinary, plain, simple';
- (n.) *\*ʔek'-a* 'diminishment, reduction, decrease, loss; deficiency, want, need, lack'

400. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔel-* '(vb.) to shine, to radiate, to glitter, to glisten; (n.) luster, splendor, light':

- A. Semitic: Arabic *ʔalla* ‘to shine, to glitter’, *ʔalaḵa* ‘to shine, to radiate, to flash, to glitter, to glisten’. D. Cohen 1970— :21 and 21—22.
- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *ellin-co* ‘sun’. Hudson 1989: 277.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔel-* (Bomhard 2014.3:726, no. 654):  
 (vb.) *\*ʔel-* ‘to shine, to radiate, to glitter, to glisten’;  
 (n.) *\*ʔel-a* ‘luster, splendor, light’
401. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔef-* ‘(vb.) to burn, to be hot; to bake; (n.) the act of cooking, baking; oven’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *ʔap-ay-* ‘to bake’ > Hebrew *ʔāḩāh* [אִחָה] ‘to bake’; Aramaic *ʔāḩā* ‘to bake’; Ugaritic *ʔp(y)* ‘to bake’; Mandaic *apa* ‘to bake’; Akkadian *epū* ‘to bake’; Arabic (Daḩina) *haḩā* (*hḩy*) ‘to bake’, *mīfan* ‘oven’; Sabaean *ʔfy* ‘baked goods’; Soqotri *moḩe* ‘furnace’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔafaya* [አፋየ] ‘to bake’. Murtonen 1989:98; Klein 1987:45; D. Cohen 1970— :28; Leslau 1987:10.
- B. Egyptian *ʔfyt* ‘flames, fire’, *ʔfr* ‘to burn, to be hot’, *ʔfry* ‘to boil’. Hannig 1995:8; Faulkner 1962:3; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:9.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔep<sup>h</sup>-* (Bomhard 2014.3:728—729, no. 657):  
 (vb.) *\*ʔep<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to burn, to be hot; to cook, to boil, to bake’;  
 (n.) *\*ʔep<sup>h</sup>-a* ‘the act of cooking, baking; oven’
402. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔer-tḩ-* (n.) ‘earth, ground’ (Diakonoff 1992:21 *\*rḩ* ‘earth’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:15—16, no. 54, *\*ʔariḩ-* ‘earth’; Militarëv 2010:64 Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔariḩ-*; Takács 2011:32 *\*rVḩ-* ‘earth’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔar-tḩ-* ‘earth, land’ > Hebrew *ʔereṣ* [עֶרֶץ] ‘earth, land, country, ground’; Aramaic *ʔarʕā* ‘land, earth, ground, field’; Phoenician *ʔrṣ* ‘earth’; Ugaritic *ʔrṣ* ‘earth’; Akkadian *erṣetu* ‘earth, soil, ground, dry land; land, territory, district; the earth; the nether world’; Arabic *ʔarḩ* ‘earth, ground, land’; Sabaean *ʔrḩ* ‘earth’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʔerz* ‘land, earth’. D. Cohen 1970— :33—34; Klein 1987:57; Murtonen 1989:102; Militarëv 2010:64 Proto-Semitic *\*ʔarṣ-*; Takács 2011:32 Proto-Semitic *\*ʔarṣ-* (*\*ʔarḩ-*); Zammit 2002:72.
- B. Chadic: West Chadic *\*HVritḩ-* ‘earth’ > Pa’a (*ə*)*rḩa* / *rìtlʔá* (Orël—Stolbova write *riṣa*) ‘earth’; Tsagu *hiiʔtlé* (Orël—Stolbova write *hīṣe*) ‘earth’; Siri *rəʔtlù* / *ìrìtlí* (Orël—Stolbova write *rəṣu*) ‘earth’; Mburku *rìʔtlú* (Orël—Stolbova write *riṣi*) ‘earth’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:116—117. (?) East Chadic *\*ʔiratḩ-* ‘valley’ > Bidiya *ʔiraaḩya* ‘valley’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) \**ʔer-a* ‘earth, ground’ (Bomhard 2014.3:729—730, no. 658)
403. Proto-Afrasian \**ʔib-* ‘(vb.) to well up, to overflow, to spill over; to pour out or over; (n.) spill, overflow, flood, deluge’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*\**ʔab-ab-* ‘flood, deluge, inundation’ > Akkadian *abūbu* ‘the Deluge as a cosmic event; the Deluge personified as a monster with definite features; devastating flood’, (adv.) *abūbāniš* (*abūbiš*) ‘like the flood’; Arabic *ʔubāb* ‘great mass of water, billow, wave’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔababi* [አበቢ] ‘flow, wave’; Mandaic *tababia* ‘storm, hurricane’. D. Cohen 1970— :1—2; Leslau 1987:2.
  - B. Egyptian *ibḥ* ‘stream’, *ibḥ* ‘to sprinkle water’, *ibḥ* ‘a priest who pours libations’. Hannig 1995:42; Faulkner 1962:16; Gardiner 1957:553; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:64.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**ʔib-* (~ \**ʔeb-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:730, no. 659):
- (vb.) \**ʔib-* ‘to well up, to overflow, to spill over; to pour out or over’;
- (n.) \**ʔib-a* ‘spill, overflow, flood, deluge’
404. Proto-Afrasian \**ʔil-* ‘(vb.) to live, to be alive; to be, to exist; (n.) dwelling, habitation, house’; (adj.) ‘living, alive, existing’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:8 \**ʔal-* / \**ʔil-* ‘to be’):
- A. Berber: Tuareg *all* ‘to be, to exist’; Siwa *ili* ‘to be’; Nefusa *ili* ‘to be’; Ghadames *ili* ‘to be’; Wargla *ili* ‘to be’; Mzab *ili* ‘to be’; Tamazight *ili* ‘to be, to exist’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ili* ‘to be’; Riff *ili*, *iri* ‘to be’; Kabyle *ili* ‘to be, to exist’; Chaouia *ili* ‘to be, to exist’; Zenaga *ille* ‘to be’, *al* ‘place’.
  - B. Chadic: Central Chadic \**ʔal-* ‘to be’ > Mofu *ala-* ‘to be’; Logone *āli-*, *li-* ‘to be’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**ʔil-* (~ \**ʔel-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:730—731, no. 660):
- (vb.) \**ʔil-* ‘to live, to be alive; to be, to exist’;
- (n.) \**ʔil-a* ‘dwelling, habitation, house’; (adj.) ‘living, alive, existing’
405. Proto-Afrasian \**ʔin-* ‘in, within, into’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ʔin-* ‘in, on, from, by’ > Akkadian *ina* (*in*) ‘in, on, from, through’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔən-ta* [ኢንተ] ‘through, by way of, by, at, into, to, in the direction of, because’; Tigre *ʔət* ‘on, in, by, with, because of’, *ʔatta* ‘there’. Leslau 1987:32—33; D. Cohen 1970— :24.
  - B. Egyptian *in* ‘in, to, for, because, by’. Gardiner 1957:553; Hannig 1995:73; Faulkner 1962:22; Erman—Grapow 1921:13 and 1926—1963.1:89.

- C. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*-ni* ‘with’ > Burji *-na* ‘with’; Gedeo / Darasa *-nni* ‘with’, *-’ni* ‘on (top of)’, *-’ni* ‘from, in’; Hadiyya *-n* ‘in’, *-nni* ‘in’, *-ns* ‘from’; Kambata *-n* ‘with’; Sidamo *-nni* ‘with’. Hudson 1989:83 and 169.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ʔin-a* (~ *\*ʔen-a*) ‘place, location’ (> ‘in, within, into’ in the daughter languages) (Bomhard 2014.3:734—735, no. 663)
406. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔin(a)* or *\*ʔiŋ(a)* (n.) ‘younger relative (male or female)’:
- A. (?) Egyptian *inpw* ‘royal child: crown-prince, princess’. Erman—Grapow 1921:14 and 1926—1963.1:96; Gardiner 1957:554; Faulkner 1962:23; Hannig 1995:77.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*ʔinam-/\*ʔinm-* (m.) ‘son, boy’, (f.) ‘daughter, girl’ > Somali *inan* (pl. *inamm-o*) ‘boy, son’, *inán* (pl. *inam-o*) ‘girl, daughter’; Rendille *inam* ‘boy’, *inám* ‘girl, daughter’; Konso *inn-a* ‘son, boy’, *inan-ta* ‘girl, daughter’; Gidole *imm(-a)* ‘boy, son’, *inan-t(a)* ‘girl, daughter’; Harso *inan-ko* ‘son-in-law’. Sasse 1979:24. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ʔiŋan-* or *\*ʔiŋaan-* ‘child’ > Burunge *nana* ‘sibling, cousin’; Iraqw *nina* ‘small, little’; Alagwa *nina* ‘small, little’; K’wadza *-nanana* ‘little’; Ma’a *iŋinta* ‘sister’, *iŋa* ‘brother’. Ehret 1980:292.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ʔina* or *\*ʔiŋa* ‘younger relative (male or female)’ (nursery word) (Bomhard 2014.3:735—736, no. 664)
407. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔit-*, *\*ʔet-* ‘(vb.) to eat, to bite into; (n.) the act of eating; that which is eaten: food, nourishment’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:23, no. 83, *\*ʔet-* ‘to eat’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔat-am-* ‘to bite into’ > Arabic *ʔatama* ‘to bite into’; Ugaritic *ʔtm* ‘bite, mouthful, morsel’. D. Cohen 1970— :16.
- B. (?) Egyptian *idbw* ‘of the mouth’ (medical term). Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:153.
- C. Berber: Tawlemmet *əttəd* ‘to suck’, *sudəd* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to breast-feed’; Nefusa *tadda* ‘leech’; Mzab *əttəd* ‘to suck’, *ssəttəd* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to breast-feed’; Wargla *əttəd* ‘to suck’; Tamazight *əttəd* ‘to suck’, *ssuttəd* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to breast-feed’, *tiditt* ‘leech’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əttəd* ‘to suck’; Riff *əttəd* ‘to suck’, *uɖud* ‘nursing, breast-feeding’; Kabyle *əttəd* ‘to suck’, *tuttəda* ‘sucking’; Chaouia *əttəd* ‘to suck, to be sucked’, *timsudəɖət* ‘wet-nurse’; Zenaga *ɖud* ‘to suck’, *suddud* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to breast-feed’, *əɖəd* ‘to bite’.
- D. (?) East Cushitic: Burji *it-* ‘to eat’; Gedeo / Darasa *it-* ‘to eat’; Hadiyya *it-* ‘to eat’; Kambata *it-* ‘to eat’; Sidamo *it-* ‘to eat’; Galla / Oromo *it-o* ‘food’. Hudson 1989:55 Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*it-*; Sasse 1982:108.



- E. (?) Chadic: Fyer *et-* ‘to eat’; Tangale *edi-* ‘to eat’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:120—121.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔit-* (∼ *\*ʔet-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:736—737, no. 665):  
 (vb.) *\*ʔit-* ‘to chew, to bite, to eat, to consume’;  
 (n.) *\*ʔit-a* ‘the act of eating; that which is eaten: food, nourishment’
408. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔiy-* ‘(vb.) to come, to go; (n.) approach, arrival; path, way’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:31, no. 118, *\*ʔiw-/ʔiy-* ‘to come’):
- A. Egyptian *ī, iy* ‘to come’ (also *iw* ‘to come’); Coptic *i* [ⲉ] ‘to come, to go’. Hannig 1995:27—28; Faulkner 1962:10 and 11; Erman—Grapow 1921:6 and 1926—1963.1:37; Gardiner 1957:551; Vycichl 1983:59—60; Černý 1976:44.
  - B. Cushitic: North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *yiʔ-*, *ʔiʔ-* ‘to arrive at, to come’. Reinisch 1895:241. Lowland East Cushitic: Arbore *ʔiʔit-* ‘to go’.
  - C. Chadic: Proto-Chadic (imptv.) *\*ya* ‘come!’ > Hausa *yaa-ka* ‘come!’; Ngizim *yé-n* ‘come!’; Sukur *yo* ‘come!’. Ngizim *yí* ‘go, went’ (form of ‘go’ used in the subjunctive aspect). Newman 1977:24; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:82—83 and II:162—163; Schuh 1981:177.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔiy-* (∼ *\*ʔey-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:737—739, no. 666):  
 (vb.) *\*ʔiy-* ‘to come, to go’;  
 (n.) *\*ʔiy-a* ‘approach, arrival; path, way’  
 Note also:  
 (vb.) *\*ʔay-* ‘to go, to proceed’;  
 (n.) *\*ʔay-a* ‘journey’
409. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔiya* first person suffixed personal pronoun stem (Ehret 1995:478, no. 1011, *\*i* or *\*yi* ‘me, my’ [bound 1st sg. pronoun]; Diakonoff 1988:76—77):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*(i)ya* first person singular suffixed personal pronoun > Old Babylonian *-ī, -ya*; Ugaritic *-y*; Hebrew *-ī*; Aramaic *-ī*; Classical Arabic *-ī, -ya*; Mehri *-i, -yā*; Geez / Ethiopic *-ya* [-ʔ]; Tigre *-ye*; Tigrinya *-äy*. Moscati 1964:106, §13.14; O’Leary 1921:149—150; Lipiński 1997:306—307, 308; Gray 1934:63—64; W. Wright 1890:95—98.
  - B. Egyptian *-i* 1st singular suffix: ‘I, me, my’. Hannig 1995:21; Faulkner 1962:7; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:25; Gardiner 1957:39 and 550.
  - C. Berber: Tuareg *-i, -iyi* ‘me, to me’; Kabyle *-i, -iyi, -yi* ‘me, to me’, *-i* ‘me’ as in: *fəll-i* ‘for me’, *yid-i* ‘with me’, *əʔr-i* ‘towards me’, *gar-i d-ṛəbbi* ‘between me and God’, *wəḥd-i* ‘me alone’, *zdat-i* ‘in front of me’, etc.;

Tamazight (1st sg. direct object pronoun, placed either before or after verbs according to the syntactic conditions) *i, yi* ‘me’.

- D. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*ya/\*yi* ‘me, my’ > Saho *yi* ‘me’; Afar (poss.) *yi* ‘my’; Burji (1st sg. abs. [obj.]) *ee* ‘me’, *li-ya* ‘my’; Arbore *ye-* ‘me’; Dasenech *ye-* ‘me’; Elmolo *ye-* ‘me’; Kambata *e(e)s* ‘me’; Hadiyya *e(e)s* ‘me’; Sidamo *-e* ‘me’; Dullay *ye* ‘me’; Yaaku *i(i)* ‘me’. Sasse 1982:67 and 104; Hudson 1989:97; Heine 1978:53. Proto-Agaw (oblique) *\*yā-* ‘me, my’ > Bilin *yi-* ‘me, my’; Xamir *yā-* ‘me, my’; Kemant *yā-* ‘me, my’; Awngi / Awiya *áy-/yi-* ‘me, my’. Appleyard 2006:87; Reinisch 1887:365. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ʔe/\*ʔi* ‘my’ > Iraqw *e* ‘my’; Burunge *ayi* ‘my’; Alagwa *i* ‘my’; K’wadza *-ʔe* ‘my’; Dahalo *ʔi* ‘my’. Ehret 1980:289.

← Proto-Nostratic 1st person personal pronoun stem *\*ʔiya*: (a) ‘by me’; (b) agent marker of the 1st singular of verbs; (c) postnominal possessive pronoun: ‘my’ (Bomhard 2014.3:739—740, no. 667)

410. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔom-* ‘rounded prominence at the end of a bone forming a ball and socket joint with the hollow part of another bone, condyle (of the lower jaw, the shoulder, the elbow, the hip, etc.)’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʔamm-at-* ‘forearm, cubit’ > Akkadian *ammātu* ‘forearm, cubit’; Ugaritic *āmt* ‘elbow’; Hebrew *ʔammāh* [אֲמָה] ‘ell, cubit’; Ancient Aramaic *ʔmh* ‘cubit’; Aramaic *ʔammā* ‘cubit’; Syriac *ʔamməṯā* ‘cubit’; Sabaeen *ʔmt* ‘cubit’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔamat* [አሙት] ‘cubit, forearm’; Amharic *amāt* ‘cubit, forearm’ (Geez loan) ; Tigre *ʔammät* ‘cubit, forearm’; Tigrinya *ʔammät* ‘cubit, forearm’. D. Cohen 1970— :22; Murtonen 1989:93; Klein 1987:34; Leslau 1987:26.
- B. Egyptian *ʔmʕt* ‘rounded prominence at the end of a bone forming a ball and socket joint with the hollow part of another bone, condyle (of the lower jaw, the shoulder, the elbow)’ (medical term). Hannig 1995:9; Faulkner 1962:3 *ʔmʕt* ‘ramus of jaw; fork of bone’; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:10.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ʔom-a* ‘rounded prominence at the end of a bone forming a ball and socket joint with the hollow part of another bone, condyle (of the lower jaw, the shoulder, the elbow, the hip, etc.)’ (Bomhard 2014.3:740—741, no. 668)

Note: Semantic shifts took place in Semitic, Indo-European, and, in part, Altaic; the original meaning was preserved in Egyptian and Turkic.

411. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʔor-* ‘(vb.) to hasten, to hurry; (n.) road, path, way’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:31—32, no. 122, *\*ʔorah-* ‘road, way’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ʔar-ax-* ‘to go, to journey, to hurry’, \**ʔurx-* ‘road, way’ > Hebrew *ʔārah* [ʔʕʕʕ] ‘to go, to wander, to journey’, *ʔōrah* [ʔʕʕʕ] ‘way, path, route’; Palmyrene *ʔrh* ‘road’; Aramaic *ʔōrhā* ‘road, path, way’; Akkadian *arāhu* ‘to hasten, to hurry’, *urhu* ‘road, path’; Sabaean *ʔrh* ‘road’. D. Cohen 1970—:32—33; Murtonen 1989:101; Klein 1987:54.
- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic \**ʔor-* ‘(vb.) to go; (n.) road’ > Kambata *orokk-* ‘to go’; Gedeo / Darasa *ora* ‘road’. Hudson 1989:124, 258, and 335. Southern Cushitic: Rift \**ʔuruw-* ‘path, way’ > Gorowa *uruwa* ‘path, way’.
- C. Chadic: East Chadic \**ʔwar-* ‘road’ > Bidiya *ʔoora* ‘road’. West Chadic \**ʔwara-* (< \**ʔwaraH-*) ‘road’ > Sura *ar* ‘road’; Angas *ar* ‘road’; Kulere *ʔaraw* ‘road’; Ankwe *war* ‘road’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**ʔor-* (Bomhard 2014.3:741—743, no. 669):  
 (vb.) \**ʔor-* ‘to move rapidly, quickly, hastily; to set in motion’;  
 (n.) \**ʔor-a* ‘any rapid motion: running, flowing, pouring, etc.’; (adj.) ‘rapid, quick, hasty’
412. Proto-Afrasian \**ʔum-* ‘(vb.) to bear, to give birth; (n.) clan, kinsmen’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:34, no. 131, \**ʔum-* ‘people’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ʔumm-* ‘people, clan’ > Hebrew *ʔummāh* [ʔʕʕʕ] ‘clan, tribe, nation, people’; Aramaic *ʔūmmā* ‘people, nation’; Ugaritic *ūmt* ‘sibling, kinsman’; Arabic *ʔumma* ‘nation, people, generation’; Akkadian *ummātu* ‘people, army’; Tigre *ʔammāt* ‘nation, tribe, people’. D. Cohen 1970—:23; Klein 1987:34.
- B. (?) Berber: Tuareg *iman* ‘soul, person’; Nefusa *iman* ‘person’; Wargla *iman* ‘soul, person’; Mzab *iman* ‘soul, life-force, self’; Riff *iman* ‘soul, life, person’; Chaouia *iman* ‘person, being’. Also used in the formation of reflexive pronouns: Nefusa *iman-ənnəs* ‘himself’; Mzab *imən-əs* ‘himself’; Tuareg *iman-in* ‘myself’; Riff *iman-əs* ‘himself’; Kabyle *iman-iw* ‘myself’, *iman-ik* ‘yourself’; Chaouia *iman-əs* ‘oneself, himself, herself’.
- C. Cushitic: Southern Cushitic: Rift \**ʔim-i-* (assimilated from \**ʔum-i-*) ‘people’ > Iraqw *imi* ‘people’; Alagwa *imi* ‘crowd’; Burunge *im-et* ‘people’. Proto-Southern Cushitic \**ʔumuʔ-* ‘to give birth’ > Burunge *murungu* ‘navel’; Alagwa *mugungu* ‘navel’; Dahalo *ʔumuš-* ‘to give birth’, *ʔumušikuð-* ‘to be born’. Ehret 1980:295.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**ʔum-* (~ \**ʔom-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:750—751, no. 676):  
 (vb.) \**ʔum-* ‘to bear, to give birth’;  
 (n.) \**ʔum-a* ‘offspring, descendant’
413. Proto-Afrasian \**ʔut-* ‘(vb.) to stretch, to lengthen; (n.) wide-open space, outdoor area, exterior; length, distance; (adj.) wide, broad, long’:

- A. Semitic: Arabic *ʔaṭaṭ*- ‘long, tall’. D. Cohen 1970— :16.  
 B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ʔuḍ*- (or *\*uḍ*- or *\*ʔuuḍ*- or *\*uuḍ*-) ‘wide, broad’ > Iraqw *ur* ‘big, large’, *uraw*- ‘to grow up’, *ures*- ‘to rear’; K’wadza *ulungayo* ‘wide, broad’; Ma’a *uda* ‘far’. Ehret 1980:295.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʔut*- (~ *\*ʔot*-) (Bomhard 2014.3:751—752, no. 678):  
 (vb.) *\*ʔut*- ‘to stretch, to lengthen’;  
 (n.) *\*ʔut*-*a* ‘wide-open space, outdoor area, exterior; length, distance’; (adj.) ‘wide, broad, long’

## 12.2. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*h

414. Proto-Afrasian *\*hag*- ‘(vb.) to burn, to be on fire, to be aflame, to be ablaze, to shine brightly; (n.) midday heat, heat of sun, sunlight’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*hag-ag*- ‘to burn, to be on fire, to be aflame, to be ablaze’ > Arabic *hağğā* ‘to burn, to be on fire, to be aflame; to flame, to blaze, to be ablaze; to set ablaze, to stir up, to stroke (the fire)’; Akkadian *agāgu* ‘to be angry, to flare up with anger’; Hebrew *\*hāḡīḡ* [חָגִיג] ‘heat, fervor of mind’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ehgég* ‘to make a big blaze, to flash’; Tigrinya *hagägä* ‘to give off a strong odor, to smell strong, to smoke (fire)’. D. Cohen 1970— :6 and 364; Von Soden 1965—1981.I:14; Murtonen 1989:155.

Proto-Semitic *\*hag(ī)r*- ‘hottest time of day, midday, noon’ > Arabic *hağara* (inf. *tağğīr*) ‘to travel in the heat of midday’, *hağr* ‘hottest time of day’, *hağīra* ‘midday heat, midday, noon’, *hağīr* ‘midday heat’, *hāğira* ‘midday heat, midday, noon’, *hāğirī* ‘midday’; Šheri / Jibbāli *hógər* ‘midday’; Mehri (*hēgər*), *həgərūt* ‘to be hot at midday’, *hgōr* ‘to go out in the midday heat’. D. Cohen 1970— :369—370.

(?) Geez / Ethiopic *hagwaza* [ሀግወዝ] ‘to produce light, to make produce light’ (if not a misprint for *hanwaza* [ሀንወዝ]). Leslau 1987:216.

- B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*hag*- ‘full moon’ (that is, ‘that which is shining or bright’) > Iraqw *homo* ‘full moon’; Dahalo *háge* ‘moon’. Ehret 1980:306.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*hag*- (~ *\*həg*-) (Bomhard 2014.3:753—754, no. 679):  
 (vb.) *\*hag*- ‘to burn, to be on fire, to be aflame, to be ablaze, to shine brightly’;  
 (n.) *\*hag*-*a* ‘midday heat, heat of sun, sunlight’

415. Proto-Afrasian *\*hak*- ‘(vb.) to press, to squeeze hard, to cause pain; (n.) oppression, affliction, pain’:

- A. Semitic: Arabic *haḳaġa* ‘to be weak, to be weakened by an illness or by hunger’. D. Cohen 1970— :446.
- B. Egyptian *hq* ‘to oppress, to inflict pain, to diminish’ (medical term), *hq* ‘head ailment’, *hqs* ‘to defraud, to steal’. Hannig 1995:498; Faulkner 1962:160; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:503.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*hak’-* (~ *\*hək’-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:754—756, no. 681):  
 (vb.) *\*hak’-* ‘to press, squeeze, pack, or cram together; to confine, to oppress’;  
 (n.) *\*hak’-a* ‘oppression, affliction, pain’
416. Proto-Afrasian *\*hal-* ‘(vb.) to light up, to beam forth, to shine, to brighten up, to radiate; (n.) clearness, brightness, radiance, purity; (adj.) clear, pure, bright, shining, radiant’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:262, no. 1176, *\*hilāl-* ‘new moon’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*hal-al-* ‘to light up, to shine, to brighten up, to radiate’ > Akkadian *elēlu* ‘to purify, to make clean’, *ellu* ‘clean, pure, bright, shining’, *elliš* ‘in a pure fashion, brilliantly’, *ellūtu* ‘purity’; Eblaite *ul-lum* ‘festival’; Ugaritic *hll* ‘new moon’ (?); Hebrew *hālāl* [הלל] ‘to shine’, *hēlēl* [הליל] (appellative) ‘shining one’ (epithet of the king of Babylon); Arabic *halla* ‘to appear, to come up, to show (new moon); to shout with joy, to rejoice, to exult, to jubilate; to shine, to gleam, to glow, to be radiant; to beam with joy’, *tahallala* ‘it shone, gleamed’, *hilāl* ‘new moon’; Geez / Ethiopic *hālāl* [ሀለለ] ‘new moon’ (Arabic loan), (denominative) *halala* [ሀለለ] ‘to shine, to be bright’; Amharic *həlāl* ‘full moon’. D. Cohen 1970— :414—417; Leslau 1987:217; Klein 1987:152; Murtonen 1989:157; Zammit 2002:420.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *tallit* ‘(lunar) month, new moon’; Ghadames *lal* ‘to be born’; Nefusa *lal* ‘to be born’; Wargla *llal* ‘to come to light, to be born’, *tlallit* ‘birth, coming to light’; Mzab *llal* ‘to be born’, *tlallit* ‘birth’; Tamazight *lal* ‘to be born, to appear’, *talalit* ‘birth’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *lal* ‘to be born’, *talalit* ‘birth’; Riff *lal*, *rar* ‘to be born’, *talalit*, *tararit* ‘birth’; Kabyle *lal* ‘to be born, to lay (eggs), to break (dawn)’, *talalit* ‘birth’; Chaouia *lal* ‘to be born, to break (day)’, *talalit* ‘birth’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*hal-* (~ *\*həl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:756—757, no. 682):  
 (vb.) *\*hal-* ‘to light up, to beam forth, to shine, to brighten up, to radiate’;  
 (n.) *\*hal-a* ‘clearness, brightness, radiance, purity’; (adj.) ‘clear, pure, bright, shining, radiant’
417. Proto-Afrasian *\*hal-* ‘else, otherwise’ (Ehret 1995:381, no. 776, *\*hal-/hil-* ‘other’):
- A. (?) Egyptian *hnw* ‘associates, family’. Hannig 1995:494; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:494; Faulkner 1962:159; Gardiner 1957:579.

- B. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*hal-* ‘else, otherwise’ > Iraqw *halahali* ‘sixth finger’; Ma’a *háli* ‘other’; Dahalo *halló* ‘and, with’. Ehret 1980:306.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*hal-* (~ *\*həl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:757—758, no. 683):  
 (adv.) *\*hal-* ‘else, otherwise’;  
 (n.) *\*hal-a* ‘other side’; (adj.) ‘other’
418. Proto-Afrasian *\*ham-* (n.) ‘water’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:258, no. 1156, *\*ham-* ‘water’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ham-aw/y-* ‘to flow, to pour forth, to overflow’ > Arabic *hamā* ‘to flow, to pour forth, to overflow, to run, to shed tears’, *hamūm* ‘abounding in water’. D. Cohen 1970— :422—423.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*ham-aš-* ‘to shed tears, to cry, to flow’ > Arabic *hamā’a* ‘to shed tears, to cry, to flow, to drop’, *hamū’a* ‘flowing’. D. Cohen 1970— :425.  
 Proto-Semitic *\*ham-ar-* ‘to pour out’ > Arabic *hamara* ‘to pour out, to shed (water, tears); to be poured out, to be shed; to pour down (rain), to flow (tears)’, *hamra* ‘shower of rain’, *munhamir* ‘poured out’; Sabaeen *hmr* ‘ejaculation of semen’; Hebrew *māhāmōrāh* [מַהְמֹרָה] ‘watery pit’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); (?) Ugaritic *mhmrt* ‘gullet’. D. Cohen 1970— :426; Klein 1987:322; Zammit 2002:421.
- B. Proto-Chadic *\*ham-* ‘water’ > Sura *àm* ‘water’; Tal *hàm* ‘water’; Yiwom *γàm* ‘water’; Fyer *ham* ‘water’; Dafo-Butura *ham* ‘water’; Bokkos *ham* ‘water’; Kulere *ʔaàm*, *àmṃ* ‘water’; Tangale *am* ‘water’; Karekare *ʔam*, *amu* ‘water’; Geruma *amma* ‘water’; Kirfi *amma*, *àmmá* ‘water’; Bole *aməi*, *àmmá* ‘water’; Pa’a *ambi*, *ámbi* ‘water’; Yedina *āmái*, *áamài* ‘water’; Bade *amun* ‘water’; Kotoko-Logone *am*, *àm*, *ʔàm* ‘water’; Migama *àmmi* ‘water’; Birgit *ʔàmi* ‘water’; Mubi *àamé*, *ʔám*, *ʔàm* ‘water’. Newman 1977:34, no. 142, *\*am* ‘water’; Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:340—341.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ham-a* ‘water’ (Bomhard 2014.3:759—760, no. 685)
419. Proto-Afrasian *\*ham-* ‘(vb.) to take into the mouth, to eat; (n.) mouth’ (Ehret 1995:383, no. 781, *\*hom-* ‘to take into the mouth’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:258, no. 1157, *\*ham-* ‘to eat’):
- A. Semitic: Arabic *nahima* (< *\*na-ham-*) ‘to have a ravenous appetite, to be insatiable; to be greedy, covetous’, *naham* ‘ravenous hunger, insatiable greed, gluttony’, *nahim* ‘voracious, insatiable, glutton’.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *əmi* ‘mouth, orifice, entrance, opening’; Nefusa *imi* ‘mouth, entrance, opening’; Ghadames *ami* ‘mouth, entrance, opening’; Wargla *imi* ‘mouth, orifice, opening’; Mzab *imi* ‘mouth, orifice, opening’; Tamazight

*imi* ‘mouth, opening, entrance, threshold’, *timmitt* ‘small mouth’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *imi* ‘mouth, entrance, threshold’; Riff *imi* ‘mouth, orifice’; Kabyle *imi* ‘mouth, orifice, entrance, threshold’; Chaouia *imi* ‘mouth, orifice’.

- C. Cushitic: Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *ham-* ‘to toss a piece of food in the mouth’.
- D. Chadic: West Chadic *\*ham-* ‘to eat’ > Pa’a *ʔm̄ma*, *ma*, *m̄mā* ‘to eat’. Central Chadic *\*ham-* ‘to eat, to chew’ > Buduma *ham* ‘to eat’; Daba *həmu* ‘to eat’; Musgoy *ham* ‘to chew’. East Chadic *\*ham-* ‘to eat’ > Kera *hāmè* ‘to eat’; Somray *ʔəm-* ‘to eat’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:120—121.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ham-* (~ *\*həm-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:760—761, no. 686):  
(vb.) *\*ham-* ‘to take into the mouth, to eat’;  
(n.) *\*ham-a* ‘mouth’

420. Proto-Afrasian *\*haw-* ‘(vb.) to long for, to desire; (n.) desire’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:259, no. 1162, *\*haw-* ‘to want’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*haw-ay-* ‘(vb.) to long for, to desire; (n.) desire’ > Hebrew *hawwāh* [חַוְוָה] ‘desire’; Arabic *hawīya* ‘to love, to desire’, *hawan* ‘love, affection, desire, longing’; Mehri *šəhwū* ‘to like’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šhəbə* ‘to appreciate something (beautiful), to think something is fine; to like something overmuch’. D. Cohen 1970— :386; Klein 1987:142.
- B. Cushitic: Somali *hawo* ‘desire, passion’; Galla / Oromo *haw-* ‘to want’.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*haw-* (~ *\*həw-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:764—765, no. 689):  
(vb.) *\*haw-* ‘to long for, to desire’;  
(n.) *\*haw-a* ‘desire’

421. Proto-Afrasian *\*hay-* (n.) ‘a kind of cereal or grain’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995: 260—261, no. 1167, *\*hay-* ‘cereal’):

- A. Egyptian *ihy* ‘cereal’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:118; Hannig 1995: 95.
- B. Chadic: West Chadic *\*hay-* ‘grain’ > Angas *he* ‘corn’; Fyer *hay* ‘a kind of millet’; Bokkos *hay* ‘a kind of millet’.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*hay-a* ‘a kind of cereal or grain’ (Bomhard 2014.3:765, no. 690)

422. Proto-Afrasian *\*hay* exclamation of surprise, astonishment, grief, or misfortune:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*haw/y* exclamation of surprise, astonishment, grief, or misfortune > Hebrew *hōy* [װײ] exclamation of dissatisfaction and pain (used in lamentations): ‘ah!, alas!, ha!’, *hī* exclamation of grief: ‘woe!’, Syriac *hāwāy* ‘ah!’, Akkadian *aya* in *uʿa aya* ‘alas!’, Arabic (interjection) *hayyā* ‘up!, come on!, let’s go!, now then!’, *yā hayya* ‘oh!’. D. Cohen 1970— :386; Klein 1971:142.
  - B. Egyptian (interjection) *hy* ‘oh!, hail!’; Coptic *hayo* [ʔa(ε)io], *ayo* [a(ε)io] ‘hey!, hail!’. Hannig 1995:489; Faulkner 1962:157; Erman—Grapow 1921:200 and 1926—1932.2:482; Gardiner 1957:579; Vycichl 1983:290; Černý 1976:270.
  - C. Berber: Kabyle *uy!* exclamation of pain.
  - D. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *aai* ‘alas!’. Hudson 1989:230.
- ← Proto-Nostratic exclamation of surprise, astonishment, grief, or misfortune *\*hay* (Bomhard 2014.3:765—766, no. 691)

### 12.3. PROTO-AFRASIAN *\*h*

423. Proto-Afrasian *\*hac*- ‘(vb.) to pick, to pluck; (n.) the act of picking, plucking; (adj.) picked, plucked’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*hac*-*ad*- ‘to harvest, to reap’ > Akkadian *ešēdu* ‘to harvest’, Imperial Aramaic *hšd* ‘to harvest’, Biblical Aramaic *hšad* ‘to cut, to mow’, *hšāḏā* ‘crop, harvest-time’, Arabic *hašada* ‘to harvest, to reap, to mow’, *hašīd* ‘crop, harvest, yield’, *hašad* ‘mown grain’. Murtonen 1989:193; Klein 1987:228.
  - B. (?) Egyptian *hḏ-t* ‘a kind of plant’. Hannig 1995:575; Erman—Grapow 1926—1923.3:211.
  - C. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*had*<sub>1</sub>- ‘to reap’ > Burji *hat*- ‘to reap’, Galla / Oromo *hatt’-aw-* ‘to sweep’, Dobase *hat*- ‘to hoe, to clean’, Kambata *hat’iid-* ‘to reap, to cut crops’, *hat’iidi-je(e)ccut* ‘harvest-time’. Sasse 1982:93; Hudson 1989:46.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*hac*- (~ *\*hac*-) (Bomhard 2014.3:768—769, no. 693):  
 (vb.) *\*hac*- ‘to pick, to pluck’;  
 (n.) *\*hac*-*a* ‘the act of picking, plucking’; (adj.) ‘picked, plucked’
424. Proto-Afrasian *\*hag*- ‘(vb.) to be pressed or weighed down; to be oppressed; to be disheartened, vexed, distressed, afflicted, troubled; (n.) trouble, affliction, oppression, distress, grief, sadness’:



- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic (\**hag-an-* > \**hag<sup>y</sup>-an-* > \**had<sup>y</sup>-an-* >) \**haz-an-* ‘to grieve, to be sad’ > Arabic *ḥazana* ‘to make sad, to sadden, to grieve’; Ḥarsūsi *ḥezōn* ‘to be sad’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḥázín* ‘sad’; Mehri *ḥzūn* ‘to be very sad’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥazana* [ሐዘን], *ḥazna* [ሐዘን] (also *ḥazana* [ሐዘን]) ‘to be sad, to be sorrowful, to be grieved, to be in mourning, to have compassion, to be sorry for, to sympathize’, *ḥazan* [ሐዘን] ‘sadness, grief, sorrow, mourning, affliction, melancholy, care’; Tigrinya *ḥazānā* ‘to be sad’; Tigre *ḥazna* ‘to be sad’; Harari *ḥuzni* ‘sadness’; Argobba *hazzāna* ‘to be sad’; Amharic *azzānā* ‘to be sad’; Gurage *azānā* ‘to be sad, sorrowful’, *azān* ‘grief, sorrow’. Hudson 2013:167; Leslau 1963:89, 1979:121, and 1987:253—254; Zammit 2002:139—140.
- B. Egyptian (\**hag-an-* > \**hag<sup>y</sup>-an-* > \**had<sup>y</sup>-an-* >) *ḥḏn*, *ḥḏnw* ‘to be oppressed, disheartened, vexed, angry’, *shḏn* (causative) ‘to vex’. Hannig 1995:575 and 740; Faulkner 1962:239; Erman—Grapow 1921:120 and 1926—1923.3:214; Gardiner 1957:583.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**hag-* (~ \**həg-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:769—770, no. 694):  
 (vb.) \**hag-* ‘to be pressed or weighed down; to be oppressed; to be vexed, distressed, disheartened, afflicted, troubled’;  
 (n.) \**hag-a* ‘trouble, affliction, oppression, distress, grief, sadness’
425. Proto-Afrasian \**hag-* ‘(vb.) to cover over, to hide, to conceal, to obscure, to overshadow; (n.) mist, darkness, cloudy weather; (adj.) misty, dark, cloudy’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**hag-ab-* ‘to cover, to hide, to obscure’ > Arabic *ḥaġaba* ‘to veil, to cover, to shelter, to seclude, to hide, to conceal, to obscure, to overshadow’; Hebrew *ḥāḡāḇ* [חָגַב] ‘locust’ (originally ‘locusts covering the sky’); Šheri / Jibbāli *ḥógóḇ* ‘to outline the shape of a projected structure’, *ḥótgəḇ* ‘to wrap and tie cloth around one’s knees and sit cross-legged’; Mehri *ḥəgūḇ* ‘to outline the shape of a structure (house, pen, etc.) in stones and branches’. Murtonen 1989:174; Klein 1987:207; Zammit 2002:133.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic \**hagay-* ‘rainy season’ > Kambata *hagu(ha)* ‘dry season’; Burji *hagáy-ee* ‘rainy season’; Saho *ḥagay* ‘rainy season’; Afar *ḥaagay-* ‘summer’; Galla / Oromo *hag-ay-y-a* ‘wet season’; Somali *ḥagaa* ‘dry season’; Gidole *haakay-t* ‘rainy season’; Hadiyya *hageyye* ‘rainy season’; Gollango *hakay-te* ‘rainy season’. (Cushitic loans in Ethiopian Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *ḥagāy* [ሐጋይ], *ḥagāy* [ሐጋይ] ‘summer, dry season [January—March]’, [denominative] *ḥagaya* [ሐገዩ] ‘to spend the summer, to become summer’, *ḥagayāwi* [ሐገዮዊ] ‘pertaining to summer’; Tigre *ḥagay* ‘dry season’; Amharic *hagay*, *agay* ‘dry season’ [cf. Leslau 1987:228].) Sasse 1982:89; Hudson 1989:120. See also Hudson 2013:164.  
 (?) Proto-East Cushitic \**hagoog-* ‘to cover over’ > Saho *agoog-* ‘to be covered with cloths, to be draped in garments’; Somali *hagog* ‘cloth draped

over the head'; Rendille *ogog-* 'to cover'; Galla / Oromo *hagoog-ad/t-* 'to cover'. Sasse (1979:39) reconstructs Proto-East Cushitic *\*hagoog-*; however, considering the more specialized meaning of the Saho and Somali forms, they may be loans, perhaps from Galla / Oromo.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*hag-* (~ *\*həg-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:770—771, no. 695):  
 (vb.) *\*hag-* 'to cover over, to hide, to conceal, to obscure, to overshadow';  
 (n.) *\*hag-a* 'mist, darkness, cloudy weather'; (adj.) 'misty, dark, cloudy'
426. Proto-Afrasian *\*hak'-* (vb.) to direct, to guide, to command; (n.) direction, guidance, command, decree; leader, chief, chieftain, ruler, headman':
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*hak'-ak'-* 'to direct, to guide, to command, to decree; to establish what is correct, proper, true, legitimate' > Hebrew *hāḳaḳ* [חָקַק] 'to decree, to ordain laws; to cut into, to engrave, to inscribe'; Phoenician *hkk* 'to engrave; to prescribe, to order'; Aramaic *həḳaḳ* 'to inscribe; to decree'; Syriac *hukḳā* 'rule'; Nabatean *hkk* 'to engrave; to prescribe, to order'; Arabic *haḳḳa* 'to be true, to turn out to be true, to be confirmed; to be right, correct; to be necessary, obligatory, requisite, imperative; to be adequate, suitable, fitting, appropriate; to be due; to make something come true, to realize (something, e.g., hope), to carry out, to carry into effect, to fulfill, to put into action, to consummate, to effect, to actualize, to implement; to produce, to bring on, to yield; to determine, to ascertain, to find out, to pinpoint, to identify; to prove something to be true, to verify, to establish, to substantiate; to confirm, to assert, to aver, to avouch, to affirm (something); to be exact, painstaking, meticulous, careful', *haḳḳ* 'truth, correctness, rightness', *haḳḳānī* 'correct, right, proper, sound, valid, legitimate, legal'; Sabaean *hkk* 'contract'; Ḥarsūsi *hek* 'right, truth'; Šheri / Jibbālī *hak* 'right'; Mehri *hak* 'right', *hək* 'to adjust, to level, to file smooth'; Soqotri *hak* 'judgment'; Geez / Ethiopic *haḳaḳa* [ሐቀቀ] 'to level off, to fasten, to fix, to make exact by increasing what is little or by diminishing what is much'; Tigre *haḳḳ* 'right'; Tigrinya *haḳḳi* 'truth'. Murtonen 1989:194; Klein 1987:230; Leslau 1987:240.
- B. Egyptian *hq*, *hq3* 'to rule, to govern, to guide, to direct, to reign', *hq3* 'ruler, chieftain' (f. *hq3t*), *hq3-hwt* 'village headman'. Faulkner 1962:178; Erman—Grapow 1921:117 and 1926—1963.3:170—173; Gardiner 1957:583; Hannig 1995:563—564.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*hak'-* (~ *\*hək'-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:773—774, no. 698):  
 (vb.) *\*hak'-* 'to direct, to guide, to command';  
 (n.) *\*hak'-a* 'direction, guidance, command, decree; leader, chief, chieftain, ruler, headman'

427. Proto-Afrasian \**hal-* ‘(vb.) to wash, to rinse, to clean; (n.) the act of washing, cleaning; (adj.) washed, clean(ed)’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:272, no. 1226, \**hal-* ‘to wash’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**hal-al-* ‘to wash, to rinse, to clean’ > Akkadian *ellu* ‘clean, pure; holy, sacred’; Imperial Aramaic *hll* ‘to wash, to rinse’; Syriac *həlal* ‘to wash away, to cleanse, to purify’. Semitic loans in: Hittite (abl. sg.) *ha-la-la-za* ‘clean’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *ha-la-li-iš* ‘clean’.
  - B. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Somali *hal-* ‘to wash’. (?) Proto-Southern Cushitic \**hel-* ‘to clean’ > Asa *hilus-* ‘to strain, to filter’. Ehret 1980:335.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**hal-* (~ \**həl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:775—776, no. 700):  
 (vb.) \**hal-* ‘to wash, to rinse, to clean’;  
 (n.) \**hal-a* ‘the act of washing, cleaning’; (adj.) ‘washed, clean(ed)’
428. Proto-Afrasian \**ham-* ‘(vb.) to be sharp, sour, acid; (n.) any sharp-tasting, sour, bitter, or acid foodstuff; (adj.) sharp, sour, bitter, acid’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:273, no. 1231, \**ham-* ‘salt’; Ehret 1995:370, no. 748, \**ham-* ‘to spoil’ [Semitic, Egyptian innovation: ‘to spoil’ > ‘to sour’]):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ham-atl-* ‘to be sharp, sour, acid’ > Biblical Hebrew *hāmēš* [חָמֵשׁ] ‘that which is sour, leavened’, *hāmaš* [חָמָשׁ] ‘to be sour, leavened’; Aramaic *həmaš* ‘to be sour, salty’; Ugaritic *hms* ‘vinegar’; Akkadian *emšu* ‘sour’; Arabic *hamuḍa* ‘to be or become sour’; Ḥarsūsi *hāmeḍ* ‘sour’; Šheri / Jibbāli *hamz* ‘yogurt (sour milk) borrowed to start the butter-making process’; Mehri *həmūz* ‘to make butter, to shake milk for butter’, *hamz* ‘yogurt’; Amharic *homtaṭṭa* ‘sour’. Murtonen 1989:186—187; Klein 1987:222.
  - B. Egyptian *hm3-t* ‘salt’; Coptic *hmu* [Ⲭⲙⲟϥ] ‘salt’. Hannig 1995:532 (*hm3yt*); Faulkner 1962:170; Gardiner 1957:581; Erman—Grapow 1921:110 and 1923—1926.3:93—94; Vycichl 1983:299; Černý 1976:283.
  - C. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *hami-* ‘to be sharp, acid’. Reinisch 1895:118.
  - D. Chadic: West Chadic \**ham-* ‘salt’ > Fyer *ʔama* ‘salt’. Central Chadic \**χwam-* > \**χam-* ‘salt’ > Musgu *hɔm-* ‘salt’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**ham-* (~ \**həm-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:779—780, no. 704):  
 (vb.) \**ham-* ‘to be sharp, sour, bitter, acid’;  
 (n.) \**ham-a* ‘any sharp-tasting, sour, bitter, or acid foodstuff’; (adj.) ‘sharp, sour, bitter, acid’
429. Proto-Afrasian \**han-* ‘(vb.) to show favor; to be gracious, affectionate, tender; (n.) affection, tenderness, favor, graciousness’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*han-an-* ‘to show favor; to be gracious, tender, affectionate’ > Hebrew *hānan* [חָנַן] ‘to show favor, to be gracious’, *hēn* [חֵן] ‘favor, grace, charm’; Aramaic *hənan* ‘to be gracious’; Phoenician *hnn* ‘to show favor’; Ugaritic *hnn* ‘to be gracious, to show favor’; Akkadian *enēnu* ‘to seek grace’; Eblaite *en-na* ‘to be gracious’, *en-ut* ‘grace’; Arabic *hanna* ‘to feel tenderness, affection, sympathy; to pity; to feel compassion (for)’, *hanna* ‘sympathy, pity, compassion, commiseration’, *hanān* ‘love, affection, tenderness, sympathy; commiseration, compassion, pity’. Klein 1987:223 and 224—225; Murtonen 1989:199; Zammit 2002:150.
- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *hanno* ‘please!’. Hudson 1989:320.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*han-* (~ *\*hən-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:782—783, no. 706):  
 (vb.) *\*han-* ‘to show favor; to be gracious, affectionate, tender’;  
 (n.) *\*han-a* ‘affection, tenderness, favor, graciousness’

430. Proto-Afrasian *\*han-* ‘(vb.) to bend, to curve, to twist; (n.) bend, curve, twist’:

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*han-aw/y-* ‘to bend, to curve, to twist; to bend down’ > Hebrew *hānāh* [חָנָה] ‘to decline, to bend down’; Aramaic *hənā* ‘to bend, to incline toward, to aim at, to reach’; Arabic *hanā* ‘to bend, to curve, to twist, to turn; to lean, to incline’, *hanw* ‘bending, deflection, flexing, flexure, curving, curvature, twisting, turning’, *hanīya* ‘curvature, arc’, *maḥnan* ‘curvature, bend, flexure, bow, turn, curve’; Ḥarsūsi *henō* ‘to bend’; Šheri / Jibbāli *hání* ‘to bend, to twist’; Mehri *hənū* ‘to bend’. Klein 1987:223—224.

Proto-Semitic *\*han-ak-* ‘to bend, to curve, to twist; to lean, to incline’ > Akkadian *unḳu* (Old Akkadian *anḳum* ?) ‘ring’; Geez / Ethiopic *hanḳaḳa* [አንቀቀ] ‘to be inclined, to slip, to slide, to be prone (to any feelings), to be in anxiety, to be fearful, to fear, to be pampered, to be capricious, to desire something that is beyond one’s capacity’, *hanḳāke* [አንቀቁ] ‘inclination, being prone to, being pampered, being capricious; anxiety, fear’; Tigrinya *hanḳākā* ‘to be spoiled, pampered’; Tigre *hanḳāka* ‘to live in luxury’. Leslau 1987:237.

Proto-Semitic *\*han-aš-* ‘to bend, to twist’ > Akkadian *enēšu* ‘to become weak, impoverished, shaky, dilapidated’; Šheri / Jibbāli *hónús* ‘to bend, to twist’, *hénas* ‘to be bent, twisted’.

- B. Egyptian *hnk* ‘to tie up’ (formerly read *hnzḳ*), *hnkt* ‘braided lock of hair’ (formerly read *hnzkt*), *hnkyt* ‘she who has braided hair’ (formerly read *hnzkyt*). Hannig 1995:542; Faulkner 1962:173; Erman—Grapow 1921:111 and 1926—1963.3:116; Gardiner 1957:581.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *ahənnaka* ‘a type of cage made of flexible rods covered with veils and placed on a woman’s saddle in order to protect her from the sun’; Wargla *ahənka* ‘frame of a tent or pavilion’.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*han-* (~ *\*hən-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:783—784, no. 707):  
 (vb.) *\*han-* ‘to bend, to curve, to twist’;  
 (n.) *\*han-a* ‘bend, curve, twist’
431. Proto-Afrasian *\*hanVg-* (vb.) ‘to tie tightly, to constrict, to make narrow’,  
*\*hang-* (n.) ‘throat, larynx’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:273, no. 1234, *\*hankar-*  
 ‘throat’; M. Cohen 1947:102, nos. 120 and 121):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*hang-ar-* ‘throat, larynx’ > Arabic *ḥaṅḡara*  
 ‘larynx, throat’, *ḥaṅḡara* ‘to slaughter (by cutting the throat)’, *ḥuṅḡūr*  
 ‘throat, gullet’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḥaṅḡórót* ‘hollow under the Adam’s apple’;  
 Tigrinya *tāḥaṅḡātā* ‘to tie round the neck and shoulders’; Harari *ḥaṅḡūr*  
 ‘throat, food’ (this may be a loan from Arabic), *ḥaṅḡūrām* ‘voracious, big  
 eater’; Gurage (Selṭi) *angōro*, (Wolane) *angoro*, (Zway) *angāro* ‘throat’,  
*angorram* ‘big eater, voracious’; Amharic *angāt* ‘neck’. Appleyard  
 1977:11; Leslau 1963:84 and 1979:62; Zammit 2002:149—150; Militarëv  
 2012:77 Proto-Semitic *\*hVng(-ar)-*.
- B. Egyptian *ḥngg* ‘throat, gullet’. Hannig 1995:543; Erman—Grapow 1926—  
 1963.3:121.
- C. Berber: Tuareg *anɣ* ‘palate’; Ghadames *inɣ* ‘palate’; Tamazight *anɣ*  
 ‘palate’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *anɣ* ‘palate’; Riff *anɣ* ‘palate’; Kabyle *anɣ*,  
*inɣ* ‘palate’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*han-* (~ *\*hən-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:784—786, no. 708):  
 Extended form:  
 (vb.) *\*han-V-g-* ‘to tie tightly, to constrict, to make narrow; to choke, to  
 strangle’;  
 (n.) *\*han-g-a* ‘throat’; (adj.) ‘narrow, constricted’
432. Proto-Afrasian *\*hap-* (vb.) ‘to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms);  
 (n.) that which has been gathered or collected: plenty, fullness, abundance,  
 wealth, possessions, property; embrace, armful, handful’ (Orël—Stolbova  
 1995:274, no. 1238, *\*hapat-* ‘arm, wing’; Ehret 1995:374, no. 754, *\*hap-* ‘to  
 take hold of’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*hap-at-* ‘to take, gather, or collect (with the hands  
 or arms)’ > Hebrew *ḥāḡas* [חָגַשׁ] ‘to search, to search out, to search for’;  
 Aramaic *ḥəḡas* ‘to dig; to seek’; Ugaritic *ḥpšt* ‘straw picker’; Arabic  
*ḥafaša* ‘to gather, to grasp, to assemble’; Ḥarsūsi *ḥefōs* ‘to collect’; Šheri /  
 Jibbāli *ḥfōs* ‘to collect (a lot of things)’; Mehri *ḥafūs* ‘to collect (a lot of  
 things)’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥafaša* [ሐፈሠ] ‘to rake up, to sweep up, to scatter  
 as chaff, to carry away (especially an amount held in two hands), to take a  
 handful’; Tigrinya *ḥafäsä*, *ḥafäšä* ‘to scoop up’; Tigre *ḥafsa* ‘to scrape  
 corn together’; Harari *ḥafäsa* ‘to take something with one or two hands or

with an instrument, to draw water from a container with a small cup'; Argobba *haffäsa* 'to take a large quantity of grain with one or two hands'; Amharic *affäsä* 'to take a fistful of grain with two hands, to scoop up dry grainy material with the hand'; Gurage *afäsä* 'to scoop up a large quantity of grain or flour or earth with both hands'. Klein 1987:228; Leslau 1963:80, 1979:22, and 1987:227; Murtonen 1989:192.

Proto-Semitic \**hap-an-* 'to take a handful' > Hebrew *ḥōḇen* [חֹבֵן] 'hollow of the hand, handful'; Aramaic *ḥūḇnā* 'hollow of the hand, handful'; Akkadian *upnu* 'handful'; Arabic *ḥafana* 'to scoop up with both hands; to give little', *ḥafna* 'handful'; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḥfun* 'to scoop (rice, etc.) in the cupped hands'; Mehri *ḥafūn* 'to scoop up (rice, etc.) in the cupped hands'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥafana* [ሐፈነ] 'to take earth or grain with two hands cupped together'; Tigre *ḥafən* 'both hands full', *ḥaffāna* 'to take with both hands'; Tigrinya *ḥafni* 'handful'; Amharic *affəññ* 'handful'. Murtonen 1989:191; Klein 1987:227; Leslau 1987:227.

Arabic *ḥafaṣa* 'to collect, to gather'.

Arabic *ḥafala* 'to gather, to assemble, to congregate; to flow copiously; to be replete, to teem', *ḥāfil* 'full, filled, replete, abundant, copious', *ḥufūl* 'plenty, fullness, abundance, wealth'. Note: Two separate stems have fallen together in Arabic: (A) Proto-Semitic \**hap-al-* 'to run, to flow' and (B) Proto-Semitic \**hap-al-* 'to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)'.

- B. Egyptian *ḥpt* 'to embrace', *ḥpt* 'armful'; Coptic *ḥpot* [Ⲭⲡⲟⲩ] 'fathom'. Hannig 1995:525; Faulkner 1962:168; Gardiner 1957:581; Erman—Grapow 1921:107 and 1926—1963.3:71—72; Černý 1976:290; Vycichl 1983:307.
- C. Proto-Southern Cushitic \**hap-* 'to clasp, to hold with the arms' > Iraqw (\**hapa* 'arm' >) *hampa* 'wing'; Dahalo *ḥap-* 'to snatch'. Ehret 1980:299.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**hap<sup>h</sup>-* (~ \**ḥap<sup>h</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:787—789, no. 710):
  - (vb.) \**hap<sup>h</sup>-* 'to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)';
  - (n.) \**hap<sup>h</sup>-a* 'that which has been gathered or collected: plenty, fullness, abundance, wealth, possessions, property; embrace, armful, handful'

- 433. Proto-Afrasian \**hap-* '(vb.) to move quickly, to run, to flow; (n.) (flowing or running) water, river, stream, current':

- A. Semitic: Arabic *ḥafada* 'to be active and nimble in one's work; to speed; to urge to haste, to hasten', *ḥafad* 'a pace of the horse'. Arabic *ḥafala* 'to gather, to assemble, to congregate; to flow copiously; to be replete, to teem', *ḥāfil* 'full, filled, replete, abundant, copious', *ḥufūl* 'plenty, fullness, abundance, wealth'. Note: Two separate stems have fallen together in Arabic: (A) Proto-Semitic \**hap-al-* 'to move quickly, to run, to flow' and

(B) Proto-Semitic *\*hap-al-* ‘to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)’.

- B. Egyptian *hp* ‘to hasten, to hurry, to run’, *hpt* ‘running’, *hpwty* ‘runner’; (?) (Old Kingdom) *hp* ‘Nile’ (Middle Kingdom *h‘py*). Hannig 1995:524; Faulkner 1962:168; Erman—Grapow 1921:107 and 1926—1963.3:68.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*hap<sup>h</sup>-* (~ *\*həp<sup>h</sup>-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:789, no. 711):

(vb.) *\*hap<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to move quickly, to run, to flow’;

(n.) *\*hap<sup>h</sup>-a* ‘(flowing or running) water, river, stream, current’

434. Proto-Afrasian *\*har-* (n.) ‘arm, hand’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:275, no. 1242, *\*har-* ‘arm’):

A. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *hár-ka*, *hér-ka* ‘arm’. Reinisch 1895:126. Saho—Afar *\*har-* ‘arm’ > Saho *har-* ‘arm’. Lowland East Cushitic *\*hark-* ‘arm’ > Galla / Oromo *harka* ‘arm, hand’; Konso *harga* ‘arm’. Werizoid: Warazi *harko* ‘arm’; Gawwada *harko* ‘arm’.

B. Central Chadic *\*xar-* ‘hand, arm’ > Tera *xar* ‘hand, arm’; Ga’anda *he’ra* ‘arm’; Hona *hara* ‘arm’; Mofu *hár* ‘arm, hand’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:178—179.

← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*har-a* ‘arm, hand’ (Bomhard 2014.3:791—792, no. 713)

435. Proto-Afrasian *\*har-* ‘(vb.) to be superior, to be higher in status or rank, to be above or over; (n.) nobleman, master, chief, superior; (adj.) free-born, noble’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*har-ar-* ‘to be free-born, to be or become free, to set free’, *\*har(r)-/\*hur(r)-* ‘noble, free-born’ > Hebrew *hōr* [חֹר] ‘noble’; Arabic *hurr* ‘noble, free-born; free, independent’, *harra* ‘to liberate, to free, to set free, to release, to emancipate’, *hurriya* ‘freedom, liberty, independence, unrestraint, license’; Aramaic *harar* ‘to be or become free’; Ugaritic *hrr* ‘free’; Sabaeen *hrr* ‘freemen, free-born men’; Geez / Ethiopic *harāwi* [ሐራዊ] ‘free-born, nobleman’, *harāwənnā* [ሐራውና] ‘freedom’, *harənnat* [ሐርነት] ‘freedom’; Tigrinya *hara* ‘free’, *harənnät* ‘freedom’; Tigre *hara* ‘free; freedom’; Amharic *hurr* ‘free’; Gurage *hurru bālā* ‘to become free, to set free’. Klein 1987:211; Zammit 2002:137; Leslau 1979:328 and 1987:240—241.

B. Egyptian *hry* ‘chief, master, overseer, superior’, *hr* ‘on, upon, over’, *hrw* ‘upper part, top’; Coptic *hi-* [ḥi-] (< *\*haʒyaw* < *\*haryaw*) ‘on, in, at’, *hray* [ḥrʾi] ‘upper part’. Erman—Grapow 1921:113 and 1926—1963.3:131—132, 3:133—136, 3:142—143; Hannig 1995:546, 547, and 548; Faulkner 1962:174; Gardiner 1957:582; Černý 1976:271—272 and 291—292; Vycichl 1983:285—286 and 308.



- C. Omotic: North Omotic: Yemsa / Janjero *herašo* ‘chief, ruler’, *herašo* ‘chieftainship, rule’.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*har-* (~ *\*hər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:792—793, no. 714):  
 (vb.) *\*har-* ‘to be superior, to be higher in status or rank, to be above or over’;  
 (n.) *\*har-a* ‘nobleman, master, chief, superior’; (adj.) ‘free-born, noble’
436. Proto-Afrasian *\*har-* (vb.) ‘to scratch, to scrape’ (> ‘to plow’); (n.) ‘scraping, scratching’ (Ehret 1995:375, no. 757, *\*her-* ‘to scrape off’; Takács 2011:173 *\*h-r* [perhaps *\*har-*] ‘to scratch, to scrape’.):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*har-atʷ-* ‘to plow’ > Hebrew *hāraš* [חרש] ‘to cut in, to engrave, to plow’; Aramaic *həraθ* ‘to plow’; Phoenician *hrš* ‘to plow’; Ugaritic *hrt* ‘to plow’; Akkadian *erēšu* ‘to plow, to till’; Arabic *harāṭa* ‘to plow, to till’; Sabaeen *hrt* ‘plowed lands’; Šheri / Jibbāli *hárūt* ‘to grow plants with fertilizer’; Geez / Ethiopic *harasa* [ሐረሰ] ‘to plow, to cultivate land’, *māhras* [ማሐረሰ] ‘a plow, a plowshare’; Tigrinya *haräsä* ‘to plow’, *mahräša* ‘a plow’; Tigre *harsa* ‘to plow’, *mahräša* ‘a plow’; Harari *haräsa* ‘to plow’; Amharic *arräsä* ‘to plow, to till, to cultivate’, *maräša* ‘a plow’; Gafat *arräsä* ‘to plow’; Gurage *aräsä* ‘to plow, to cultivate’, *maräša* ‘a plow’; Argobba *harräsa* ‘to plow’. Murtonen 1989:198—199; Klein 1987:234; Zammit 2002:136—137; Leslau 1963:87, 1979:91, and 1987:243; Hudson 2013:166.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*ha(a)r-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’ > Afar *haar-is-* ‘to clean out the contents of viscera’; Hadiyya *haar-* ‘to scratch’; Burji *har?* ‘to plow, to cultivate’; Konso *har-* ‘to scoop soil from a hole’; Gidole *haar-awwa* ‘razor, blade for shaving’. Sasse 1982:92; Hudson 1989:196 and 280. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*her-* ‘to shave’ > Asa *hera* ‘razor’; Ma’a *-ha* ‘to shave’, *-haré* ‘to sharpen’, *iharíme* ‘whetstone’. Ehret 1980:301.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*har-* (~ *\*hər-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:793—794, no. 715):  
 (vb.) *\*har-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’ (> ‘to plow’ in the daughter languages);  
 (n.) *\*har-a* ‘scraping, scratching’
437. Proto-Afrasian *\*har-*: (1) particle introducing an alternative: ‘or’, (2) conjoining particle: ‘with, and’, (3) inferential particle: ‘then, therefore’:
- A. Egyptian *hr* ‘upon, in, at, from, on account of, concerning, through, and, having on it; because’. Hannig 1995:546; Erman—Grapow 1921:113 and 1926—1963.3:131—132; Faulkner 1962:174; Gardiner 1957:582.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *ar* ‘so far, until now, if not’; Wargla *ar* ‘until, until then’; Tamazight *ar, al, all* ‘until, until then, when’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ar* ‘until,



until then'; Riff *ar, al* 'until then'; Kabyle *ar* 'until, save, except'; Chaouia *ar* 'until'.

- ← Proto-Nostratic *\*har<sup>v</sup>*:- (1) particle introducing an alternative: 'or', (2) conjoining particle: 'with, and', (3) inferential particle: 'then, therefore' (Bomhard 2014.3:794—795, no. 716)

Note: The *CVC*- patterning shows that this stem could not originally have been a particle, though this is how it is preserved in the daughter languages. The original meaning is unknown.

438. Proto-Afrasian *\*hay-(Vw-)* (vb.) 'to live'; *\*hay-(w-)* (n.) 'life, age' (Diakonoff 1992:29 *\*h<sub>i</sub>w/y* 'living'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:278, no. 1257, *\*hayaw*- 'animal'; Militarëv 2012:83—84 Proto-Afrasian *\*hayVw-*):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*hay-aw/y-* 'to live' > Hebrew *hāyāh* [חַיָּה] 'to live'; Imperial Aramaic *hyy* 'life'; Syriac *həyā* 'to live'; Phoenician *hwy* 'to live', *hy* 'living', *hym* 'life', *hyt* 'animal'; Punic *hym* 'life'; Palmyrene *hyy* 'life'; Ugaritic *hwy* 'to live, to be alive', *hy, hyt* 'life', *hy* 'alive'; Arabic *hayya, hayiya* 'to live', *hayy* 'living, alive', *hayāh* 'life', *hayawān* 'animal, beast; (coll.) animals, living creatures'; Sabaean *hyw, hyy* 'to live'; Harsūsi *heyōt* 'life'; Šheri / Jibbāli *hyot* 'life'; Mehri *hayōt* 'life'; Geez / Ethiopic *haywa* [ሐይወ] 'to live, to be alive, to come back to life, to revive (intr.), to be well, to be healed, to be cured, to recover, to be restored, to be saved', *haywat* [ሐይወት] 'life, lifetime; healing, good health, salvation, restoration, state, situation'; Tigrinya *hayāwä* 'to live, to be healthy', *haywät* 'life'; Tigre *haya* 'to live', *hayot* 'life'; Harari *hawa* 'to recover, to heal', *huy* 'alive' (probably borrowed from Arabic); Amharic *haywät* 'life', *hayaw* 'living, alive'; Gurage (Endegeñ) *xəywät* 'life'. Murtonen 1989:179; Klein 1987:214; Leslau 1963:89, 1979:371, and 1987:252; Zammit 2002:154.
- B. Berber: Tuareg *iwi* 'to be born', *tīwit* 'birth', *aw, ag* 'son of', *ahaya* 'grandson, descendant'; Tawlemmet *əhəw* 'to be born', *təhut* 'birth', *aw* 'son', *ahaya* 'grandson, descendant'; Siwa *it* 'son of'; Nefusa *aw* 'son of'; Ghadames *u* 'son of, descendant of'; Mzab *u, gg<sup>w</sup>* 'son of, belonging to', *iwwa* 'my brother, brother'; Wargla *u* 'son' *aytma* 'brother'; Tamazight *u* 'son of'; Kabyle *u* 'son of', *ayaw* 'son of a sister, descendant by a sister, paternal cousin', *tayyawt, taggawt* 'son of a sister, descendant by a sister, paternal cousin'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *yiwi* 'my son', *ayaw* 'nephew, son of a sister', *tayawt* 'son of a sister'; Chaouia *u* 'son of', *awma* 'my brother'.
- C. Cushitic: Saho-Afar *hay* 'to live'; Beja / Beḍawye *hāy-* 'to live', *hāy* 'living, alive'. Reinisch 1895:132. Note: According to Leslau (1987:252), these forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*hee-d-* 'to live' > Gedeo / Darasa *heʔr-* 'to live, to be present';

Hadiyya *heeʔ-* ‘to live’, *heeca* ‘life’; Kambata *heʔ-* ‘to live’, *heecata* ‘life’; Sidamo *heeʔr-* ‘to live, to be present’. Hudson 1989:91—92 and 93.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*hay-* (~ *\*həy-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:804—806, no. 724):

(vb.) *\*hay-* ‘to live, to be alive’;

(n.) *\*hay-a* ‘life, age’

Extended form:

(vb.) *\*hay-V-w-* ‘to live, to be alive’;

(n.) *\*hay-w-a* ‘life, age’

439. Proto-Afrasian *\*hinVk-* (vb.) ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to gain; to offer, to present’; *\*hin-k-* (n.) ‘gain, mastery, experience; offering, present’ (Ehret 1995:372, no. 751, *\*hink-/hank-* ‘to carry [to or from]’ [Cushitic *\*hink-* ‘to remove, to take away’]):

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*hanak-* ‘to come to, to arrive at, to become experienced’ > Hebrew *hānaḥ* [חָנַח] ‘to train, to teach, to educate’; Arabic *hanaka* ‘to make experienced, worldly-wise, sophisticated’, *hunk*, *hink*, *hunka* ‘worldly experience, sophistication’; Geez / Ethiopic *hanaka* [አከአ] ‘to understand, to comprehend, to perceive’. Murtonen 1989:189; Klein 1987:224; Leslau 1987:237; Zammit 2002:150.

B. Egyptian *hnk* ‘to make an offering, to offer, to present, to be burdened’, *hnk*, *hnkt* ‘offerings’; Coptic *hōnk* [ϣⲟⲛⲕ] ‘to consecrate, to appoint’. Hannig 1995:541—542; Faulkner 1962:173; Gardiner 1957:582; Erman—Grapow 1921:112 and 1926—1963.3:117—118; Vycichl 1983:305; Černý 1976:288.

C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*hink-* ‘to push away’ > Ma’a *-hinka* ‘to push’; Dahalo *hinkið-* ‘to wipe oneself’. Ehret 1980:302.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*hin-* (~ *\*hen-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:807—808, no. 727):

Extended form:

(vb.) *\*hin-V-kh-* ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to gain; to offer, to present’;

(n.) *\*hin-kh-a* ‘gain, mastery, experience; offering, present’

440. Proto-Afrasian *\*hiw-*, *\*hiy-* (vb.) ‘to lack, to stand in need, to be in want; (n.) need, want, lack, deficiency’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*haw-ag-* ‘to lack, to stand in need, to be in want’ > Arabic *ʾaḥwaġa* ‘to have need, to stand in need, to be in want’, *hawġ* ‘need, want, lack, deficiency, destitution’; Ḥarsūsi *hātōg* (base *hwg*) ‘to need’; Šheri / Jibbāli *hōtég* (base *hwg*) ‘to need’; Mehri *hātūg* (base *hwg*) ‘to need’. Zammit 2002:151.

- B. Egyptian *ḥwr* ‘to be poor, miserable, weak’, *ḥwrw* ‘beggar, poor man; destitute’. Erman—Grapow 1921:106 and 1926—1963.3:55—56; Hannig 1995:519; Faulkner 1962:166.
- C. Cushitic: East Cushitic: Konso *hiyy-essa* ‘poor’; Galla / Oromo *hiyy-eessa* ‘poor’; Gidole *hiyy-ayt* ‘poor’; Dullay *hiyy-akko* ‘poor’; Burji (m.) *hiyy-áyši*, (f.) *hiyy-áytee* ‘poor’, *hiyyoom-ad-*, *hiyyuum-ad-* ‘to be poor’; Gedeo / Darasa *hiyy-eessa* ‘orphan; poor’, *hiyyette* ‘widow’, *hiyyoom-* ‘to starve’, *hiyyoom-at-* ‘to be poor’, *hiyyo*, *hiyyumma* ‘poverty’; Sidamo *hiyy-eessa* (pl. *hiyy-eeyye*) ‘poor’; Kambata *hiyyessa*, *hiyyeessa* ‘orphan’. Sasse 1982:98 (Sasse notes that most, if not all, of the East Cushitic forms he cites are probably loans from Galla / Oromo); Hudson 1989:108, 115, and 412 Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*hiyy-eessa* ‘orphan; poor (one)’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*heef-* or *\*heeʔ-* (or *\*heef-* or *\*heeʔ-*) ‘weak, feeble, poor, deficient’ > Asa *-haʔeta* ‘cheap, easy’; Ma’a *hína* ‘left (hand)’. Ehret 1980:308.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*hiw-* (~ *\*hew-*), *\*hiy-* (~ *\*hey-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:809—810, no. 728):  
 (vb.) *\*hiw-*, *\*hiy-* ‘to lack, to stand in need, to be in want’;  
 (n.) *\*hiw-a*, *\*hiy-a* ‘need, want, lack, deficiency’
441. Proto-Afrasian *\*hon-* ‘(vb.) to swell, to grow, to rise; (n.) height, elevation, swelling’ (Ehret 1995:372, no. 752, *\*hon-* ‘to stick up, to project, to protrude’):
- A. Egyptian (f.) (often dual) *ḥnwt* ‘horn(s)’, *ḥnn* ‘phallus’, *ḥnn*, *ḥnhn* ‘to swell’, *ḥnhnt* ‘swelling, ulcer, sore’ (medical term). Hannig 1995:538, 540, and 541; Faulkner 1962:172; Gardiner 1957:581; Erman—Grapow 1921:111 and 1926—1963.3:109—110, 3:115, 3:116.
- B. Cushitic: Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *hòṇṇò* ‘crown of the head’. Ehret 1995:302.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*hon-* (Bomhard 2014.3:812—813, no. 731):  
 (vb.) *\*hon-* ‘to swell, to grow, to rise’;  
 (n.) *\*hon-a* ‘height, elevation, swelling’

## 12.4. PROTO-AFRASIAN \*ʕ

442. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʕag-* ‘(vb.) to bud, to sprout, to grow; (n.) outgrowth, bud, sprout, protuberance’ (Ehret 1995:346, no. 675, *\*ʕaag-* ‘grain’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʕag-ar-* ‘(vb.) to bud, to sprout, to grow; (n.) outgrowth, protuberance, knot, knob’ > Arabic *ʕāğara* ‘to be stout, big,

paunch-bellied; to be knotty; to be still ripe and green; to be hard and strong', 'ağar 'outgrowth, protuberance, excrescence, projection, knot, knob', 'ağir, 'ağur 'knotty, knobby; thick above the joint; still unripe or green', 'ağr 'green, unripe', 'uğra 'knot, knob, hump, protuberance, excrescence'.

- B. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic \*agada 'stalk (e.g., of maize)' > Gedeo / Darasa agada 'stalk (e.g., of maize)'; Sidamo agada, agasso (< \*agad-co) 'stalk (e.g., of maize)'; Kambata agada 'stalk (e.g., of maize)'. Also found in Amharic agāda 'stalk (of sugar cane, of maize)' and Galla / Oromo (h)agadaa 'sugar cane' (loanwords?). Hudson 1989:142. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift \*ʕag- 'a kind of grain' > Iraqw 'ayiti'i 'maize'; K'wadza agentiko 'bulrush millet' (?). Ehret 1980:376.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \*ʕag- (~ \*ʕəg-) (Bomhard 2014.3:818, no. 736):  
(vb.) \*ʕag- 'to bud, to sprout, to grow';  
(n.) \*ʕag-a 'outgrowth, bud, sprout, protuberance'

443. Proto-Afrasian \*ʕak- '(vb.) to beat, to attack; (n.) the act of beating, striking, breaking' (Ehret 1995:346, no. 677, \*ʕaak- or \*ʕaak<sup>w</sup>- 'to attack'.):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*ʕak-ak- 'to beat, to attack' > Arabic 'akka 'to attack, to conquer, to convict; to beat, to whip, to flog', 'akkār 'who attacks repeatedly'.  
B. Proto-Southern Cushitic \*ʕaak- or \*ʕaak<sup>w</sup>- 'to attack' > Iraqw akut- 'to leap, to jump', 'aqmit- 'to fly'; K'wadza ak- 'to seize', akat- 'to catch'; Asa 'ak- 'to seize'. Ehret 1980:276. Proto-Southern Cushitic \*ʕaaku- 'war' > K'wadza 'agumuk 'war'; Ma'a akú 'war'. Derivative of \*ʕaak- or \*ʕaak<sup>w</sup>- 'to attack'. Ehret 1980:276.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root \*ʕakh- (~ \*ʕəkh-) (Bomhard 2014.3:819, no. 737):  
(vb.) \*ʕakh- 'to beat, to strike, to break';  
(n.) \*ʕakh-a 'the act of beating, striking, breaking'

444. Proto-Afrasian \*ʕal- '(vb.) to be high, exalted; to rise high; to ascend; (n.) 'highest point: peak, summit, mountain; (particle) on, upon, on top of, over, above, beyond' (Diakonoff 1992:30 \*ʕal [> \*ʕyl, \*ʕly] 'to rise up'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:238, no. 1060, \*ʕal- 'to rise', 238—239, no. 1061, \*ʕal- 'top', and 247—248, no. 1102, \*ʕilay- 'to rise' [derived from no. 1060 \*ʕal- 'to rise']; Ehret 1995:347, no. 679, \*ʕal- 'to ascend, to go up').

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \*ʕal-aw/y- '(vb.) to be high, exalted; to rise high; to ascend; (particle) on, upon, on top of, over, above, beyond' > Akkadian elū 'to travel uphill or to a higher ground, to go up, to ascend; to rise, to grow, to emerge', elū 'tall, high, exalted, proud', eli 'on, above, upon, more than,

over, to, towards, against, beyond', *elēn* 'above, over', *elēnu* (adv.) 'above, upstream', *el* 'on, above, beyond', *eliš* (adv.) 'up, on high, on top; upward, upstream'; Hebrew *ʿālāh* [עָלָה] 'to go up, to ascend, to climb; to spring up, to grow', *ʿal* [עַל] 'height', *ʿal* [עָלָה] 'upon, on, over, above, by, beyond, to, towards'; Aramaic *ʿalē* 'to go up'; Syriac *ləʿal* 'upward, above'; Ugaritic *ʿly* 'to go up', *ʿl* 'upon'; Arabic *ʿalā* 'to be high, elevated; to rise high, to exceed; to surpass', *ʿulūw* 'height, tallness, elevation, altitude', *ʿalā* 'on, upon, on top of, over, above, by, beyond, to, towards', *ʿalīy* 'high, tall, elevated'; Sabaeen *ʿly* 'to be high', *ʿly* 'above, upon, toward'; Soqotri *ʿálha* 'high'; Mehri *ʿālēw* 'at the top'; Ḥarsūsi *b-áʿla* 'on, on top of', *ʿálwa* 'north, northwards'; Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *ʿalʿala* [ላለላ] 'to raise, to elevate', (with the preposition *la* agglutinated to the root *ʿly* [cf. Leslau 1987:304]) *laʿala* [ለለ], *ləʿla* [ለለ] 'to be high, superior, elevated', *ʿalʿala* [አለለ], *ʿalaʿala* [አለለ] 'to lift up, to raise, to elevate, to exalt, to extol', *lāʿla* [ላለ] 'above, against, on, upon, over, about, concerning' (with suffix pronouns, the form is *lāʿle-* [ለለ-]); Tigre *ʿalʿala* 'to raise', *lāʿal* 'on, above'; Tigrinya *lāʿalā* 'to raise', *ləʿli* 'above'; Gurage *lalā* 'on, above'; Amharic *ləʿul* 'high, exalted; prince' (loan from Geez), *lay* 'on, above'; Gafat *laḡḡä* 'on, above'; Harari *lāʿay*, *lāy* 'above, on, over, top, upper'. Murtonen 1989:319; Klein 1987:473; Leslau 1963:98, 1979:378, and 1987:60 and 303—304; Bergsträsser 1928:187 and 1983:218—219; Zammit 2002:295.

- B. Egyptian *ʿr* 'to ascend' (earlier *iʿr*), *ʿrʿr* 'to rise up, to go up, to ascend'; Coptic *ale* [ⲁⲗⲉ] 'to go up, to ascend'. Hannig 1995:31 and 148; Faulkner 1962:24; Erman—Grapow 1921:6 *iʿr* (since Middle Kingdom *ʿry*) and 1926—1963.1:41, 1:208; Gardiner 1957:551 *iʿr* (later *ʿr*) 'to ascend, to mount up, to approach'; Černý 1976:4 and 228 (*ōl* [ⲟⲗ] 'to hold, to take, to lift up'); Vycichl 1983:6 and 249; Crum 1939:4.
- C. Berber: Tamazight *aləy* 'to climb up, to ascend', *al* 'until, up to'; Kabyle *ali* 'to climb up, to ascend'.
- D. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*ʕal-* 'mountain, highland' > Dullay *ʕal-e* 'mountain, highland'; Arbore *el* 'stone'; Saho *ʕal* 'mountain'; Somali *ʕal* 'any lofty, coastal range of mountains'; Rendille *hal* 'mountain'. Sasse 1979:35 and 36. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*ale* 'over, above' > Sidamo *ale* 'top', *alé* 'upper, upwards', *al-icco* 'highland, top', *aliidi* 'over, above', *aliido* 'north'; Kambata *ale(e-n)* 'on (top of)', *alee-n*, *ali* 'over, above', *aluuda* 'north; over, above'; Gedeo / Darasa *alaalle* 'north; over, above'. Hudson 1989:109.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʕal-* (~ *\*ʕəl-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:819—821, no. 738):  
 (vb.) *\*ʕal-* 'to be high, tall, elevated, exalted; to rise high; to ascend';  
 (n.) *\*ʕal-a* 'highest point: peak, summit, mountain';  
 (particle) *\*ʕal-* 'on, upon, on top of, over, above, beyond'

445. Proto-Afrasian \**ʕam-* ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise, to make high; to raise up, to stand upright, to support; (n.) point, tip, top’ (Ehret 1995:348, no. 682, \**ʕaam-* ‘(vb.) to raise; (n.) tip of anything’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ʕam-ad-* ‘to raise up, to stand upright, to support’ > Akkadian *emēdu* ‘to lean against, to reach, to cling to, to come into contact, to stand (near); to place, to lean (something upon or against something), to load, to impose (obligations to pay taxes or fines)’, *imdu* (*indu*) ‘stanchion, support; tax, impost, obligation to work’; Arabic *ʕamada* ‘to support (by a pillar or a column), to prop up, to buttress, to shore up’, *ʕumda* ‘support, prop, shore; main subject, main issue, basic issue’, *ʕimād* ‘column, support, pillar, tent-pole, pilaster’; Sabaean (pl.) *ʕmd* ‘vine-props’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʕámūd* ‘beam, pillar’, *aʕmīd* ‘to put a pillow under the head’; Ḥarsūsi *ʕamdāt* ‘beam’, *ʕāmīd* ‘pillow, cushion’; Mehri *ʕāmawd* ‘ceiling beam, beam’, *hāmōd* ‘to prop up someone’s head (with a pillow, arm)’; Phoenician *ʕmd* ‘column’; Hebrew *ʕāmaḏ* [עָמַד] ‘to take one’s stand, to stand’, *ʕammūḏ* [עַמּוּד], *ʕammuḏ* [עָמֻד] ‘pillar, column’; Imperial Aramaic *ʕmd* ‘to stand’; Syriac *ʕammūḏā* ‘pillar, column’; Geez / Ethiopic (denominative) *ʕammada* [ሰመደ] (also *ʕammada* [አመደ]) ‘to erect a column, to stand (as a column), to sustain, to prop up (with a column), to strengthen, to form’, *ʕamd* [ሰምድ] (also *ʕamd* [አምድ]) ‘column, pillar, post, mast, balustrade, column of a page’; Tigrinya *ʕamdi* ‘column’; Tigre *ʕamd* ‘column’; Amharic *amd* ‘column’ (Geez loan). Murtonen 1989:321; Klein 1987:474; Leslau 1987:62—63.
- B. Egyptian *ʕmm* body part (in the head of animals), perhaps ‘brain’ (semantic development from ‘highest part of the head, top of the head’ as in Old English *brægen* ‘brain’ [cf. Onions 1966:113], related to Greek βρεχμός ‘top of the head’, βρέγμα ‘the front part of the head’). Faulkner 1962:43; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:186; Hannig 1995:141.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic \**ʕaam-* ‘tip, point’ > Iraqw *ʕamay* ‘cist, swollen gland; East Coast fever’, *anta* ‘grave’, *antoni* ‘anthill’; Burunge *anta* ‘anthill’; Alagwa *anta* ‘anthill’; K’wadza *ambayiko* ‘tail’; Dahalo *ʕeeme* ‘thorn; needle’. Ehret 1980:274.
- D. Omotic: North Omotic: Bench / Gimira *amu* ‘thorny’; Yemsa / Janjero *àamà* ‘mountain’.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**ʕam-* (~ \**ʕəm-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:819—821, no. 738):  
 (vb.) \**ʕam-* ‘to lift, to raise, to make high’;  
 (n.) \**ʕam-a* ‘highest point, tip, top’  
 Extended form (Semitic and Indo-European):  
 (vb.) \**ʕam-V-d-* ‘to lift, to raise, to make high’;  
 (n.) *ʕam-d-a* ‘highest point, tip, top’

446. Proto-Afrasian \**ʕam-* ‘(vb.) to shoot, to hurl, to throw; (n.) arrow’:

- A. Egyptian *ʿmʿʒt* ‘throw-stick’, *ʿmʿʒ* ‘to throw the throw-stick’. Hannig 1995:140; Gardiner 1957:557; Faulkner 1962:42; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:186.
- B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *amaatt’o* ‘arrow’. Hudson 1987:21 and 350.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʕam-* (~ *\*ʕəm-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:824, no. 742):  
 (vb.) *\*ʕam-* ‘to shoot, to hurl, to throw’;  
 (n.) *\*ʕam-a* ‘arrow’
447. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʕap-* ‘(vb.) to grasp, to seize, to take hold of, to take by force’; (n.) grasp, hold, seizure’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʕab-at-* ‘to take hold of, to take by force; to hold tightly, to hold fast’ > Akkadian *ebētu* ‘to tie, to bind; to tighten, to put someone in straits’; Mandaic *abt* ‘to bind, to hold fast’; Epigraphic South Arabian *ʿbt* ‘compulsory service, calamity’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʿabbata* [ʔʌʌ], *ʔabata* [xʌʌ] ‘to exact compulsory service, to compel, to force, to coerce, to take by force, to requisition; to ruin; to push; to place an obstacle’; Tigrinya *ʿabäṭä* ‘to hurl oneself upon to tear to pieces’; Amharic *abbäṭä* ‘to trouble, to upset, to compel’. Leslau 1987:55.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*abad-* (?) ‘to hold, to seize’ > Gedeo / Darasa *abid-* ‘to hold, to seize’; Hadiyya *amad-* ‘to hold, to seize, to start, to begin, to touch’; Sidamo *amad-* ‘to hold, to seize, to touch’. Hudson 1989:80.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʕap-* (~ *\*ʕəp-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:827—828, no. 745):  
 (vb.) *\*ʕap-* ‘to grasp, to seize, to take hold of, to take by force’;  
 (n.) *\*ʕap-a* ‘grasp, hold, seizure’
448. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʕar-* (n.) ‘back, hindquarters’:
- A. Semitic: Akkadian *erūtu* (*arūtu*) ‘back’.
- B. Egyptian *ʿrt* ‘hinder parts (of men), hindquarters (of animals)’. Faulkner 1962:45; Hannig 1995:149; Gardiner 1957:558; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:209.
- C. Chadic: West Chadic: Tsagu *áárí* ‘back’. East Chadic: Dangla *ááron* ‘back’; Birgit *ʔára* ‘back’; Mubi *hâr* ‘back’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.2:6—7.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ʕar-a* ‘back, rear; hindquarters, behind’ (Bomhard 2013.4: 828—829, no. 746)

449. Proto-Afrasian \**ʕen-* ‘(vb.) to see, to notice, to pay attention; (n.) sight, view, attention’ (Ehret 1995:349, no. 686, \**ʕan-* or \**ʕaan-* ‘to come into view, to appear’):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ʕan-an-* ‘to come into view, to appear’ > Arabic *ʕanna* ‘to present itself to view, to offer itself (to someone); to take shape, to form, to arise, to spring up (in someone’s mind), to suggest itself; to appear (to someone)’; Sabaean *ʕnn* ‘to manifest one’s self (of a deity)’.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic \**ʕeen-* or \**ʕaan-* ‘sight, view’ > Asa *nuʕus-* ‘to show’, *nuʕuset-* ‘to see’; Dahalo *ʕeenaad-* ‘to see from afar’. Ehret 1980:274.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**ʕen-* (Bomhard 2014.3:830, no. 749):  
 (vb.) \**ʕen-* ‘to see, to notice, to pay attention’;  
 (n.) \**ʕen-a* ‘sight, view, attention’

450. Proto-Afrasian \**ʕeyn-* (n.) ‘eye’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:243, no. 1084, \**ʕayVn-* ‘eye’; Militarev 2010:66 — the Southern Cushitic forms cited by Militarev are included under Proto-Nostratic \**ʕen-* ‘to see, to notice, to pay attention’ instead [see above]):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ʕayn-* ‘eye’ > Akkadian *īnu* (*ēnu*) ‘eye’; Hebrew *ʕayin* [ʕ] ‘eye’ (Post-Biblical Hebrew *ʕēnāʔ* [ʕ] [from Aramaic]); Aramaic *ʕenā* ‘eye’; Syriac *ʕaynā* ‘eye’; Mandaic *aina* ‘eye’; Phoenician *ʕyn*, *ʕn* ‘eye’; Nabatean *ʕyn* ‘eye’; Palmyrene *ʕyn* ‘eye’; Ugaritic *ʕn* ‘eye’; Arabic *ʕayn* ‘eye’; Sabaean *ʕyn* ‘eye’; Ḥarsūsi *ʕāyn* ‘eye’; Mehri *ʕāyn* ‘eye’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʕihn* ‘eye’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʕayn* [ዐይን] ‘eye’; Tigrinya *ʕayni* ‘eye’; Tigre *ʕin* ‘eye’; Amharic *ayn* ‘eye’; Argobba *ayn* ‘eye’; Gurage (Gyeto) *ayn*, (Chaha, Eža, Muher, Masqan, Gogot) *en*, (Endegeñ) *ēn*, (Soddo, Wolane) *in*, (Selṭi, Zayse) *īn*, (Ennemor) *ēr* ‘eye’; Gafat *inā* ‘eye’; Harari *īn* ‘eye’. Murtonen 1989:317—318; Klein 1987:470; Zammit 2002:301; Leslau 1963:27, 1979:117, and 1987:79—80; Bergsträsser 1983:212—213; Militarev 2010:66 Proto-Semitic \**ʕayn-*; Hudson 2013:109 Semitic \**ʕayn-* ‘eye’.
- B. Egyptian *ʕn*, *ʕyn-* hieroglyphic determinative sign for ‘eye’. Hannig 1995:142—143 and 1033 (D8); Faulkner 1962:43 (under *ʕn* ‘beautiful’); Erman—Grapow 1921:25 and 1926—1963.1:189.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**ʕey-* (Bomhard 2014.3:833, no. 751):  
 (vb.) \**ʕey-* ‘to know, to recognize’;  
 (n.) \**ʕey-a* ‘sight, recognition’; (adj.) ‘known, seen, recognized’



451. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʕig(a)l-* (n.) ‘young of an animal, calf’ (M. Cohen 1947:86, no. 43. Orël—Stolbova 1995:247, no. 1100, *\*ʕigal-* ‘cow, calf’; Militarev 2009:101):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*ʕigl-* ‘young of an animal, calf’ > Hebrew *ʕēyel* [ʕ̥jɛl] ‘calf’; Aramaic *ʕeglā* ‘calf’; Phoenician *ʕgl* ‘calf’; Arabic *ʕġl* ‘calf’; Ugaritic *ʕgl* ‘calf’; Sabaeen *ʕgl* ‘calf’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʕəḡwl* [ʕ̥ɣʷɒ], *ʕəḡwal* [ʕ̥ɣʷɒɒ], *ʕəḡwl* [ʕ̥ɣʷɒɒ] ‘the young of any animal or fowl’; Tigre *ʕəgal* ‘calf’; Tigrinya *gəlgäl* ‘young mule or horse’; Amharic (reduplicated) *gəlgäl* ‘lamb’; Harari *gīgi* ‘young of animals’; Gurage *gəlgəl* ‘the young of an animal’. According to Leslau (1979:273), “[t]he root *glgl* is a reduplicated *gl-gl* going back to *ʕgʷl*, *ʕgl*.” Murtonen 1989:309—310; Leslau 1963:70, 1979:273, and 1987:11; Klein 1987:463; Diakonoff 1992:82, fn 123, *\*ʕəḡw-* (Diakonoff rejects the comparison of the above forms with Akkadian *agālu* ‘donkey’); Zammit 2002:282.
  - B. Egyptian *ʕg-*, *ʕgn-* (placed before several words dealing with cattle); Coptic *ačol* [ʕ̥ɒɒɒ] ‘calf’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:236; Černý 1976:19 (questioned); Vycichl 1983:23 (Coptic *ačol* [ʕ̥ɒɒɒ] < *\*ʕaggāl* < *\*ʕaggāl*).
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ʕig-a* ‘young of an animal, calf’ (Bomhard 2014.3:834, no. 752)
452. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʕim-* ‘(vb.) to suck, to swallow; (n.) the act of sucking, swallowing; food, meal’:
- A. Egyptian *ʕm* ‘to swallow; to absorb’, (causative) *sʕm* ‘to swallow down, to wash down (food)’. Hannig 1995:138; Faulkner 1962:42; Gardiner 1957:557; Erman—Grapow 1921:25 and 1926—1963.1:183—184.
  - B. Omotic: North Omotic: Bench / Gimira *mʔ* ‘(vb.) to eat; (n.) food, meal’; Yemsa / Janjero *me* ‘to eat’, *mu*, *muwu* ‘to eat’.
  - C. Chadic: West Chadic: Karekare *ʔimpà* ‘to suck’; Bole *ʔyump-* ‘to suck’, *ʔyùmpá* (n.) ‘the act of sucking’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:310. West Chadic: Pa’a *ʔmma* ‘to eat (soft food)’. East Chadic: Somray *ʔám* ‘to eat (soft food)’; (?) Migama *ʔáymó* ‘to eat (hard food)’; (?) Sokoro *áymé* ‘to eat (hard food)’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:119 and II:120—121.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʕim-* (~ *\*ʕem-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:834—835, no. 753):
- (vb.) *\*ʕim-* ‘to suck, to swallow’;
  - (n.) *\*ʕim-a* ‘the act of sucking, swallowing; breast, nipple, teat’
453. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʕor-* ‘(vb.) to turn or twist round; (n.) turning, twisting; binding, tying; sewing, weaving’:

- A. Egyptian *ʿrq* ‘to bind; to put on (clothes), to get dressed’, *ʿrf* ‘(vb.) to envelop, to tie up; (n.) bag, bundle’; Coptic (Bohairic) *ōrf* [ⲱⲣⲉ] ‘to enclose, to restrict, to surround’. Hannig 1995:151; Faulkner 1962:45; Gardiner 1957:558; Erman—Grapow 1921:27, 28 and 1926—1963.1:210—211, 1:211; Vycichl 1983:250; Černý 1976:229.
- B. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *\*ʿor-* ‘to bind, to tie’ > Alagwa *ʿor-* ‘to tangle’; Iraqw *ʿoru* ‘cow seized by force’; Asa *ʿeras-* ‘to shut’; Ma’a *-ʿóro* ‘to tie, to tether’; Dahalo *ʿur-* ‘to sew’. Ehret 1980:279.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʿorʷ-* (Bomhard 2014.3:835—836, no. 754):  
 (vb.) *\*ʿorʷ-* ‘to turn or twist round’;  
 (n.) *\*ʿorʷ-a* ‘turning, twisting; binding, tying; sewing, weaving’
454. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʕub-* ~ *\*ʕib-* (n.) ‘breast’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:245, no. 1094, *\*ʕib-/ʕub-* ‘breast, bosom’):
- A. Semitic: Arabic *ʿubb*, *ʿibb* ‘breast pocket’.
- B. Berber: Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tibbit* ‘woman’s breast’; Tamazight *bubbu* ‘breast’; Kabyle *bubbu* ‘breast’.
- C. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic: Somali *ʿib-* ‘nipple’.
- D. Chadic: Central Chadic: Lamang *úúba* ‘breast’; Mandara *úúba* ‘breast’; Glavda *úúba* ‘breast’; Guduf *úba* ‘breast’; Dghwede *úba* ‘breast’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:46—47.
- ← Proto-Nostratic (n.) *\*ʕub-a* ‘bosom, breast’ (Bomhard 2014.3:836, no. 755)
455. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʕun-* ‘(vb.) to eat, to drink, to swallow; to feed (on), to suck (milk from a breast); (n.) food, meal’ (Ehret 1995:351, no. 688, *\*-ʕon-* ‘to swallow’):
- A. Semitic: Arabic *ʿaṅara* ‘to smack the lips, to put the lips out and curl them’.
- B. Cushitic: Lowland East Cushitic: Somali *ʕun-* ‘to eat’; Rendille *hûn-* ‘to drink milk, blood’. Heine 1978:100.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*ʕunʷ-* (~ *\*ʕonʷ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:836—837, no. 756):  
 (vb.) *\*ʕunʷ-* ‘to eat, to drink, to swallow; to feed (on), to suck (milk from a breast)’;  
 (n.) *\*ʕunʷ-a* ‘food, meal’
456. Proto-Afrasian *\*ʕur-* ‘(vb.) to be firm, hard, strong; (n.) firmness, hardness, strength; (adj.) firm, hard, strong’ (Ehret 1995:354, no. 697, *\*ʕuur-* ‘strength’ and 511 [no. 697]; Takács 2011:143):

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**ʕar-ad-* ‘hard, firm, stiff’ > Arabic *ʕard*, *ʕardal* ‘hard, firm, stiff’.  
 Proto-Semitic \**ʕar-aʒ-* ‘to be strong, hard’ > Arabic *ʕaraza* ‘to be strong and hard’, *ʕarzab* ‘hard, firm’, *ʕarzam* ‘firm’.  
 Proto-Semitic \**ʕar-at-* ‘to be hard’ > Arabic *ʕarata* ‘to be hard’.
- B. Egyptian *ʕ3(i)* (< \**ʕr*) ‘great; greatness’, *ʕ3ʕ* ‘bravery, courage, valor’. Hannig 1995:125 and 129; Faulkner 1962:37 and 38; Gardiner 1957:557; Erman—Grapow 1921:22 and 1926—1963.1:161—164.
- C. Cushitic: Proto-Southern Cushitic \**ʕur-* or \**ʕuur-* ‘strength’ > Iraqw *ʕuru* ‘strength’; Alagwa *ʕuru* ‘strength’; Ma’a *ur* ‘strength’. Ehret 1980:279.
- ← Proto-Nostratic root \**ʕur-* (~ \**ʕor-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:837—839, no. 757):  
 (vb.) \**ʕur-* ‘to be firm, hard, strong’;  
 (n.) \**ʕur-a* ‘firmness, hardness, strength’; (adj.) ‘firm, hard, strong’

12.5. PROTO-AFRASIAN \**x*

457. Proto-Afrasian \**xal-* ‘(vb.) to wear down, to wear out, to weaken; to be worn out, worn down, weakened; (n.) weakness, exhaustion, fatigue, weariness; (adj.) weak, worn out, tired, exhausted, weary’ (Orël—Stolbova 1995:272, no. 1229, \**ḫalak-* ‘to be smooth’ and 291—292, no. 1327, \**ḫalak-* ‘clothes’ [Proto-Semitic \**ḫulāk-/ḫālūk-* ‘old or torn clothes’ < Proto-Semitic \**ḫVIVk-* ‘to be torn’]):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**xal-ak-* ‘to wear out, to wear down, to make smooth; to be worn down, worn out, ended, finished, terminated, wasted, destroyed’ > Hebrew *ḫālāk* [חָלַךְ] ‘(Qal) to be smooth, slippery; (Hif.) to beat smooth (metal, with a hammer)’, *ḫālāk* [חָלַךְ] ‘smooth, bald’; Ugaritic *ḫlk* ‘to perish (?)’, to destroy’; Arabic *ḫalaka* ‘to be old, worn, shabby (garment); to wear out (something), to let (something) become old and shabby’, *ḫalak* ‘shabby, worn (garment), threadbare’; Akkadian *ḫalāku* ‘to disappear, to vanish, to become missing or lost, to perish; to escape, to flee; to destroy, to ruin’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḫalka* [ጸልቀ], *ḫalka* [ጸልቀ] ‘to be consumed, to be wasted, to perish, to cease, to come to an end, to be accomplished, to be terminated, to be finished, to be destroyed, to fail, to dwindle away, to be spent, to be decided upon, to be determined’; Tigrinya *ḫalākä* ‘to finish, to be finished’; Amharic *älläkä* ‘to come to an end, to be finished, to be consumed’; Argobba *alläka* ‘to be finished’; Gurage (Soddo) *alläkä*, *alläʔä* ‘to be finished, ended’, *əllaki* ‘worn out’. Murtonen 1989:184; Klein 1987:220; Leslau 1979:40 and 1987:261.
- Proto-Semitic \**xal-aw/y-* ‘to be worn out, weak, sick’ > Akkadian *ḫalū* ‘to suffer’; Hebrew *ḫālāh* [חָלָה] ‘to be weak, sick; to be smooth (to the taste), to be sweet; (Pi.) to soften, to sweeten; to soothe, to assuage;

(Hif.) to assuage, to soften; to make sick, to wear out'; Aramaic *ḥəlā* 'to be sick'. Murtonen 1989:182; Klein 1987:217.

Proto-Semitic *\*xal-aš-* 'to be weak' > Hebrew *ḥālaš* [חָלַשׁ] 'to be weak, prostrate; to weaken, to disable, to prostrate'; Aramaic *ḥəlaš* 'to be weak'. Murtonen 1989:184; Klein 1987:220.

- B. Egyptian *ḥ3* (medical term) 'to pound, to crush, to pulverize'. Hannig 1995:629.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*xal-* (~ *\*xəl-*) (Bomhard 2013.4:841—843, no. 760):  
 (vb.) *\*xal-* 'to wear down, to wear out, to weaken; to be worn out, worn down, weakened';  
 (n.) *\*xal-a* 'weakness, exhaustion, fatigue, weariness'; (adj.) 'weak, worn out, tired, exhausted, weary'  
 Note also:  
 (vb.) *\*ḥal-* 'to lay waste, to destroy, to kill, to slaughter';  
 (n.) *\*ḥal-a* 'destruction, violence, killing, slaughter'

458. Proto-Afrasian *\*xaŋ-* (vb.) to lift, to raise; to rise, to go upward, to ascend;  
 (n.) that which is most prominent, foremost, visible, or noticeable; (particle) on top of, over, above':

- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*xan-at-* ' (vb.) to stick out, to project, to protrude; (n.) that which is most prominent, foremost, visible, or noticeable' > Mehri *xənṭāy* 'front part of a camel'; Ḥarsūsi *xenṭi* 'one of the fore-teats of a camel'; Šheri / Jibbāli *xanṭi* 'front, front part of anything' (also *šxənīṭ* 'to come out, away from; to get out', *xunṭ* 'outside', *xanṭūn* 'out, absent'; *axnīṭ* 'to take out, to take off; to evacuate the bowels; to be full to overflowing; to go out in the spring'). Arabic *ḥunṭūl* 'long horn or penis'.  
 Arabic *ḥinšir*, *ḥinšar* 'little finger or toe'.  
 B. Egyptian *ḥnt* 'face, front part', *ḥnt* 'in front of, among, from', *ḥnt* 'to ascend, to rise (the Nile)', (adv.) *ḥntw* 'before, earlier', *ḥnt*, *ḥnty* 'nose, face', *ḥnty* 'who or which is in front of (of place), who is at the head of, foremost, pre-eminent in, principal (of degree), protruding (of shape)'; Coptic *šant* [ϣⲁⲛⲧ] 'nose'. Erman—Grapow 1921:129—130 and 1926—1963.3:302—306; Gardiner 1957:585; Hannig 1995:607—608; Faulkner 1962:194; Vycichl 1983:254.  
 C. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*ḥan-* 'over, above, on (top of)' > Gedeo / Darasa *hana* 'over, above'; Hadiyya *hana* 'over, above', *hane* 'top'; Sidamo *aana* 'over, above', *aaná* 'on (top of)'. Hudson 1989:109.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*xaŋ-* (~ *\*xəŋ-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:844—845, no. 762, and 845—848, no. 763):  
 (vb.) *\*xaŋ-* 'to lift, to raise; to rise, to go upward, to ascend';  
 (n.) *\*xaŋ-a* 'that which is most prominent, foremost, visible, or noticeable';

(particle) \**xaŋ-* ‘on top of, over, above’

Extended form:

(n.) \**xaŋ-th-a* ‘the most prominent or foremost (person or thing), front, front part’

459. Proto-Afrasian \**xol-* ‘(vb.) to be separated or apart from, to be by oneself, to be alone; to set apart; (n.) solitude, seclusion, loneliness; (adj.) alone, lonely’:

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**xal-aw/y-* ‘to be separated or apart from; to be alone’ > Arabic *ḥalā* ‘to be empty, vacant; to be free, to be alone’, *ḥalā* ‘except, save, with the exception of’, *ḥilw* ‘alone, in a private place, free (from)’, *ḥalawī* ‘lonely, solitary, secluded, isolated, outlying’; Sabaean *hlw* ‘except, with the exception of’ (contexts fragmentary); Šheri / Jibbālī *xálé* ‘to be empty; to be unmarried, alone with (b-)’, *xálé?* ‘empty place, something empty; loneliness’, *xáló?* ‘divorce’, *xalwét* ‘loneliness’; Mehri *xáyli* ‘to be empty, to be alone with (b-) someone’, *xōli* ‘to divorce’, *xālē?* ‘desert; hungry; alone; empty (*mən*) of’, *xālōy* ‘divorce’; Ḥarsūsi *xéli* ‘to be empty’, *xāl* ‘to divorce’, *xelōy* ‘divorce’, *xelē?*, *xelā* ‘empty place, desert’, *xéli* ‘undressed’. Zammit 2002:166.

B. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *holl-* ‘to chase, to divorce’. Hudson 1989:283.

← Proto-Nostratic root \**xol-* (Bomhard 2014.3:849—850, no. 765):

(vb.) \**xol-* ‘to be separated or apart from, by oneself, alone; to set apart’;

(n.) \**xol-a* ‘solitude, seclusion, loneliness’; (adj.) ‘alone, lonely’

460. Proto-Afrasian \**xwal-* ‘(vb.) to pull (off or out); (n.) the act of pulling or tearing (off, out)’ (Ehret 1995:230, no. 400, \**xwal-*, \**xwaal-* ‘to extract, to take or draw out’):

A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic \**xal-aʕ-* ‘to pull (off or out)’ > Arabic *ḥalaʕa* ‘to take off, to put off, to slip off (a garment); to extract, to pull; to wrench, to dislocate, to luxate (a joint); to depose, to remove, to dismiss, to discharge (someone from an office); to renounce, to forgo, to give up (something), to withdraw (from); to throw off, to cast off’, *ḥalʕ* ‘slipping off, taking off (of clothes); deposition (for example, of a ruler); dislocation, luxation; extraction of teeth’. Zammit 2002:165.

Proto-Semitic \**xal-ag-* ‘to draw or tear out, to remove’ > Arabic *ḥalaġa* ‘to draw, to attract; to tear out’, *ḥilliġ* ‘far, remote’; Šheri / Jibbālī *xólóg* ‘to cause to grieve at the loss or removal of a child’; Mehri *xəlāwg* ‘grieving at the loss or removal of a child’.

Proto-Semitic \**xal-ac-* ‘to rob, to steal, to filch; to lose, to be deprived (of)’ > Arabic *ḥalasa* ‘to steal (something), to pilfer, to filch, to swipe, to purloin (something); to obtain (something) under false pretenses or means;

to embezzle, to misappropriate', *hulsatan* 'by stealth, stealthily, surreptitiously, furtively', *ʔihṭilās* 'embezzlement, misappropriation'; Mehri *xəlūs* 'to stray, to get lost; to lose, to lose in court; to guess wrong; to miss'; Šheri / Jibbāli *xólōs* 'to miss something; to lose; to guess', *axtélēs* 'to lose something precious; to be deprived, bereaved of a child', *šxélās* 'to filch; to filch food, etc., when one's parents are absent'; Ḥarsūsi *xelōs* 'to miss (a shot)', *xlōs* 'to lose, to mislead'.

Proto-Semitic *\*xal-ac*- 'to pull out or tear out, to remove' > Hebrew *hālaš* [חָלַשׁ] 'to draw off or out, to withdraw; to pull out, to tear out; to rescue, to deliver'; Aramaic *həlaš* 'to undress, to take (something) off; to withdraw'; Phoenician *hlš* 'to deliver'; Akkadian *halāšu* 'to press, to squeeze out; to comb out', *halšu* 'obtained by pressing out (said of oil), pressed out (said of sesame seeds), combed (said of flax)', *hilšu* 'combed wool'; Arabic *halaša* 'to be or become free, to be freed, to be liberated (from), to be cleared, to get rid (of); to extract (something from)', *halāš* 'liberation, deliverance, riddance; rescue, salvation (from), redemption; payment, settlement, liquidation (of a bill)', *taḥalluṣ* 'freedom, libertation, release, extrication, escape (from)', *hulāša* 'excerpt; extract, essence; quintessence, substance, gist (of something); abstract, résumé, summary, epitome, synopsis'. Murtonen 1989:184; Klein 1987:220; Zammit 2002:164—165.

- B. Egyptian *hnp* (if for *\*hlp*) 'to snatch, to catch; to steal'. Hannig 1995:603; Faulkner 1962:192; Gardiner 1957:585; Erman—Grapow 1921:128 and 1926—1963.3:290.
- C. Cushitic: Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *\*xwal*- 'to dig up' > Alagwa *xwal*- 'to dig up'; K'wadza *xoxwal*- 'to till, to cultivate'. Ehret 1980:375.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*xwal*- (~ *\*xwəl*-) (Bomhard 2014.3:851—852, no. 766):  
 (vb.) *\*xwal*- 'to pull (off, out), to tear (off, out)';  
 (n.) *\*xwal-a* 'the act of pulling or tearing (off, out)'

461. Proto-Afrasian *\*xwat*- 'to scratch, to scrape, to sweep; (n.) the act of scratching, scraping':

- A. Semitic: Akkadian *ḫaṭāpu* (to process grain in some way); 'to wipe away (tears)'.  
 B. Cushitic: Proto-East Cushitic *\*haad*- 'to scrape (ground), to sweep' > Burji *haad*- 'to dig'; Somali *haad*- 'to sweep'; Galla / Oromo *haad*- 'to scrape the ground'. Hudson 1989:195; Sasse 1982:87.

← Proto-Nostratic root *\*xwat*- (~ *\*xwət*-) (Bomhard 2014.3:852—853, no. 767):  
 (vb.) *\*xwat*- 'to scratch, to scrape';  
 (n.) *\*xwat-a* 'the act of scratching, scraping'

462. Proto-Afrasian *\*x<sup>w</sup>ir-* ‘(vb.) to rumble, to sound, to snore; (n.) loud noise’ (Ehret 1995:232, no. 405, *\*x<sup>w</sup>ir-* ‘to rumble’):
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*xar-ar-* ‘to roar, to rumble, to snore’ > Arabic *ħarra* ‘to murmur, to bubble, to gurgle, to purl (of running water); to ripple, to trickle; to snore’, *ħarīr* ‘purl, murmur, ripple (of water)’, (reduplicated) *ħarħara* ‘to snore’; Akkadian *ħarāru* ‘to croak, to rumble’.
  - B. Egyptian *ħr* (defective verb) ‘to say, to speak’, *ħrtw* ‘declaration, statement’, *ħrw* ‘voice, noise’; Coptic *hrow* [ⲭⲣⲟⲟϥ] ‘voice, sound’; *hrubai* [ⲭⲣⲟϥⲃⲁⲓ], *hrmpe* [ⲭⲣⲙⲡⲉ], *hrumpe* [ⲭⲣⲟϥⲙⲡⲉ] ‘thunder’. Hannig 1995:611 and 614; Faulkner 1962:196; Erman—Grapow 1921:131 and 1926—1963.3:317—318, 3:318, and 3:324—325; Gardiner 1957:585; Černý 1976:295; Vycichl 1983:308, 309, and 311.
  - C. Cushitic: Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *\*xiri-* (< *\*x<sup>w</sup>ir-*) ‘to rumble, to roar’ > Iraqw *xuray* ‘to rumble, to roar’. Proto-Rift *\*xiriʔus-* ‘to rumble’ > Burunge *xuruʔus-* ‘to thunder’; Asa *hoʔorus-* ‘to snore, to growl’. Ehret 1980:370..
- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*x<sup>w</sup>ir-* (~ *\*x<sup>w</sup>er-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:854—855, no. 770):  
 (vb.) *\*x<sup>w</sup>ir-* ‘to make a loud noise, to make a shrill sound’;  
 (n.) *\*x<sup>w</sup>ir-a* ‘loud noise’

12.6. PROTO-AFRASIAN *\*γ*

463. Proto-Afrasian *\*γil-* ‘(vb.) to give birth, to beget (of humans); (n.) child, youth, young person; (adj.) young, immature’:
- A. Semitic: Proto-Semitic *\*γil-m-* ‘youth, young person; young man, lad, boy’ > Hebrew (m.) *ʿelem* [עֶלֶם] ‘young man’, (f.) *ʿalmāh* [עַלְמָה] ‘young woman, maiden’; Imperial Aramaic *ʿlym* ‘servant, slave’; Syriac *ʿalaymā* ‘boy, youth, young man, servant’; Phoenician *ʿlm* ‘youth’, *ʿlmt* ‘young woman’; Palmyrene *ʿlmt* ‘female servant, female slave’; Nabatean *ʿlym* ‘servant’; Ugaritic *ḡlm* ‘boy’, *ḡlmt* ‘girl’; Sabaean *ḡlm* ‘child, boy, youth’; Arabic *ḡulām* (pl. *ḡilmat*) ‘boy, youth, lad; slave, servant, waiter’, *ḡulāmat* ‘girl, slave-girl’. Murtonen 1989:320; Klein 1987:473; Tombback 1978:246; Zammit 2002:308.
  - B. Cushitic: Proto-Sam *\*ilem* ‘small boy’ > Somali *ilmo* ‘child, baby’; Boni *éleŋ* ‘boy’. Heine 1978:65. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *\*il-* ‘to give birth, to beget (of humans)’ > Gedeo / Darasa *il-* ‘to give birth, to beget’, *ila* ‘generation’, *ildaatt’e* ‘fertile (of woman)’, *ileenša* ‘generation’; Sidamo *il-* ‘to give birth, to beget (of humans)’, *il-ama* ‘relative’, *il-aasinco* ‘fertile (of woman)’, *ilama* ‘generation’; Kambata *il-* ‘to give birth, to beget (of

humans)', *il-amu* 'relative', *il-mucco* 'last born; brother, youngest'.  
Hudson 1989:246—247, 323—324, and 374.

- ← Proto-Nostratic root *\*γil-* (~ *\*γel-*) (Bomhard 2014.3:856—858, no. 772):  
(vb.) *\*γil-* 'to bear, to give birth, to beget (of humans)';  
(n.) *\*γil-a* 'child, youth, young person'; (adj.) 'young, immature'



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